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MORTIMER'S
History of England.



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WILLIAM III.

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS of BRITAIN,
TO THE
RATIFICATION of the PEACE of VERSAILLES, 1763.

HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO THE QUEEN.

By THOMAS MORTIMER, Esq.

His MAJESTY'S VICE-CONSUL for the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.

Orationi et carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia sit summa : historia quoque modo scripta delectat.
PLINY, jun.

V O L III.

L O N D O N,

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MDCCLXVI.

A NEW

HISTORY

ENGLAND

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF BRITAIN

TO THE

RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES, 1763.

HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO THE QUEEN

BY THOMAS MORTIMER, Esq.

His Majesty's Vice-Consul for the American Netherlands.

Printed by J. Johnson, in Pall-mall; and by J. G. Smith, in Strand.

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MDCCLXVI.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,

F R O M

The REVOLUTION to the Accession of the Illustrious Family of BRUNSWICK-HANOVER, now reigning, containing the Transactions of Twenty-five Years.

P A R T XII.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. King and Queen of ENGLAND.
A. D. 1689.

DURING the greatest part of the preceding reign, the English had, with unspeakable grief, beheld their religion brought to the brink of ruin, and the papal see on the point of re-assuming her antient tyrannic sway over both church and state in these kingdoms. The Reformation, which had been sealed with the blood of so many martyrs for the true faith, was about to be overturned, and the rights and privileges of the people annihilated. The land of liberty was going to be reduced to an island of slaves. Despotic rule was to lord it over the laws of the country, and the lives and properties of thousands were to be at the mercy of arbitrary power, supported by the unnatural and execrable doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. Such was the situation of the English nation, when James II. unable to withstand the just resentments of an injured people, and lost to all spirit but that of enthusiastic bigotry, abdicated a throne he had so unworthily filled.

The Revolution then may, with justice, be termed the epocha of true English liberty. The nation, represented by its parliament (or what is the same, a free convention of its estates) fixed the long contested limits of royal prerogative, and the rights of

the subject; and having prescribed to the prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, chose him for their sovereign, jointly with his consort Mary, the daughter of their late king. From that time this prince was acknowledged by the greatest part of Europe as the lawful king of England, by the name of William III. and the Deliverer of this nation.

There were, however, a party in the nation, who viewed things in a different light, and could by no means be brought to approve the new settlement: these exerted their utmost endeavours from the beginning to overturn it. The reader will readily suppose that the papists made the bulk of this party. They had indeed very substantial reasons to dislike the Revolution; but to these also were joined several protestants, who, either from the strong impressions of the late doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, could not bring themselves to think it lawful to resist James, or who, though they acknowledged the necessity and expediency of an interposition to preserve them a free people, and gladly accepted the prince of Orange in the quality of a mediator, or even as regent in the name of king James, would by no means hear of his being made king, to the prejudice of hereditary indefeasible right, and the direct

direct lineal succession. The more violent of these were named Jacobites, the others Nonjurors, from their refusing to take the oaths to the present government. Thus the Revolution, notwithstanding it had been the means of happily preserving the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, had from its beginning many enemies to encounter, who were engaged in continual plots to annoy and subvert it.

King William began his reign by a proclamation, confirming all protestants in the offices which they enjoyed, on the first day of December. His next step was to settle his privy-council*; after which, on the twenty-third of February, he gave the royal assent to a bill to "remove and prevent all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of this present parliament:" by which act the convention, which had settled the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, was changed into a parliament. His majesty opened their session with a speech, in which he thanked them for the great confidence they had reposed in him by chusing him to be their sovereign, assuring them it should be his study to preserve the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He laid before them the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and in these kingdoms in particular; and concluded with earnestly requesting them to concur in the most speedy and effectual measures for the welfare of the nation. Soon after the king sent a message to the house, informing them that he had received certain advice of James having set sail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland: whereupon both houses came to a resolution to assist his majesty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessment, and both houses waited on the king to signify this their resolution. This complacency however was far from being unanimous in the parliament; for several of the lords, both spiritual and temporal, had absented themselves from the assembly, rather than take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy required. The nonjurors among the prelates were, Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, bishop of Ely; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lake, of Chichester; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester: of whom the four first had been imprisoned in the Tower by king James. The temporal peers who refused the oaths were, the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, with the lords Griffin and Stawel.

The friends of the late king began also to stir already against the new government; and several gentlemen of condition of the Scottish nation in England were apprehended for treasonable practices, and sent to the Tower. The commons, informed of these commotions, as likewise that the Scottish regiment of Dumbarton had mutinied, and declared for James (though presently after quelled) impowered the king to dispense with the Habeas Corpus act till the seventeenth of April following. This was done with a view for the more effectual

securing all disturbers of the public peace; but was certainly a great stretch of confidence, and gave such a power few princes ought to be trusted with. They also brought in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, which in a little time passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

On the eleventh of April 1689, the king and queen were solemnly crowned by the bishop of London, who officiated, at the king's desire, in the room of the archbishop of Canterbury, a declared malcontent. The king now made a thorough change about court. Several who had been driven from their posts by the late administration, were now restored with signal marks of honour and favour. The papists, who had so lately carried all before them, were now forced to give way to their more successful adversaries: the laws against the former were renewed and strengthened, while all such who had been in any manner instrumental in effecting the Revolution, were rewarded in proportion to their services. Among the rest, Charles Paulet, marquis of Winchester, was made duke of Bolton; William Bentinck, esq. earl of Portland; Ralph lord Montagu, earl of Montagu; and John lord Churchill, earl of Marlborough. The earls of Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state; the marquis of Halifax, privy-seal; the earl of Danby, president of the council; D'Auverquerque, a Dutch gentleman, who with Bentinck and Zuylestein had accompanied the king from Holland, was made master of the horse, Zuylestein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: this latter was, not long after, made a duke, as was the earl of Danby marquis of Carmarthen, and admiral Herbert earl of Torrington. Lastly, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who came over with his majesty as his chaplain when prince, was, upon the death of Dr. Seth Ward, advanced to the bishopric of Salisbury. In fine, not one of the king's friends found themselves forgotten or neglected in this distribution of royal favour: and that even the meanest of his subjects might receive a benefit from his accession, and be thereby the more attached to his person and government, he about this time recommended to the parliament (who readily acquiesced in his desire) the abolition of the hearth money tax, which he understood was a grievous imposition upon the people. This was certainly a very politic measure, and contributed more than any thing to gain the affections of the populace to their new sovereign.

The king was naturally biased to Calvinism, and a declared enemy to persecution. He had been considerably cooled in his regard for the church of England, by the opposition he had met with from some of the members, especially the bishops, who had, by their refusal to take the oaths, and withdrawing from the parliament, openly disowned his authority, and shewn their aversion to his government. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, by admitting the protestant dissenters to a share in posts under the government; by which means he could at the same time oblige many of his friends. With this view he proposed to his par-

* The council was composed of the following persons: the prince of Denmark, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquises of Halifax and Winchester; the earls of Danby, Lindsey, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Dorset and Middlesex, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield,

Nottingham; the viscounts Falconbridge, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montagu, Delamere, Churchill; sir Robert Howard, sir Henry Capel, sir John Lowther; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Powle, Mr. Rufel, Mr. Boscawen, and Mr. Hambden.

liament the abrogating the old, and appointing new oaths; by which the sacramental test might be declared unnecessary in rendering any person, being a protestant, capable of enjoying any office or employ. The commons were complaisant enough to frame a bill agreeable to his majesty's intentions, but it was rejected by a great majority in the house of lords. Another bill for the same purpose, but expressed in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate, tho' in both cases about six or seven lords protested against the resolution of the house.

The warmth the king discovered in favour of the dissenters on this occasion, greatly excited the jealousy of the churchmen. William would gladly have compromised the matter, by excusing the non-juring clergy from taking the oaths to the government, provided the churchmen would have agreed to dispense with the sacramental test in favour of the presbyterians; but this proposal was rejected with some warmth by the high-flying clergy; and they resolved that all nonjuring clergy should be obliged to take the oaths, or suffer suspension. After a long and warm debate in parliament, this point was carried, and all the indulgence that could be obtained was a clause, empowering the king to grant to any twelve clergymen who should be deprived in virtue of this act, a third part of their benefices during pleasure.

Thus the antient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated, the declaration of passive obedience and non-resistance, in the act of uniformity, was repealed, and the new oath reduced to its former simplicity, of swearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the sovereign. The clergy were required to take the oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended for six months, and of being entirely deprived of all their ecclesiastical promotions, in case they did not take them before the expiration of that term. Several complied with the times; as the earl of Nottingham, who was made secretary of state, and Dr. Sherlock, who after the victory of the Boyne acknowledged their majesties title, and was made dean of St. Paul's: but many adhered to their old principles, which christian charity and candour would have obliged us to have excused, had they not instigated them to continual plots and conspiracies against the government. Those indeed who did comply, made use of such reservations and distinctions as left them open to much censure, as if they had

made their consciences subservient to their temporal interests.

Though the king had been disappointed in his design of repealing the sacramental test, yet he resolved to indulge the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being presented by the earl of Nottingham, was with some difficulty passed into a law, under the title of An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws; which is commonly called the Act of Toleration to this day.

These matters settled, the legislature next took under their consideration the settlement of a revenue for the support of the government. It must be observed, that before the Revolution, the whole standing income of the state was in the power and disposal of the king, and was called the revenue of the crown. This had given occasion to many notorious embezzlements; and it was found, upon inquiry into this affair, that since the toleration, prodigious sums had been sunk, without being applied to the uses for which they were granted. Effectually to prevent such shameful misapplications in future, the parliament now wisely resolved to allot a separate income for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity, which is now called the Civil List, and to put the rest of the public revenues entirely under the command of the parliament. It was also determined that these sums should be granted only from year to year, or at most for a very short term. This was an expedient of the Whigs, who thought it the most effectual way to render the king dependent upon his parliament, and engage him to merit their affection and compliance, by every act of a just or popular administration. It must be confessed, that this appropriation of the revenue was of infinite advantage to the public, and the greatest bulwark imaginable to the liberties of the people, who were now no longer under apprehension of seeing the aids they granted lavished at the will of their sovereign, in articles of profusion, or applied to the nefarious purpose of supporting armies, to wrest from the generous donors their invaluable privileges *.

The civil list was now settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen-dowager, the prince and princess of Denmark, the judges, and marechal duke Schomberg, to whom the parliament, as a reward

* The annual revenue, clear of all charges in the collection, at the time of king James II's abdication, was as follows:

1. Tonnage and poundage, with the wood-farm, coal-farm, and salt-farm	600,000
2. The hereditary and temporary excise, with the additional nine-pence for the year, ending June 24, 1689	666,383
3. Hearth-money	245,000
4. Post-office	65,000
5. Wine-licences	10,000
6. Imposition on wine and vinegar, granted for eight years, ending June 24, 1693	172,901
7. The imposition on tobacco and sugar	148,861
8. The imposition on French linen, brandy, and silk	93,710
9. The small branches (which before the crown-lands were sold, amounted to 130,000 l.)	60,000

Total neat revenue of the crown 2,061,855

Annual disbursements for the public services, during king James II's reign.

1. Maintenance of seamen, and provision of naval stores	300,000
2. Ordinary of the navy and ordnance	50,000
3. Guards and other disciplined troops	200,000
4. Garrisons, contingencies, &c.	50,000
Total expence	600,000

This being deducted out of the whole revenue, there remained for the civil list 1,461,885 l. a sum which rendered him independent of his parliament, enabled him to maintain a numerous army, and might have been sufficient, had he conducted his scheme with common prudence, to effect his wicked design of enslaving the nation. Hence appears the necessity of limiting the grant of the public revenue to a short term, of appropriating certain sums to particular purposes, and of submitting the application of those sums to the inspection and discussion of parliament. See Tindal's Contin. of Rapin.

for his eminent services, had already granted one hundred thousand pounds *. The commons also voted that one thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in the time of peace †.

The king was not a little piqued at the Whigs for this measure, which he considered as a mark of their diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors, and thought it an ungrateful return for the services he had done to the nation. An incident followed upon this, which contributed not a little to increase his jealousy of that party. They introduced a bill into the house for regulating the militia in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent of the king, and of the lieutenants of counties appointed by him. The bill however was thrown out by the peers, but the king deeply resented the attempt. The Tories failed not to take the advantage of this disposition in their sovereign, and by the mouth of the earl of Nottingham, made his majesty warm tenders of their services; but took occasion at the same time to insinuate, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their measures during the late reign, they found their hands tied, and durst not exert themselves so vigorously as they could wish, and intended for the preservation and dignity of the prerogatives of the crown, through the fear of calling down upon themselves the resentment of their avowed enemies. William swallowed the bait thus artfully thrown out for him; he resolved to put these new friends in a condition to make head against the Whig party, from whom he began to think himself in danger of being enslaved, or at best reduced only to the shadow of a monarch. Accordingly, he sent a message to the house by Mr. Hampden, expressing "his earnest desire that they would prepare a bill of indemnity, with such exceptions only as to them should seem necessary, for the vindication of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation." The two houses thought fit to present an address of thanks to his majesty for this instance of his lenity and humanity. But the Whigs, who saw plainly that the Tories wanted to introduce themselves again into the management of affairs, resolved to baffle their design, and still keep them in subjection. Accordingly, they threw so many obstacles in the way of this bill during its dependence, that it could not be brought to a conclusion before the end of the session ‡.

The next object which engrossed the attention of the parliament, was an act for settling the succession of the crown, agreeable to a former resolution of the house, when only a convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the house, with a clause disabling papists from succeeding to the crown. When this bill was carried up to the lords, they added the words, "or such as should marry papists," absolving the subject in that case

from allegiance. At the same time the bishop of Salisbury (Burnet) by his majesty's directions, moved that the princess Sophia, duchess of Hanover, and her posterity, might be named next in the succession, failing issue to the king and Anne princess of Denmark. The bill thus amended, was sent down again to the commons, where it occasioned great debates, the latter refusing to assent to the lords proviso. The Tories were remarkably strenuous in their opposition, and, what may seem somewhat extraordinary, were joined by several who passed for Whigs, but who were, in secret, of republican principles, and hoped, that in case of the death of the king and queen, and the princess Anne, the monarchy of England might be easily extinguished, and a commonwealth established. The Tories were actuated by motives that would be impertinent to mention, from their obviousness.

The king, who had greatly at heart the effectual settling the succession in the protestant line, left no endeavours untried to induce the lower house to agree with the lords. He declared in council that the queen, and both the prince and princess of Denmark, wished the succession to be settled after the manner proposed: but all his efforts for the present proved ineffectual, and the bill was dropped. Indeed it seemed to be in some manner rendered less necessary, by the delivery of the princess Anne, on the twenty-seventh day of July, of a son, who was christened by the name of William, and was soon after created duke of Gloucester. After this there were debates in the house of commons about settling a revenue on the princess Anne; it was proposed that her income might be advanced from thirty thousand pounds (which was what the king allowed her) to seventy thousand pounds. The court seemed inclined to have this matter left to his majesty's discretion; but the princess and her friends were for a fixed settlement, which was carried in the house; and this affair is thought to have been the occasion of the difference between the queen and the princess her sister, which continued till the death of the former ||.

On the sixteenth of December the king passed the bill of rights and succession, agreeable to the declaration of rights when their majesties accepted the crown, with the addition of a remarkable clause § for excluding papists, and persons marrying papists, for ever from the crown of England.

William, who yielded to few princes in political abilities, and who was well acquainted with the genius of the people he had been called to govern, knew that the most effectual way to preserve peace at home, was to find his subjects employment abroad. The great scheme which he had formed, when only Stadtholder, of a confederacy against France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire assembled at the diet of Ratisbon earnestly importuned the emperor Leopold to declare war against the French king, who had

* See Proceedings House of Lords, ii. 305. April 27.

† Proceedings House of Commons, April 28, ii. 278.

‡ Proceedings House of Lords, i. 355. Burnet.

|| See Conduct of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, p. 30.

§ It may not be amiss to transcribe this clause for the information of the reader. It enacts, "That the kings and queens of England should be obliged, at their coming to the crown, to take the test in the first parliament that should be called at the beginning of their reign; and that if any king or queen of

England should embrace the Roman catholic religion, or marry with a Roman catholic prince or princess, their subjects should be absolved of their allegiance, and that the crown and government of these realms should from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by such persons, being protestants, as should have inherited the same, in case the said persons so reconciled to the church of Rome, or marrying a papist as aforesaid, were naturally dead."

*The Clerk of the Crown Reading the Bill of Rights, to the Prince & Princess of Orange,
in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, previous to the Offering the Crown.*



*To the R.^t Hon.^{ble}
Earl of
This State is most*



*Fra^s Hastings,
Huntingdon,
humbly Inscribed*

in numberless instances broke the several treaties he had made with the German potentates, and had, without any provocation, invaded their countries, and shewn a settled design of making himself the master, or rather the tyrant, of all Christendom. The States-General issued a declaration against Lewis as the common enemy, as did also the elector of Brandenburg; and the marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, in answer to Lewis, who had declared war against his master the emperor, entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the States-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole powers against France and her allies. William, who was strongly pressed to join this confederacy in the quality of king of England, and who wished for nothing more heartily, found no great difficulty in persuading the English to unsheath the sword against their old enemies and rivals; and after the proper steps taken for that purpose by both houses, who joined in a dutiful address to his majesty, desiring him to take such measures as would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom, nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England; and assuring his majesty, that he might depend on the assistance of his parliament therein; the king, on the seventh of May this year (1689) declared war against the French monarch. This declaration was drawn up by the masterly pen of Somers, afterwards lord-chancellor. Lewis is therein charged "with having unjustly invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties concluded under the guaranty of the English crown; of having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, forcibly seized the province of New-York and Hudson's-bay, countenanced the seizure of English ships by French privateers, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on pretence of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations, and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels in that kingdom."

Having thus described the progress of the revolution in England, I shall now briefly relate the steps taken in Scotland, in consequence of this interesting event. When we reflect upon the miserable state under which the Scots had groaned during the two last reigns, it will afford no matter of surprize to see that people eagerly concurring in the measures of their sister nation to throw off the yoke of tyranny and superstition, and exerting all their efforts towards the establishment of William on the throne of their kingdom.

William, on his being acknowledged king of England, had written a letter to the estates of Scotland suitable to the subject; in consequence of which they assembled in convention on the fourteenth day of March, 1689, and speedily agreed in voting, "That king James VII. * by having assumed an arbitrary and despotic power, and exercising it to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation, had forfeited the right of the crown (of Scot-

land) and the throne was become vacant." This vote was instantly passed into a law, by the title of An Act for settling the Crown of Scotland upon the King and Queen of England; pursuant to which their majesties were solemnly proclaimed king and queen of Scotland, on the eleventh day of April, the day of their coronation in England †.

Soon after the earl of Argyle, and three other members of the convention, were sent as commissioners from the Scottish nation, to make a solemn tender of the crown of that realm, which was done on May 11, their majesties being seated on a throne under a rich canopy, in the Banqueting-house, Whitehall. In the mean time, the estates published a proclamation, "forbidding all persons to acknowledge, obey, assist, or correspond with the late king James; or by word, writing, or sermon, to dispute or disown the royal authority of king William and queen Mary, or to misconstrue the proceedings of the estates, with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of the severest penalties." Then having settled other matters, they appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned for a short time.

It must be observed, that the Scottish bishops had published an abhorrence of the prince of Orange's expedition; and the episcopal party in general in that kingdom, who had been mere creatures of the court, and violent opposers of the presbyterian faction, adhered firmly to king James: but immediately on the success of William, and his declaration in favour of Scotland, the presbyterians had begun to lift up their heads, and to insult their late persecutors in their turn: and now the meeting of the estates was, by a commission from their majesties to the duke of Hamilton, as president, turned into a parliament, whose first step was to abolish prelacy once more, as contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, to which the king assented: but several violent disputes arising in the Scottish parliament (which more properly belong to the history of that country than the present work) their church was left without any settled form of government; for though hierarchy was abolished, the presbyterian discipline was not yet established, and ecclesiastical affairs were occasionally regulated by the privy-council, which, by a strange contradiction, acted in virtue of the act of supremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, was thought to have been repealed ‡.

It must not be understood, however, as if the Revolution took place in Scotland without any opposition. The duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master; but as he had neglected to lay in a proper store of provisions, he depended entirely on the citizens for subsistence. The partizans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras, and Graham viscount of Dundee, a brave and gallant officer, who assembled a body of Highlanders, and declared for the expelled monarch. These efforts however proved short-lived and unsuccessful. The duke of Gordon, after sustaining a vigorous siege from the citizens of Edinburgh, and the troops in the interest of king William, was obliged to surrender the castle of Edinburgh on the thirteenth of June, upon con-

* For so he was of Scotland, tho' only the second of that name of England.

† Burnet. Crawford. Rapin.

‡ Ken. Crawford.

dition that he and the garrison should have their lives, liberties, and fortunes secured. The lord Dundee, after having been a short time in arms, was defeated by lieutenant-general Mackay, who commanded their majesties forces in Scotland, in an engagement at Killicranky, some few miles above Dunkeld, and lost his life by a random shot. His death put an end to the whole enterprize; and the whole island of Great Britain was, before the end of this summer, reduced to the obedience of its new sovereign, and submitted to his government. Dismissing therefore the affairs of Scotland, let us next take a short view of what passed in Ireland, which will naturally induce a relation of the proceedings of the unfortunate James, after his abdication.

Ireland was far from following the example of Scotland; and it was more than two years before that kingdom was entirely reduced to obedience. The earl of Tyrconnel, inviolably attached, both by gratitude and a parity of religious sentiments, to the prince to whom he was indebted for his dignity and fortune, exerted himself in the most indefatigable manner for his service. From the first news of James's flight from England, he had secured the most important places in the kingdom, of which he had the government; and joining his natural hatred of the protestants to what he thought motives of policy and prudence, he had treated them in so rigorous a manner, that they were forced to retire to their brethren in the north, who seizing on Kilmore, Coleraine, Inniskilling, and Londonderry, declared for William and Mary. Tyrconnel, finding the ill effects of his cruelty, thought proper to temporize with king William; and several letters were, by his knowledge and procurement, sent over to the English court, giving assurances that the earl was inclinable to treat and submit.

In the mean time, however, he ceased not to solicit James by letter, in the most earnest manner, to transport himself over to Ireland with a powerful body of troops, assuring him that such a step would effectually secure his interests in that kingdom, whereas a neglect or delay in following this advice must utterly ruin his affairs. James, on receiving these notices from his lieutenant, imparted them to his good friend Lewis, and pressed him for his assistance. Neither Lewis nor his ministers had any great opinion of the success of this expedition; but as his honour was concerned in supporting his unfortunate guest, it was resolved to furnish him with five thousand forces, under the command of M. de Lausun, who were embarked in the fleet then lying at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, six frigates, three fire-ships, and a proper number of transports. Lewis likewise supplied him with arms for forty thousand men more upon his arrival in Ireland, presented him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and every thing necessary for the camp and household. At parting, he embraced him with great affection, making use of this remarkable expression: "Farewel, brother; the best thing I can wish you is, that I may never see you again."

Every necessary preparation being completed, James set sail from Brest on the fourteenth of March, 1689, attended by the count d'Avaux, in quality of ambassador, and several other persons of distinction, as well English as French. On the

twenty-second of the same month he arrived at Kinsale in Ireland, from whence he repaired in a few days to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of thirty thousand foot and eight thousand horse for his service. James now acted with as little prudence and precaution as if he had no opposition to encounter, or as if, because he had landed in Ireland, he was absolute master of all the rest of his dominions. So far was he from keeping well with, or endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the protestants, which in common reason and policy he ought to have done, that he gave continual proofs of his aversion to their sect, and frequently punished them with death on the most trifling occasions. One of the magistrates of Cork was executed by his orders, for having declared for the prince of Orange. In fine, instead of seeking to win over his adversaries by mildness and popularity, he only exasperated them more deeply by his cruelty and arrogance; and thus by his own conduct effectually ruined his affairs, at the very time he flattered himself with their being in the most prosperous situation.

From Cork James marched to Dublin; into which city he made a triumphal entry, being met at the cattle-gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, before which he kneeled down in public. Having assembled a council, he dismissed the earl of Granard, the lord chief-justice Keating, and other protestants, who had advised Tyrconnel to acknowledge the new government, and in their room placed Cartwright bishop of Chester, lieutenant-colonel Dorrington, and count d'Avaux the French ambassador, and by degrees all the principal papists who had attended him in the expedition. He published indeed some proclamations, promising protection to all his protestant subjects who should preserve their loyalty: but these had so little faith in his promises, that they universally resolved to stand on their defence. Another proclamation was issued by James for the meeting of the parliament on the seventh day of May at Dublin: at the same time, he created Tyrconnel a duke, and bestowed the royal regiment on Dorrington, in the room of the duke of Ormond.

The disposition which the protestant natives of Ireland shewed to oppose the progress of James, who, after some resistance, made himself master of Coleraine and Kilmore, made him resolve to use those in his power with redoubled severity; in which he was warmly seconded by the duke of Tyrconnel, who seemed to have a more than savage thirst after the blood of those poor wretches; numbers of whom, terrified with this usage, and alarmed by the report of a general massacre, intended to be perpetrated on all of their faith on a certain day said to be already fixed, shut themselves up in Londonderry, the capital of the county of the same name, in the north of Ireland, and sent over to the government of England, imploring immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition, but did not receive any considerable reinforcements till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyle, under the command of the colonels Cunningham and Richards. By this time James was come almost in sight of the town, with an army of about twenty thousand men, resolved to force the rebels, as he called them, out of their strong hold; but he met with an opposition he



he little dreamt of, and which was chiefly owing to the resolution and bravery of one man, a protestant clergyman of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of himself and brethren. This man gave Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, notice of the approach of James; upon which Lundy summoned a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards, the two commanders lately arrived from England, assisted; and they, either from disaffection to the service they were sent upon, or ignorance of the condition of the town, or the disposition of the inhabitants, came to a resolution that the place was not tenable; that it would be imprudent to land the regiments; and that the principal officers should retire from the town, the inhabitants of which would receive the more favourable conditions on account of their departure. They next dispatched a letter to James, with proposals of a negotiation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton, who commanded in that prince's service, undertook that the army should not, during the time of the treaty, advance within four miles of the city. Mr. Walker, the clergyman already mentioned, had in vain used all his rhetoric to persuade the governor to take the field, and come to a general engagement. He was deaf to all his arguments, and listened only to his own pusillanimous apprehensions, which were greatly heightened when he found that James, disregarding the promise that his general had made, was advancing at the head of his troops to the wall of the town. The inhabitants and soldiery in the place were so exasperated at the cowardice of their governor and the two colonels, that they flew to arms, and would have made their lives pay the forfeit of their perfidy, had not the former kept himself concealed in his chamber, and the other two found means to make their escape on board their ships. In the mean time, however, major Baker, the deputy-governor, fired so warmly from the garrison upon James and his troops, that the latter were obliged to retreat to St. John's town in some disorder. Walker and Baker made use of this respite to press Lundy to exert himself as became a loyal subject and a good foldier, and to undertake the defence of the place: but such was the governor's cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the government, and soon after made his escape in disguise. He was afterwards seized in Scotland, from whence he was brought to London to answer for his conduct, together with Cunningham and Richards, and were all three dismissed from the service: too slight a punishment for their treachery!

After their departure, or rather desertion, from the town, the inhabitants with one consent bestowed the government of the place on Mr. Walker and major Baker, who immediately prepared for a vigorous defence, determined to bury themselves beneath the ruins of the place rather than surrender it to the enemy, in case the assistance they hoped from England should fail them. They formed the townsmen, amounting in all to seven thousand men, into different regiments: they taught them the proper management of arms, the firing of cannon, and all the other manœuvres requisite for their own defence, or the annoyance of the enemy.

On the twentieth of April the trenches were opened by king James's army, whose batteries began

to play upon the town, which in itself was but poorly fortified, having not above twenty pieces of cannon, and those wretchedly mounted. Nevertheless the besieged, animated by the example and spirited harangues of Mr. Walker in particular, held out with surprising resolution, against so much superior a force employed to reduce them. King James having returned to Dublin, to be present at the opening of the parliament he had convened, left the command of the army to the marquis de Rosene, the French general, a man of a more than savage haughtiness and cruelty of disposition. Incensed at the opposition he had met with from an handful of half-starved peasants, as he styled them in contempt, he vented his rage in the most unmanly manner; and sent to acquaint the besieged, that unless they instantly submitted themselves to their lawful sovereign, he would not leave one stone upon another in the town, nor even an infant alive to carry the news of their destruction. True courage always bears with contempt the empty blusterings of arrogance and vanity: the governors and the garrison answered his threats only by redoubling their noble resistance, though their provisions were now all expended, and they were reduced to the dreadful necessity of supporting life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, salted hides, and every other kind of most loathsome food; yet they kept up their courage, and a proclamation was published, that no person, under pain of death, should talk of surrendering.

The French general, finding that his menaces had no effect on them, bethought himself of a scheme to enforce their compliance, that seemed rather the conception of an infernal fiend than of one invested with the character of a man. He sent detachments of his soldiers throughout the adjacent country, with orders to seize on all the protestants they could find, without distinction of age or sex, to strip them naked, and drive them in that condition under the walls of Londonderry. This order was executed with a brutality equal to that of the giver of it: upwards of four thousand of these miserable objects were thus exposed naked to the view of the besieged, who from their ramparts beheld, with an horror not to be described, the forlorn situation of their miserable fellow-protestants, many of whom were expiring every moment with fatigue, cold, hunger, and the ill usage they had sustained from their bloody persecutors. This sight however had a very different effect upon the garrison to what Rosene had hoped: they felt deep compassion for the distresses of their brethren; but this compassion was mingled with such an indignation against the authors of this inhumanity, such an apprehension of what would be their own fate, if they should fall within his power, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to the barbarian. Thinking themselves no longer bound to observe the nicer rules of war, which had been so flagitiously violated by the foe, they erected a gibbet on their walls, and sent to acquaint the French general, that unless he immediately set at liberty the protestants whom he had driven under their walls, they would hang all the prisoners they had taken in their sallies during the siege. Rosene, convinced by the whole of their behaviour that they would not fail to make good their threats, ordered the protestants to be released, after they had been de-

tained three days without tasting food. Numbers of them died of famine and fatigue in their return to their habitations; and those who survived had the additional misfortune to find their houses and effects mostly plundered and destroyed by the roving parties about the country, so that the greater part of those unfortunate people fell victims to the bloody malice of the popish foe. It is asserted that James was applied to by the bishop of Meath to countermand this order given by Rosene, but without effect. Such, and others that we shall hereafter see, were the expedients that infatuated prince made use of to regain the affection of his old subjects.

The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven thousand men to five thousand seven hundred; and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of preying upon each other. At length, however, they received the wished-for succour: major-general Kirk, the same who made himself so infamous under the late reign, and who had abandoned his former master to be employed in the service of king William, arrived in the Lough with a reinforcement of nine thousand men; and being ordered to relieve the garrison at all events, he sent three ships up the river laden with provisions, under protection of the Dartmouth frigate. The enemy, to prevent any ships from sailing up to the town, had erected strong batteries on both sides the stream, and had thrown a strong boom across its channel: one of the ships, however, taking advantage of a strong gale of wind in her favour, advanced with full sail, broke the enemy's boom; and with them the other vessels anchored in safety off the town, after having passed a most severe fire from the enemy's batteries.

Inexpressible was the joy of the besieged on this occasion, and as great the discouragement of James's army, who now despairing of their succeeding in their enterprize, abandoned the siege that very night (the thirty-first of July) and retired with the utmost precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men in this fruitless attempt. Kirk next took possession of the town, when Walker was persuaded by the inhabitants to pass over to England with an address of thanks to their majesties for their generous succour. He was received by the king and queen with that honour and respect which was so justly due to his distinguished valour*.

Inniskilling, another town in the north of Ireland, signalized itself no less than Londonderry in the protestant cause: for, upon notice that this latter had denied entrance to the Irish troops in James's service, they resolved not to admit any garrison of his party; and having raised a regiment of twelve companies, they shut their gates, and gave the command of their town to Gustavus Hamilton, a protestant officer of approved courage and conduct; after which they proclaimed king William and queen Mary: and the lord Gilmoy, who had declared for James, and came with a strong force to summon them to surrender, was, by the noble resistance they made, obliged to quit the siege of the place, which he had formed: nor was this all: for the day before Londonderry was relieved, the brave Inniskilliners advanced with their handful of

forces against six thousand Irish, whom they defeated at a place called Newton-Butler, killing and drowning near three thousand, with the loss of only about twenty killed, and fifty wounded, on their side†.

The Irish parliament having met at Dublin on the day appointed by king James's proclamation, that monarch opened it by a speech from the throne, in which he cordially thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; lavished the highest encomiums on the humanity and generosity of his good brother and ally the king of France, manifested towards himself, his queen, and his son, in affording them an asylum, after being expelled their lawful dominions, and having now enabled him to visit that part of them in person; declared his fixed resolve to establish liberty of conscience, as the only certain method of securing the welfare and happiness of his people, of all denominations, whose common parent, he said, he considered himself to be; and concluded with assuring both houses of his hearty concurrence with them, in enacting such laws as might tend to the tranquillity and good settlement of the kingdom.

It may easily be conjectured what a kind of parliament this was, and what the nature of its transactions was likely to be. Every method had been used to fill the house of lords with popish peers, so that there were only four or five protestants of the temporal, and four of the spiritual lords among them: and the house of commons was so modelled, that there was hardly a member who deserved the name of protestant. The reader therefore will not be surprized to find the parliament openly professing itself a slave to the king's will, since that man was sure to be looked on as factious, or rebelliously inclined, who should dare to move any thing, after any favourite in the house had affirmed that it was contrary to the king's pleasure. Accordingly, James had no sooner left the house, than the commons came to a resolution to present an address of thanks to his majesty, and that the count d'Avaux should be desired to offer their grateful acknowledgements to the most Christian king, for the friendly assistance he had given to their sovereign. A bill was next introduced to recognize James's title, and to express their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's usurpation, as well as of the disloyalty and treasonable conduct of the English.

Next day, May 10, James published a declaration, addressed to all his loving subjects in his kingdom of England. He there complained of the many false and invidious reports which had been raised against his person and government; insisted on his own impartiality in preferring his protestant subjects to places of trust and profit; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and indulging them with liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step without the consent and concurrence of parliament; offering a free and full pardon to all persons who should abandon his enemies, and join him in twenty-four days after his landing in Ireland; and charging all the blood that might be spilt, upon those who should continue to persevere in rebellion.

But scarce was the ink dry on this paper, when James gave the world a convincing proof of the

* Boyer. Kennet. Walker.

† Story's History of the Wars in Ireland.

degree of dependence to be placed on his promises and assurances, however solemnly urged; for two days only after the publishing of this declaration, a bill was brought into the house of commons by Nugent, lord chief-justice of the King's-bench in Ireland, for repealing the act of settlement, which went through three readings, without the least opposition from the house. By this bill two thirds of the protestants of the kingdom, who held their estates by virtue of the aforesaid act *, were dispossessed of them, and turned out to want and misery, while papists were put into the enjoyment of their fortunes. In the upper house this bill met with some opposition, especially from the bishop of Meath, who, in a most pathetic and eloquent speech, exposed the absurdity and injustice of it; and endeavoured to shew, that it was neither to the advantage of the king nor the public; that it tended not only to ruin the kingdom, and destroy the public faith, but was both impolitic and inconvenient in point of time. Such was the spirit of this parliament, however, and so determined did it appear to ruin the protestants in the most effectual manner, that the bill passed into a law, which received the royal assent.

Yet, as if all these measures were not sufficient to convince James's protestant subjects of the lenity and justice they were to expect from him, if he should be restored by their joint endeavours to the sovereign sway, an act of attainder was passed this session against all persons of that persuasion, of what sex or degree soever, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against those who entered into any part of the three kingdoms which did not own the authority of king James; or who held correspondence with the rebels, as king William's friends were all termed; or who were anywise aiding or assisting to them, from the first day of August in the preceding year. No less than three thousand protestants were attainted by name in this act; among whom were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen; all of whom were declared punishable by death and forfeiture: a bloody proscription, which has not its parallel in the records of the most tyrannic governments; especially if we consider that the proscribed were all excluded from the hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal, unless enrolled by the king's order before the first day of December next following. By another act, the parliament of Ireland was declared independent of that of England.

It would be endless to enumerate the many other instances of James's foolish, tyrannical, and impolitic conduct, during his abode in Ireland. We shall therefore turn our eyes from this unpleasing scene, and attend to the measures taken by William and the English government to oppose the designs of his competitor, to reduce his Irish dominions to due subjection, and relieve his suffering protestant subjects there.

King William being informed of the landing of James, as also that the fleet which brought him over being returned to France was to be replaced by another strong squadron, commanded by admiral Chateau Renaud, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, &c. detached admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. The English admiral having been driven about for some time by hard and contrary gales of wind, at length got upon the Irish coast; and on the first of May discovered the French fleet, consisting of no less than twenty eight ships of the line, most of them from sixty to seventy guns, and five fire ships, lying in Bantry-bay, who immediately, upon descrying him, weighed anchor, and sailed out of the harbour to give him battle, flushed with their superior force and the advantage of the wind over our fleet. Admiral Herbert having tried for some time, without success, to get the weather-gage † of the French, and finding it impossible, did not chuse to run the hazard of fighting under so great a disadvantage: he therefore stood off to sea, and for some time maintained a running fight, when, evening beginning to approach, Chateau Renaud tacked about, and returned to the Bay. The French, according to their usual custom, represented this paltry skirmish as a signal victory, though with all their superiority and strength they neither took nor sunk a single vessel. It is so seldom indeed that they have had the least shadow of advantage over us at sea, that we may forgive them this piece of vanity. King William was so satisfied with Herbert's conduct on this occasion, that when the latter returned to Portsmouth, his majesty, in an excursion he made thither, to hasten the naval preparations then carrying on in that port, dined on board the admiral's ship the Elizabeth, and declared his intention to create him an earl in consideration of his services: at the same time he conferred the honour of knighthood on captain Cloudesly Shovel, and another sea-officer who had served in this expedition, and bestowed a gratuity of ten shillings per man on every private sailor.

By some unaccountable delay, arising either from the disputes among the ministers, or the neglect of those who had the management of military affairs, James had been six months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length, eighteen regiments of foot, and five of dragoons, being ready for that service, with a suitable train of artillery, the king was pleased to appoint marechal (now duke of) Schomberg to the chief command, who on the thirteenth of August landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, with about ten thousand foot and dragoons, and took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, where they resolved to make a stand; but the duke advancing with intrepidity, made himself master of Carrickfergus in four days. This was followed

* During the Irish rebellion in 1641, many estates had been granted to protestants, upon condition of their giving assistance towards the suppression of that insurrection; and it was chiefly owing to the vigorous efforts of those adventurers, that the rebellion was at last suppressed. At the same time as all the rebels were deprived of their lands, some of them were sold by the crown to protestants at very reasonable, and some-

times at very high, rates. Soon after a bill was passed in the English parliament, entitled, The Act of Settlement, securing the protestants in the possession of the estates which they had thus acquired, and their right to which was universally held to be good and valid.

† A sea term. A ship is said to have the weather-gage of another, when she is to the windward of her.

by other successes: Newry, Dundalk, and other places, yielded to his summons; and he would have made a much greater progress had he not met with disappointments from delays in transporting part of his forces and train of artillery that he had left behind him in England, which were owing to negligence, or something worse, in the persons who had the management of affairs at home, or the slowness in raising supplies. King James having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, who lay near Drogheda, and on the twenty-third of September approached within two miles of his intrenchments; but the duke, finding his army every day diminishing through sickness, which had swept off many brave officers, as well as a great number of soldiers, while the enemy, who outnumbered him almost two to one, were in perfect health, and their troops much better disciplined than his, prudently declined an engagement; and James on his side, not caring to attack the duke in his intrenchments, drew off his army. Schomberg was greatly censured by some persons for this inactivity of his, as they termed it; but, all circumstances considered, he seems to have acted according to the dictates of sound policy: the loss of a battle at that juncture might have been followed with the loss of all Ireland. Winter approaching, both armies went into quarters.

Our sea affairs were attended with as little success as those by land, owing to the same causes. Admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington, having again sailed for Ireland, at the head of the combined fleets of England and Holland, made an attempt to surprize the city of Cork; but upon a false intelligence, that James with his whole army was in the neighbourhood, he did not dare to land his men; and, after some short stay upon the coast, returned to England, and put into Torbay, his men being for the most part disabled by sickness. There was the greatest reason to ascribe this misfortune to the villainy of those who had the victualing of the navy, for the Dutch seamen were in perfect health during the whole cruise. The French, though they no longer dared to send out a fleet, did infinite damage to our trade by means of their privateers, which swarmed in the Channel: the Dartmouth ship of war had the misfortune to fall into their hands. This appearance of supineness in our government gave great disgust to the nation, and occasioned some strict enquiries, as will be seen in the account of parliamentary affairs, to which we shall now proceed.

To shew the sense of the nation concerning some of the sanguinary and arbitrary proceedings in the late reigns, the attainders of several persons who had suffered capital punishments, were, by acts of parliament, at several times, annulled and made void; as those of William lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, esq; the lady Lisle, and alderman Cornish. The judgment against Mr. Samuel Johnson, chaplain to lord Russell, was reversed; and tho' there were very long and great debates about Titus Oates, whose evidence in general, concerning the popish plot, was held to be satisfactory only in

some particulars relating to time and place; yet the parliament addressed the king to take off the remaining part of his punishment, namely, his imprisonment for life, and annual pillorying, which his majesty readily complied with, and moreover allowed him an annual pension. The judgment upon the Quo Warranto against the city of London was also reversed; and the city restored to its privileges; and an act of oblivion at length passed, out of which were excepted some few of the many late instruments of popery and arbitrary power. The earl of Sunderland was excepted only for form's sake, he having, by shifting sides, in time obtained king William's favour*.

As the illegal proceedings of the two last reigns and their authors were enquired into, so the miscarriages of the present were also discussed. The lords having addressed the king to put the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover Castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, into a proper posture of defence, and to disarm the papists, began to make enquiry into the cause of the miscarriages in Ireland; in the course of which enquiry great blame was imputed to the marquis of Caermarthen (late earl of Danby) and the marquis of Halifax†: it was even moved to address his majesty against the latter of those ministers, but a negative was put to the motion by a small majority. In fine, an alarming spirit of rancour and discord began to shew itself between the two parties of Whigs and Tories, which might have been attended with disagreeable consequences, had not some of the warmest on each side suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute.

A bill being introduced into the house of lords for enjoining the wearing the woollen manufacture of this kingdom at certain times of the year, the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster, to oppose the passing the said bill. The lords refused to read their petition against it, on account of the manner in which it was delivered; and proper measures being at the same time taken to guard against the consequences of their insolence, the weavers returned home. The bill, however, was rejected by the lords by a very great majority. A bill was brought in for attainting several persons in rebellion against their majesties; but it was not finished this session. One of the last acts of this session was that for raising the sum of 600,000*l.* for the Dutch. The king, thinking it highly reasonable that the States should be repaid as soon as possible what they had laid out to further his expedition, and assist him in preserving the religion and liberties of England, took all occasions to put the commons in mind of it: an account of the charges were accordingly taken, and the above sum voted for that purpose; but it was not till the close of this session that a fund was settled for raising the money. This and some other acts, of which the reader will find an account in the notes, having received the royal assent on the 21st of August, the two houses were adjourned to the 20th of September, and afterwards to the 19th of October.

* See Proceedings House of Lords, vol. I. in various places.

† The house resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring, that the succours for Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports pre-

pared by the government were not sufficient to convey the forces into that kingdom; and that several ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy for want of a proper convoy. Proceedings House of Commons, August 3.



An
ACCURATE MAP
of the
NETHERLANDS
Drawn from the
Sieur Robert,
with Improvements

2 Longitude B. from London.

G. Kellies sculp.

King William having acceded to the grand alliance, did in August this year conclude a new league with the states-general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was agreed, that in case the king of Great-Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with 6000 infantry and twenty ships of war; and if the territories of the state should be invaded, England should supply them with 10,000 infantry and twenty ships of war. About the same time the king entered into an alliance with Christian V. king of Denmark, by virtue of which the English army in Ireland under D. Schomberg were this winter reinforced by 7000 Danish auxiliaries, viz. 6000 foot and 1000 horse. Notwithstanding these confederacies against him, Lewis XIV. abated nought in the prosecution of his ambitious designs: he had suddenly fallen upon Germany, and made himself almost entire master of the three ecclesiastical electorates: he had reduced Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiserwaert, Philipsburgh, and Landau; destroyed Mannheim by fire and sword, and made the Palatinate a desert. His generals had burnt the cities of Worms and Spire, and demolished Frankendahl; but his successes were somewhat checked by this year's campaign in Flanders. The marshal d'Humieres commanded an army of French there amounting to 80,000 men, whilst the prince of Waldeck, with a body of 60,000 men, had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege. The lord Churchill, lately created earl of Marlborough, had been sent over with 10,000 British auxiliaries to join the Dutch army, which he effected. The two armies passed the summer without any remarkable action till the middle of August, when the city of Liege renounced the neutrality it had assumed, declared for the allies, and put into their hands a large convoy of military stores and money belonging to the enemy. Soon after marshal d'Humieres, thinking to surprize a party of Dutch horse, who were gone out to forage, made a motion with his whole army for that purpose. Prince Waldeck, having notice of this, made the proper dispositions for supporting his men; each side advancing, a sharp engagement ensued, in which the French, after an obstinate resistance, were put to the rout with the loss of 2000 men and several pieces of artillery. Mean while a little army of observation, commanded by the prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines on the side of Cambray, and raised contributions in the territories of France. This was all that passed worthy notice in Flanders during this campaign.

The arms of the allies were much more successful in Germany. The French had covered their conquests on this side with a numerous army under marshal duke de Duras, assisted by some of the ablest generals and officers in the service of France; but the marshal could with difficulty stand his ground; the different princes of the empire, united by one common interest, and burning with indignation at the cruelties the French had committed in their territories, were determined to leave nothing undone to expel the inhuman invader, and revenge the sufferings of their people on his head. The duke of Bavaria brought an army of 50,000 men into the field; the elector of Saxony appeared at the head of another of 40,000; and a third of 51,000 was formed under the elector of Brandenburg. The duke of Lorrain, at the head of the imperial troops, laid siege to Mentz, which was defended by the marshal d'Uxelles, who, after having held out for two months, surrendered the place on capitulation. The French, by their own confession, had above 900 men slain, and 1900 wounded. The marshal d'Uxelles, at his return to France, was vilified by the populace; but he treated them with the contempt that every wise man must do a populace, who are always bad judges of merit, and whose praise nevertheless is so greedily sought after. His rival, the duke of Lorrain, was so sensible of the bravery and merit of the marquis, that he left him master of the articles of the capitulation. By the taking of Mentz, Franconia, which before lay exposed, was now covered. The elector of Brandenburg laid siege to Keiserwaert, which, after a vigorous attack, and as obstinate a defence, surrendered about the middle of June. He next attacked Bonne, which baron d'Asfeldt commanded. The siege was tedious, and the garrison did not surrender till after fifty-five days blockade, and twenty-six days close siege. The taking of Bonne laid the Rhine open as far as Mentz; the elector of Brandenburg was indebted for his success chiefly to the duke of Lorrain, who, after the surrender of Mentz, marched with his army to the elector's assistance. With this siege ended the campaign on the Rhine. The French had some little success in Catalonia under the duke of Noailles, who had reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was so hard pushed by the Spaniards, that he was obliged to withdraw the garrison, dismantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation*. To return to the affairs of England during the recess of the parliament—

The most remarkable acts passed this session, besides those already mentioned, were these:

An act to vest in the two universities the presentations belonging to the papists. The university of Oxford is to present all popish livings in the southern counties; and the university of Cambridge, to those of the northern: and if any trustee, mortgagee, or grantee of such advowson present without notice to the respective university, he forfeits five hundred pounds to the university. No popish benefice is to be granted to any person having another; and such benefice is to be void by absence of sixty days in one year.

Acts for erecting courts of conscience in Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle, which have been much to the benefit and ease of the inhabitants.

An act for abolishing the court of the Marches of Wales, which had been continued by Henry VIII. the president and council whereof had power to determine by their discretion all matters belonging to the court. This had proved an intolerable burden to Wales and the borders at all times, and a means to introduce an arbitrary power, especially in the late reigns,

when a new convert family were at the head of it: nor could the earl of Macclesfield, the last president, who kept his court at Ludlow, reduce it to such order as to cease to be a grievance, and therefore it was dissolved.

An act for the relief of the protestant Irish clergy; by which act, those that had been forced from their country, and had benefices there, were enabled to hold any benefice in England, without forfeiting their promotions in Ireland; but were obliged to resign their ecclesiastical preferments in England, when restored to those they had been forced to relinquish.

An act to repeal the statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver. By this act, the melting and refining of metals, improving them and their ores, and extracting gold and silver from thence (which had been forbidden) are allowed, on condition that all the gold and silver thus extracted, be brought to the Mint in the Tower, to be converted into money: at which place the extractors are to receive the full value of their gold or silver, according to the fineness thereof.

* Vol. I. Age of Lewis XIV.—Contin. of Rapin.

The day appointed for the two houses to reassemble drawing near, and the king proposing to call a convocation, in order to make another effort to establish his favourite plan of comprehension, he thought fit to fill up the vacant sees of Worcester, Chichester, and Bristol, which were bestowed the first on Dr. Stillingfleet, the second on Dr. Patrick, and the third on Dr. Ironside; sir Jonathan Trelawney having been translated from thence to Exeter. In the next place, his majesty, in order that the subject of a general comprehension of his Protestant subjects might be duly digested, granted a commission under the great seal to ten bishops and the same number of dignitaries of the church, authorizing them "to meet, from time to time, to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and the canons, and such reformatations of the ecclesiastical courts as might conduce to the good order, edification, and unity of the church, and tend to compromise all differences among the Protestant subjects of this kingdom *." It soon appeared, however, that there were very little hopes of success from this project. Many of the commissioners were so far from approving of a comprehension, that they would hardly own the reformed churches abroad to be true churches, much less the Dissenters; and at the very first meeting of the committee, the bishop of Rochester (Sprat) started a dispute concerning the authority and legality of the court; alledging the obligations the clergy lay under by an act of parliament of king Henry VIII. not to enter into debates about making any alterations in church-affairs, without the king's special and immediate privacy, and directions first given for such alterations; but the bishop's argument being over-ruled, he retired in disgust from the committee, and was followed by some others of the more rigid ones; namely, Mew, bishop of Winchester, and the doctors Jane, Aldrich, Beaumont, Montagu, Goodman, Beveridge, and Alston. The commissioners, notwithstanding this secession, proceeded with great moderation in the business for which they had assembled.

They began with reviewing the liturgy; and first they examined the calendar, in which, in the room of apocryphal lessons, they ordered certain chapters of canonical scripture to be read that were to the people's advantage. Athanasius's Creed being disliked by many, because of the damnatory clause, it was left to the minister's choice to use it or change it for the Apostles Creed; new collects were drawn up more agreeable to the epistles and gospels for the whole course of the year; and these were composed with that elegance and propriety of expression, and such a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect the hearts of the hearers, and elevate their minds towards God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick, who was reckoned to have great skill in liturgical compositions; bishop Burnet added to them yet further force and spirit; Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand in giving them some free and masterly strokes of his easy and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the oriental tongues, made a new version of the Psalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tennison made a collection of the

words and expressions throughout the liturgy, which had been objected to, and proposed others in their room, that were clear and plain, and less liable to objection. Other things also were proposed, that were left to be determined by the convocation, as, 1. That the cross in baptism might be either used or omitted at the choice of the parents: 2. That a Non-conformist minister going over to the church, should not be ordained according to the common form, but conditionally, much in the same manner as the baptizing of infants is ordered in the church, if there be not evidence of their being baptized before, with the addition of the episcopal benediction, as was customary in the antient church, when clerks were received who had been ordained by heretics †.

In the mean time the enemies of the government did not fail to embrace the favourable opportunity of the dispute between the commissioners and the late secession of a part of their members, to inflame the minds of the people, who already began to entertain suspicions of William's religious principles: they represented him as an enemy to the church of England, and attached to the doctrine of Calvin: they insinuated that this commission, to which they affixed the odious and alarming epithet of "a new ecclesiastical high court," was intended to establish presbytery at the expence of episcopacy, which would, in consequence of the intended alterations in the church-government, become a mere cypher, and soon be abolished.

The populace gave into the deception, the church was generally declared to be in danger, and, what is very extraordinary, the two universities greedily swallowed the ridiculous and malicious reports of the incendiaries, and solemnly declared against all alterations, as well as against those who presumed to promote them. Much the same spirit manifested itself in the convocation on its meeting; the rigid churchmen opposed the friends of the comprehension in the choice of a prolocutor for the lower house; and rejecting Dr. Tillotson, who had been proposed by the king, elected Dr. Jane, who was esteemed the most violent churchman in the whole assembly. The bishop of London, who sat as president in the upper house, in vain recommended candour, unanimity, and concord, and such a reasonable concession as might open the door of salvation to such numbers of straying Christians. His advice had very little effect; the lower house, far from shewing any inclination to make even the necessary concessions, would not consent to the smallest alteration in the liturgy or canons; asserting, that they could not be amended. In fine, the president, finding there was nothing to be expected from the compliance of the house, which on all occasions expressed a settled dislike to any union with the Dissenters, prorogued the session after the convocation had sat about six weeks, and the king suffered it to be adjourned for ten years by repeated prorogations.

The parliament meeting on the nineteenth of October, the king, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war; desired that they would be speedy in their determinations on that subject, as these would greatly influence the deliberations of

* Burnet. Ken.

† The above account of the proceedings of the commission-

ers is taken from Dr. Nichol's Apparatus ad Defens. Eccles. Anglicæ, p. 95.

the princes and states concerned in the alliance against France, as a general meeting of them, he said, was appointed to be held next month at the Hague. The houses were then prorogued for four days, when they assembled; and the commons taking the king's speech into consideration, unanimously resolved to assist his majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France: for which purpose they voted a supply of two millions, to be raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate *.

Several motions relating to grievances having been made in both houses, the marquis of Halifax, who thought himself particularly aimed at, resolved to retire from court, and quit the administration. He therefore resigned the privy-seal †, and reconciled himself to the Tories, of whose party he thenceforth became the chief patron and protector: while the Whigs, between whom and the king there daily grew greater coldness, not to say disgust, on his majesty's side in particular, employed all their efforts to oppose the favour shewn to their adversaries, and thwart their preferment in the state. The miscarriages in the Irish affairs continuing still to be the subject of great complaint, the commons took the same into their consideration, and presented an address, humbly intreating his majesty that he would be pleased to appoint commissioners to go over and enquire into the conduct of the army in that kingdom ‡. In the course of their enquiries, it appearing that the miscarriages in question were wholly owing to the treachery and avarice of John Shales, purveyor-general of the army, an address was presented to the king, intreating his majesty to order Shales into custody, and to empower duke Schomberg to fill his place with a more able and trusty purveyor. The king informed them he had already sent orders to the general for that purpose; and at the same time sent a message to the house, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners, not exceeding seven, to be sent over to Ireland to take care of the provisions, and such other preparations as should be found necessary for that service. About the same time, the commons took into consideration the state of the nation, and several members made great complaints of the late ill conduct of affairs. On this occasion Mr. Hambden made a violent attack upon the ministry, especially the earl of Nottingham, but was as violently opposed by his own father. In the month of December a question was put in the house of commons, "Whether a person having a place in court, or any dependence on the king, should be a member of that house?" This, as may be supposed, occasioned a

very warm and obstinate debate; but the placemen carried the day, it being alleged that the exclusion aimed at in the question would debar the ablest men in the nation of an opportunity to serve at the same time their king and their country.

The Whigs, pursuant to their scheme of thwarting the king, made such a party in the parliament this session, that in spite of his majesty's earnest desire to have a revenue settled upon him for life, alleging he could not look upon himself as a king till it was done; the civil list was nevertheless granted but for one year. By this opposition the Whigs lost themselves entirely in the king's favour, who every day shewed a stronger inclination to join himself with the Tories, who made him the most pompous promises of supplies, and an attention to all his inclinations, if he would only dissolve the parliament and call a new one. The Whigs soon discovered that their adversaries were tampering with the king; and to frustrate their designs, they introduced a bill into the lower house for restoring corporations to their antient rights and privileges; in which they inserted a clause that they hoped would make themselves masters of all future elections, by denouncing great penalties against those who had been any way concerned in delivering up the charters. This clause, the substance of which the reader will find in the note ||, was opposed by the Tories with their utmost force, and was at length rejected; but the Whigs prevailed so far, that the bill passed the commons in its original form by a great majority: the house of lords was so equally divided on this occasion, that the bill passed there by one voice only. Both parties now made the warmest court to the king to bring him over to their several interests. King William was under the greatest perplexity how to determine: the behaviour of the Whigs had made him look upon them as a set of people infected with republican principles, continually jealous of the kingly power. He thought, that by giving his assent to the bill, he should in a manner make himself entirely dependent on them, and live only the pageant of a sovereign. On the other hand, to repose too unlimited a confidence in the Tories, appeared to him replete with the most alarming consequences, as he knew their attachment to the principles of the divine indefeasible right of kings. If we may believe Burnet, and some other historians, he was in this dilemma on the point of taking a desperate resolution, no less than that of leaving the government in the hands of the queen, to whom he thought the Tories would be true, and withdrawing himself into Holland. He was however persuaded from the execution of this rash purpose by the marquis of Caermarthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen most in his confidence; and

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 355. Nov. 2. The duties upon these articles were, upon every hundred weight of coffee 5l. 12s. upon ditto of cocoa-nuts 8l. 8s. upon every pound of tea 5s. An additional poll-tax was also passed, by which 20s. per head was laid upon every shopkeeper, tradesman, and artificer, worth 300l. personal estate; a tax of 100,000l. was moved (it is said by sir Edward Seymour) to be laid on the Jews, but the motion came to nothing. Rapin's Contin.

† The privy-seal was put into commission, and given to William Chacy, sir John Knatchbull, and sir William Pulteney.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 358. November 11.

|| This clause was as follows; "That every mayor, recorder, sheriff, common-councilman, town-clerk, magistrate,

or officer, who did take upon him to consent to or join in the surrender of any charter or instrument, importing such surrender, did solicit, procure, prosecute, or did pay or contribute to the charge of prosecuting any Scire facias, Quo warranto, or information in the nature of a Quo warranto, by this act declared unlawful, shall be, and is declared, adjudged, and disabled to all intents and purposes, to bear or execute any office, employment, or place of trust, as a member of such respective body corporate, or in or for such respective city, town, borough, or cinque-port, wherein he was member at or before the time of his making such surrender, or instrument importing such surrender, or the suing out or prosecuting such Scire facias, Quo warranto, any thing in this act contained, or in any other case, statute, or any ordinance, charter, custom on any thing contrary in anywise notwithstanding."

he resolved to change this fatal design for another of more service to the nation, that of going over in person to Ireland to finish the war there.

As soon as this intention of his majesty came to be known, by the preparations ordered for his voyage, a strong party was formed to oppose it. The friends of the Revolution were against it, from the apprehension that the fatigues of a campaign, and the bad climate of the country, might, exclusive of the chance of war, have a fatal effect on the king's weak and tender constitution, whose death must unavoidably involve the nation in all the horrors of a civil war. The Jacobites, on the other hand, dreaded William's taking the field in person against their old master; and thus both houses resolved to address against the intended expedition. William was apprized of their design; and to prevent the execution of it, came to the parliament-house on the seventeenth of January, 1690, and in a speech formally notified his resolution of going in person to Ireland, telling them, that as he had already ventured his life for the preservation of the laws and liberties of the nation, he was willing again to expose it, to secure them the great enjoyment of these blessings. Having ended his speech, the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-second of April; but on the sixth of February the king dissolved it, and writs were issued for a new one to meet on the twentieth of March.

In this session was passed the declaration of rights and the act of settlement, of which we have already spoken. The affair likewise of the princess of Denmark's revenue was now compleated, which had been left unfinished the last session. While the two houses were sitting, a conspiracy, real or pretended, against the government, and a design to invite over king James, was discovered by bishop Burnet; the particulars of which are not sufficiently interesting, nor were the consequences of importance enough to induce us to detain our readers with a detail thereof: indeed this discovery was in general laughed at, being looked upon as a fiction of the court, and the city of London entertained a very ill opinion of the king upon this occasion.

Towards the close of the year, general Ludlow, who at the Restoration had been excepted out of the act of indemnity, as one of those who sat in judgment upon king Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his service in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded under Cromwell. He was however soon obliged to retire; for sir Edward Seymour, who was in possession of a seat and estate at Maiden-Bradley in Wiltshire, which had belonged to Ludlow, and on its being forfeited came to sir Edward by a grant, represented to the house of commons in very warm terms, "the infamy that would be fixed on the character of the nation, should any of the murderers of that king, whom the church of England had so justly dignified with the title of Martyr, be allowed to live in the kingdom:" whereupon the house addressed the king to issue a proclamation for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly published, but not till it was known for certain the general was safely landed in Holland, from whence he afterwards retired to Vevay in Switzerland, where he ended his days, after an exile of thirty years.

While these things passed in England, a strong party was forming against king William in Scotland. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of their proceedings in their parliament, had been disgusted by the reserved behaviour of the king, and thought themselves and their brethren the presbyterians neglected and ill treated. On their return to their own kingdom, they represented those matters in such a manner as soon to kindle distrust and animosity against the new government. In short, a coalition was formed between the discontented presbyterians and the original Jacobite party. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded the viscount Dundee in command, after having made several unsuccessful efforts in favour of king James's interest, retired into Ireland, and the Highlanders chose sir Hugh Cameron for their leader; who taking advantage of the absence of a great number of the regular troops, which had been sent over to Ireland to reinforce duke Schomberg, renewed their incursions with success for some time; but at length a party of fifteen hundred of them, headed by colonel Buchan, being surprized and routed by sir Thomas Livingstone, the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and conceal themselves amongst their hills and inaccessible fastnesses. Experience having shewn the friends of James the little success to be hoped from any services they could do him in the field, it was resolved to direct all their attention to the proceedings in parliament, where they imagined their interest to be much stronger than it turned out upon trial. The Jacobites hoped, by the assistance of their new allies the presbyterians, to be able to embroil the government in such a manner, that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. They accordingly took the oaths necessary for qualifying them to seats in the parliament without the least hesitation, and hugged themselves in the prospect of certain success; but it soon appeared that the views of these two lately connected parties were totally incompatible. Notwithstanding their concurrence in parliament, the earl of Melvil, high-commissioner from William, procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged: some individuals retracted, from apprehension of ill success to their cause, and mutual jealousies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated separately with king James, made inconsistent demands, reciprocally concealed their negotiations; in a word, they distrusted and hated one another with the most implacable resentment.

The earls of Argyle, Annandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from them. The earl of Annandale came up to Bath, on pretence of ill health; and Argyle and Braidalbin went to Chester, with an intent, as they afterwards declared, to discover the whole matter to the king. Sir James Montgomery, who was at the head of the discontented presbyterians, looked upon their design as ruined by this desertion, and therefore reconciled himself to the earl of Melvil, to whom he hinted something of the plot, and solicited a pass to the king, which was refused. Annandale having received information that Montgomery had disclosed all the particulars of the negotiation, threw himself upon the king's mercy, and discovered all he knew of the conspiracy. Montgomery lurked for some time about London, soliciting a pardon; but finding he

he could not obtain it unless he made a full discovery, he chose to quit his country and die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. By this disunion of the conspirators, and the discovery of the plot, the court interest at length triumphed over all opposition in Scotland; though, to effect this, the high-commissioner was obliged to make several great concessions to the fanatic presbyterians in parliament, particularly in the articles of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown, which he agreed to give up, in lieu of which the parliament indulged the king with the tax of chimney-money; and an act, obliging all persons in office and parliament to take a test oath, declaring William and Mary their lawful sovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of James. There was at that time a prevailing faction in Scotland, called the Cameronian party, from one Cameron, formerly their leader, and who was slain in rebellion: they were a sort of rigid presbyterians, or rather Fifth-monarchy-men, who valued neither king William nor king James, further than as those princes happened to please them. Some designing heads in the council and parliament made use of those men to bring their ends about, whose weakness was otherwise discernible: they took all occasions to inspire the people with a detestation of episcopal government, and the worship of the church of England, which they represented as very little removed from popery, and her clergy ignorant and scandalous livers. These furious fanatics proceeded with ungovernable violence to persecute the church of England ministers, and at length obliged the earl of Melvil, apprehensive that king William's interest in Scotland would otherwise be irreparably damaged, to consent to lodge the government of the church in their hands; the consequence of which was, that all the laws in favour of episcopacy were abolished. About sixty presbyterian ministers, who had been ejected at the Restoration, were still alive, and declared by the parliament the only sound part of the church and presbytery. Having thus trampled the hierarchy again under foot, they exercised the very same tyranny over the church of England clergy, against which they themselves had so loudly exclaimed in the former reign.

While the presbyterian interest thus prevailed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for the new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory, to whom the king was every day giving fresh instances of his partiality in their favour. By the interest and address of the bishop of London, the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earl of Nottingham, the chiefs of that party, several of them were admitted into the commission for the lieutenantcy of the city of London, from which they had been excluded: and farther to gratify them, Charles Mordaunt earl of Monmouth, and Booth earl of Warrington, were dismissed from their seats in the council*.

The new parliament meeting on the twentieth of March, 1690, the commons chose sir John Trevor, a flaming Tory, for their speaker, who was

approved by the king. William, in his speech to both houses, gave them to understand, "That he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland: he desired they would settle the revenue on him, as they had done on his predecessors, or establish it as a fund of credit, upon which he might raise the necessary sums to serve his present occasions: he told them he would send them an act of grace, with some few exceptions, being desirous to have no colour of excuse to any of his subjects for raising disturbances during his absence: he advised them to avoid dissensions, recommended to their consideration a union with Scotland, and said he should leave the administration in the hands of the queen during his absence, and desired they would prepare an act for that purpose, if it was thought necessary; concluding with an exhortation to them to use dispatch in the business for which they were assembled, as the season of the year, and his intended journey to Ireland, would admit of but a short session; adding at the same time, that he hoped it would not be long before he should meet them again, to perfect what the time would not now allow to be done†."

As both Whigs and Tories now vied with each other to court the king's favour, by obliging him in money affairs, the commons proceeded to settle the revenue, and make it a fund of credit for the supplies which were still wanted for the next campaign. They began with voting a supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds between that time and Michaelmas, of which two hundred thousand pounds was to be raised by a poll, and a million by a clause of credit in the revenue bills. Here however they stopped; for William could not prevail to have the revenue settled on him for life: all he could obtain was to have the hereditary excise settled for life, and the customs to be continued only for four years, from the twenty-fourth of December next ensuing‡.

There was a violent contest this session between the two parties on the import of a bill, requiring all subjects in office to take an oath, abjuring king James, on pain of imprisonment. The Tories however prevailed so far with the king, that, under various specious pretences, his majesty sent an intimation to the commons, desiring them to drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. This interposition on the part of the king greatly disgusted the Whigs; and the earl of Shrewsbury, a man of acknowledged integrity and talents, who had interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, insisted on resigning his office of secretary of state; nor could all the remonstrances of the king, who well knew his abilities, engage him even to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland. The abjuration bill was thrown out, after having received a second reading. The parliament being sensible that his majesty was in haste to go over to Ireland, dispatched the business before them as soon as could be expected; and the royal assent being given to several money-bills, the act of indemnity, and some other acts, as also an act for investing the queen § with the administration of the government during the king's absence;

* Burnet. Belcarras's Affairs of Scotland. Tindal. Kennet.

† Burnet. Tindal.

‡ Proceedings House of Commons, ii. 376. Burnet.

§ In this act however was the following restriction; "That the queen should be controlled by any order from his majesty while he was abroad." Pr. House of Com. ii. 382.

on the twenty-third day of May, his majesty closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked his parliament for the supplies they had granted; told them, that though he only proposed to adjourn them for a short time, yet he did not mean to call for their attendance without some pressing necessity, till the beginning of winter; and earnestly recommended to them the faithful discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be disturbed during his absence *." The parliament was then adjourned to the second day of July, and afterwards underwent several adjournments and prorogations.

During this session there were the following promotions among the nobility; Richard, lord viscount Lumley, was created earl of Scarborough; Henry lord Delamere, earl of Warrington; Henry lord Grey of Ruthyn was created viscount Longueville; and the lord Willoughby of Eresby, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was, by virtue of his majesty's writ of summons, called up to the house of peers; and on the third of June sir John Trevor, speaker of the commons, sir William Rawlinson, and sir George Hutchins, were constituted commissioners of the great-seal.

In the mean time, king James's affairs in Ireland wore a very untoward aspect: Lewis XIV. had indeed promised him a reinforcement of five thousand men under the count de Lausun, besides those he carried over with him; so that James had in all about seven thousand French, and as many Irish, most of them accounted good troops: the rest, which amounted to ten or twelve thousand men more, were new-raised, undisciplined, and not to be trusted to. King William, on the other hand, had increased his army in Ireland to near fifty thousand men, all regular forces, under experienced generals: which superiority gave him an assurance of success, and he had determined to have the honour of driving his enemy out of Ireland himself.

On the fourth of June he embarked at Highlake near Chester, and on the fourteenth landed at Carrickfergus, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, and many other persons of distinction; and the same evening went to Belfast, where he was met by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other general officers.

The king's arrival immediately gave a new face to affairs: the military operations had for some time been at a stand, through the address of duke Schomberg, who carefully avoided coming to an engagement with the enemy before his majesty's arrival to head his troops in person: but now every thing appeared in motion. James, on his side, wearied with fluctuating in a continual state of uncertainty, seemed desirous to determine his fate by one decisive blow: king William was equally desirous to put an end to all competition for the sovereign sway. Thus disposed, the two rivals, as by mutual consent, moved towards each other in order to give battle. King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, repaired to Lisburne, where duke Schomberg had fixed his head quarters, and from thence to Hillsborough.

He ordered the whole army to encamp at Loughbrillan, where, upon a review, he found it amounted to thirty-six thousand effective men, all well equipped in every particular. King James being apprized of his arrival, immediately committed the guard of the city of Dublin to a body of militia, commanded by Lutterel; and setting out with the reinforcement of five thousand infantry lately sent him from France, joined the rest of his forces, which were now nearly equal to the English in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men, who remained in different garrisons.

James having advanced to the banks of the river Boyne, there took post in a very advantageous situation, having his front defended by that deep and rapid river, by a rising ground, and by a morass or bog: in a word, it was impossible for the English to attack him without manifest danger to themselves. On this consideration the officers in the Jacobite army were very pressing with James not to hazard a battle, but rather reinforce his garrisons, withdraw to the Shannon, and wait the issue of the naval preparations which Lewis XIV. was then hastening, in order to attack the English fleet, and succour his old ally: but James, burning with impatience, as I before observed, to decide the fate of his crown by a speedy and decisive engagement, could not brook these tame counsels, and prepared to give his adversary battle. William, on his side, was equally ready to receive him: however, he thought proper, before the fight, to take a view of the enemy's situation. Advancing for that purpose to the opposite side of the river, he was singled out by the enemy, who brought down two field-pieces by a hidden pathway, and planted them against his person: at the first shot they killed a man and two horses close by his side, and the second bullet rebounding from the ground, grazed his right shoulder, and produced a considerable contusion. William betrayed not the least emotion on this occasion; but having caused his wound to be bound up, he remounted his horse, and kept on his pace, only saying in French, "*Il ne falloit pas que le coup fut tiré de plus près: There was no necessity the bullet should have come nearer.*" This accident, however, though of no great moment in itself, occasioned some confusion among his majesty's attendants; which being observed by the enemy, and they no longer seeing the king on horseback, concluded their cannon had taken the desired effect, and that William was killed. Upon this they set up a general shout, which was re-echoed through their camp: the news even spread to Dublin, from whence it was carried to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to express their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

The king having got his slight wound dressed, returned back to shew himself to his army, in order to quiet their apprehensions. About nine at night he called a council of war, and declared his resolution to pass the river the next day, and give the foe battle. This measure was strongly opposed by duke Schomberg; but the king shewing himself absolutely determined, and declaring that "he did not come there to let the grass grow under his feet," his plan was adopted by the majority of the council; upon which duke Schomberg acquiesced, and

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 383.

proposed that part of the army, horse and foot, should be sent that night towards Slane-bridge, in order to pass the Boyne there, and so get between the enemy and the pass at Duleck. This advice, which was a piece of consummate generalship, and must, if followed, have ensured a speedy and certain success to the English, was objected against and over-ruled by the Dutch officers; at which the duke was so disgusted, that he retired to his tent, whither the order of battle, after being settled in the council, was sent to him. He considered this as an additional affront: however, the respect he owed to his sovereign kept him from complaining: he only said, with some marks of discontent, that "it was the first order of that kind that had ever been sent to him." By the concerted disposition it was agreed, that early the next morning lieutenant-general Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and Munhardt count Schomberg the duke's son, with the horse, should pass the river at Slane-bridge, in order to get between the enemy's camp and Drogheda, whilst a body of foot were to force their way at the pass of Old-Bridge.

King James also called a council of war on his side, when it was proposed by lieutenant-general Hamilton to send a strong party of dragoons to take possession of a ford which was below the town of Drogheda, the securing of which he thought to be, as it really was, of great importance. James, however, by a strange perverseness, would have only sixty dragoons sent thither. The cannonade on both sides, which had continued pretty warm ever since the two armies had come in sight of each other, ceased towards the close of the evening. William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given order for the proper dispositions, and directed that his soldiers should wear green boughs in their hats during the ensuing action, to distinguish them from the enemy's men, who wore pieces of white paper in theirs.

The next day, July 1, about six o'clock in the morning, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river without any great opposition. Having gained the opposite bank, they found themselves confronted by a considerable number of the enemy, formed into two lines, behind a deep morass that secured their front. General Douglas, on sight of their disposition, thought it advisable to halt for the coming up of a fresh reinforcement, which he knew to be on its march to join him. No sooner was this arrived than he gave orders to the foot to move towards the morass or bog that lay between them and the enemy, while count Schomberg with his horse, who could not possibly march that way, was sent round it, to fall upon the Irish in flank. These latter no sooner perceived the motion made by the English, than they wheeled about, and retreated towards Duleck; but being pursued by the cavalry under young Schomberg, numbers of them were cut in pieces in their retreat, or rather flight. In the mean time king William, who knew not what had passed between this part of his army and the enemy, but supposed that his men had by this time effected their passage over the river, ordered his main body, composed of the Dutch guards, the French protestant regiments, the Inniskilling foot, and four battalions of

English, to pass the Old-Bridge ford, and attack the enemy. They accordingly passed the river, which was waist high; and having gained the opposite bank, in spite of the resistance of a body of musqueteers sent to oppose them, they drew up into files, and then charged the Irish with such fury, that, unable to stand the shock of the onset, these latter abandoned their entrenchments, and retreated. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the side of the river, which greatly facilitated the landing of the English: but before all the battalions could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by general Hamilton, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, and the dispute was for some time very obstinate: but the Irish foot, who that day behaved shamefully, soon gave way, and left their horse to sustain the whole fury of the combat, who were vigorously repulsed by the French protestants and the Inniskilliners. In the first of these onsets La Caillemote, the bosom friend and inseparable companion of the gallant duke Schomberg, received his mortal wound, at the head of the French protestants; and as he was carried back by four English soldiers to the English camp, he encouraged those of his countrymen who were still crossing the river, by calling out to them, "A la gloire, mes enfans! a la gloire! To glory, my good lads, to glory!"

Duke Schomberg perceiving the furious attack made upon the regiments that had forded the river, and being informed that the French protestants were without a commander, immediately passed the stream to head them, and with so much hurry, that he would not suffer himself to be persuaded to put on his armour. As soon as he had gained the opposite shore, he rode full gallop up to the French protestants, and putting himself at their head, called out by way of animating them, "Follow me, gentlemen; those are your persecutors," pointing at the same time to the French papists in the enemy's army. These words were scarcely pronounced, when the duke found himself attacked on a sudden by a party of king James's guards, who, on their body having been routed, were returning full gallop to the main guard of the army: the French refugees, mistaking them, from their language, for some of their own troops, suffered them to pass; and some of them riding up to the duke, fell upon and gave him two severe wounds on the head. The French protestants perceiving their error, and eager to save their general, made such an indiscreet fire upon these assailants, that they at the same time shot the duke dead upon the spot: the small party of the enemy's guards were indeed quickly cut in pieces; but this was a poor recompence for the loss of so great a commander as duke Schomberg, who thus fell in the field of honour, at the age of eighty-two, after a long life replete with military glory. Besides, this accident so disconcerted our troops, that they seemed to have lost all their courage: their arms remained inactive in their hands: they gave ground apace; while the enemy, elated with this advantage, recovered fresh spirits, and returned to the charge with an ardour that seemed to insure the victory in their favour.

They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when king William, who, during the whole of the action, might be said to be every-where, since he directed all by his conduct, passed in a critical

time with the left wing, consisting of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskilliners horse, and advanced on a full trot to attack the enemy on the right, who were by this time come within musket-shot of the centre of our foot. The sight of William, advancing in that regular and undaunted manner to take them in flank, so disconcerted the Irish, that they made a sudden halt, faced about, and retreated to a little village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the pass: there they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, unable to sustain their fire, gave way; the Inniskilliners themselves shewed a backwardness to advance. William, shocked at this, rode up to these latter, and asked, in a sharp tone, "If this was a behaviour he ought to expect from *them*?" Stung by this reproach, and being acquainted that it was his majesty who now did them the honour to head them, they instantly resumed their wonted courage, and returned to the charge with redoubled vigour; the Dutch horse rallying at the same time, the enemy, after an hour's bloody conflict, were beaten back with considerable loss. In this action, lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had been the life and soul of the Irish during the whole of the fight, was taken prisoner. This accident so dispirited them, that they now abandoned the field with precipitation, though the French and Swiss guards, who acted as auxiliaries, retreated in good order; king William not thinking fit to venture the pursuit beyond the field of battle.

In the mean time young Schomberg, having been informed of his father's death, was inspired with such an ardour to revenge his fate, that nothing could oppose the fury of his arms. Inspired at once with a just resentment, and a noble thirst of honour, he drove the enemy several miles beyond the village of Duleck, strewing the ground with their dead carcases; nor can it be said when he would have desisted, had he not received positive orders from the king to give over the slaughter, and return to the place where the foot had halted, and where they remained under arms all that night.

Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne, in which the loss on the side of king James, was generally computed at 1500 men, amongst whom were the lord Dongan, the lord Carlingford, sir Neile O'Neile, the marquis d'Hocquincourt, and several prisoners; the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton, who behaved during the fight with the most exemplary bravery, and kept the victory in suspense, till he was overpowered by numbers, and taken prisoner. On the side of the English fell about 500, an inconsiderable loss for the gain of so important a battle, had not the renowned duke Schomberg, the most illustrious general in Europe, been of the number. William himself was very near sharing the same fate; for a cannon-ball carried away a part of his boot, and broke a horse's leg close by him. All writers concur in giving king William the highest praise for the admirable conduct, courage, resolution, and presence of mind, he displayed throughout this memorable action; and the Irish themselves are said to have declared, "That if the English would change king with them, they would fight the battle over again."

As for James, he remained an inactive spectator of an action, on the success of which every thing

dear to a king or a man of honour depended. During the whole fight, he stood with some squadrons of horse upon the hill of Dunmore, till the count de Lausun, after the retreat of the French and Swiss troops, came up to him; and representing to his majesty that he was in imminent danger of being surrounded, desired him to think of an instant retreat. This advice James readily took; and being attended by the regiment of Sarsfield, he marched off to Duleck, and from thence in all haste to Dublin. When he came there he immediately assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish, by whom he said he had been betrayed: he declared his resolution of quitting the kingdom immediately; and as, he said, it had often been debated, in case the fortune of the field should declare against his arms, whether, upon deserting the city of Dublin, the same should not be fired? he did therefore charge them on their allegiance, that they should neither plunder it nor destroy it in any manner, which in all kingdoms would be deemed an act of brutal barbarity, and might be believed to be done by his orders; and if done, there would be little mercy to be expected from an enraged enemy.

After a stay of one night in Dublin, the next morning he set out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick his natural son, the earl of Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis: there he went on board a vessel which he had ordered sir Patrick Trant, the commissioner of the Irish revenue, to hold in readiness for him in case of a defeat, and getting safely over to France, fixed his residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner left Dublin, than it was abandoned by all the Papists of any consideration; the Protestants assumed the government of the city, and sent an account of these transactions to William, accompanied with a petition, entreating him to honour that capital with his presence. The king readily complied with their request; and after detaching Mr. de la Melionere with a sufficient force to reduce Drogheda, which he speedily effected, his majesty set out at the head of his army on the 4th day of July (three days after the battle) for Dublin. On the 6th he made his triumphal entry into that capital; and being Sunday, he immediately repaired to the cathedral, where he returned God thanks for his victory, and heard a sermon preached by the learned Dr. King, afterwards archbishop of Dublin.

William's next step was to publish a declaration of pardon to all the common people, who either remained at home, or who having fled from their dwellings, should return to their places of abode by the first day of August, provided they delivered up their arms to such justices of peace as his majesty should appoint: but with regard to those desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the depredations which had been committed upon the Protestants, and rejected the gracious pardon offered to them in the king's proclamation published on the 22d of February, 1689; as his majesty was now in a condition to make them sensible of their error, he left them entirely to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of their repentance they should deserve his mercy, which should never be refused to those who were truly

truly penitent*." On the tenth of the month, the king issued a proclamation, reducing, to its intrinsic value, the brass money which James had coined, and which he had raised to three hundred times its real worth.

It is now time to turn our attention towards England, and take a view of the transactions there during the king's absence. The queen, who had been left regent, soon found that she stood in need of all her prudence and discretion to preserve her authority. Her council, which was a mixture of Whigs and Tories, by their perpetual jarrings embarrassed all public affairs; the French threatened the nation with an invasion from abroad, and the Jacobites were continually at work to stir up insurrections at home. In the midst of this critical and alarming situation, Mary behaved with a spirit and resolution little common to her sex; and her conduct was the more admired, as it was generally known that the king had been always upon the reserve with her in what related to public affairs. As soon as she heard the king was safely landed in Ireland, she began to exercise the power vested in her by parliament in two seasonable proclamations; one "commanding all Papists, and reputed Papists, forthwith to depart the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of the same;" the other "for the confining of popish recusants to a distance not exceeding five miles of their respective dwellings."

Advice arriving of a French fleet being ready to sail from Brest, in order to make a descent upon our coasts, admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, who then lay in the Downs, had orders to sail directly for Portsmouth, and there get together such a number of ships as might render him sufficiently strong to go in quest of the enemy, and prevent their design. While the admiral lay at St. Helen's, he received advice from Weymouth, that the French had entered the Channel with seventy-eight ships of war and two fire-ships; upon which he called a council of war to determine what was to be done. He had been lately joined by a squadron of Dutch men of war; but several ships that he expected from Plymouth, had been prevented from joining him by the contrary wind: he thought himself not strong enough to encounter the French, as his own and the Dutch fleet combined did not amount to more than fifty-six sail; but the very day that he called the council, he received express orders from the queen to hazard an engagement at all events, rather than suffer the enemy to proceed up the Channel, all the ports to the eastward being destitute of any shipping to defend them, occasioned by an ill-timed compliment paid by William to the king of Spain, at whose request he had sent admiral Ruffel with a large squadron to convoy that prince's young bride, sister to the queen of Portugal, from Holland to the Groyne.

Lord Torrington, in consequence of these orders from court, put to sea with the combined squadron of England and Holland, with a view to intercept the French at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they attempt to sail up the Channel. The French fleet soon came in sight; and on

the 30th of June, the day before the battle of the Boyne, the two fleets engaged near Beachy-Head, on the coast of Sussex. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning; but their courage being greater than their seamanship, they advanced too far out of the line: however, at the first they had the advantage, the French flying before them. Our blue squadron engaged with great bravery; but admiral Torrington kept his line, and continued to fight at a distance. The French, observing the Dutch had advanced so far out of the line, collected all their force, and hemmed them in on all sides; and, though they fought with great valour, did them considerable damage; and their whole squadron would in all probability have perished (not being in the least seconded by the English under lord Torrington), had not their admiral, Calembourg ordered them to drop their anchors while their sails were all up, there being at that time but very little wind. This manœuvre was not noticed by the French, who were now carried away by the tide, whilst the others lay still; and thus, in a short time, the Dutch were out of danger, after having lost Dick and Brackel, their two rear-admirals, with a great number of men, and being obliged to sink several of their ships, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. In this action the English lost two ships, two of their captains, and about four hundred men. On the next day, in the afternoon, the English admiral called a council of war, in which it was resolved to preserve the remains of the combined fleets by a retreat, and to destroy what disabled ships they had with them, rather than hazard another engagement by protecting them, should the enemy attempt a pursuit. Accordingly Torrington retreated without much interruption to the mouth of the Thames, while the French, after a stay of about five weeks in the Channel, during which they insulted our coasts and burnt the small town of Tintmouth, with several merchant ships in the harbour, retired to their own ports, and were no more seen in the Channel this year. Both the Dutch and our blue squadron, the only ships of ours that were engaged, complained much of Torrington's behaviour; and it was a general opinion, that if the whole fleet had come up to a close fight, we must have beat the French: and considering how far they were from Brest, and that our squadron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a victory might have had great consequences. Both admirals, indeed, were almost equally blamed; ours for not fighting, and the French for not pursuing his victory†. Torrington, on his arrival at London, was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners‡ were appointed to examine the particulars of his conduct.

The news of the defeat of our fleet, and of the French lording it in our seas, no sooner reached London, but every mind was filled with the most alarming apprehensions: nothing but a descent was talked of, and the Jacobites exulted in the destruction of a government so obnoxious to them.

* Burnet. Tindal.

† Burnet. Boyer. Burchet.

‡ These were the lord-president, the lord-steward, the lord-chamberlain; the earls of Pembroke, Nottingham, Monmouth, and Marlborough; Sir John Lowther, vice-chamberlain and

first commissioner of the treasury, and Mr. Edward Ruffel. Of these the lord-president and the earl of Nottingham had the chief management of affairs, which made the Whigs dissatisfied with the nomination. Tindal, from MS letter of Mr. Warre to sir W. Colt.

To do the queen justice, she behaved in this emergency with admirable spirit and discretion: she betrayed not the least signs of fear: she made use of every precaution to guard against her enemies, both within and without the kingdom: the principal sea-ports were put in as good a posture of defence as the time would permit: proper orders were issued for refitting and augmenting the navy: she gave directions for raising the militia of the western counties, in order to oppose any attempts that might be made in that quarter; and to strike the greater terror into the domestic enemies of the government, she issued a proclamation for apprehending several disaffected noblemen and gentlemen, who were either suspected or accused of having held correspondence with king James and his party, to disturb and destroy the peace of the realm, and had adhered to their majesties enemies in the present invasion. While the queen was thus wisely and vigorously executing the function of the high department she filled, she had the satisfaction to find her conduct approved by the majority of the nation, and to receive several addresses from the city of London, and many other respectable counties and corporations in the kingdom, who all declared their resolution to defend and preserve her and her royal consort, and their government, with the hazard of their lives, and to the utmost of their power. As for the earl of Torrington, he continued in the Tower till the next session of parliament, when he was ordered to be tried by a court-martial on the nineteenth of December. The president was sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue squadron in the engagement. It is asserted by many that the trial was conducted with much partiality; but as the proceedings were never published, we have nothing certain on which to form our decision: we only know that the earl was acquitted, and that the king was so offended thereat as immediately to dismiss him from his service, together with several other sea-officers who had appeared most to favour his cause; and that we were kind enough to repair the losses of the Dutch squadron at our own charge. The agitations occasioned throughout the nation by our ill success at sea, were not a little quieted by the news of the victory gained by the king on the banks of the Boyne: the Jacobites were struck with dismay: they hung down their heads, a sudden check was now put to all their proceedings, and they remained quiet, from a conscious inability of being able to do hurt, while the friends of the Revolution resumed their courage, and enjoyed in their turns the mortification of their adversaries. The queen and council sent to the king, pressing him to come over with all possible haste to England, to compleat by his presence the tranquilization of the government here.

As the news of the victory of the Boyne had been a great comfort to the queen and the English nation, under the distress raised by the misfortunes at sea; so king William, on the day he entered Dublin, had the news of the ill success of his fleet to temper the joy his own good fortune might give him. He had taken all the papers of his father-in-law to Tyrconnel, by which he discovered a design that had been formed against his life. It seems that the enterprize was to have been undertaken by one Jones, before William undertook the Irish expedition: the attempt however was never made, and the

conspirator is supposed to have eloped with a large sum of money, which he had procured from Tyrconnel, and Douglas the attorney-general of Ireland, not chusing to incur the guilt and danger of the enterprize he was put upon. A paper was drawn up of this whole affair, in order to be published both in England and Ireland: but it is thought that their majesties, tender of the character of James, which must have greatly suffered, from the imputation of having countenanced so shameful a design, caused it to be suppressed.

Count Lausun and general Sarsfield having still a good body of forces under their command, with which they retreated towards Limerick, the Irish did not shew any disposition to submit; whereupon king William decamped on the ninth of July from Finglass, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and divided his army into two bodies; with the greater of which he marched to Crumlin, three miles on the south of Dublin, and sent the other, consisting of four regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and ten of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-general Douglas, towards Athlone, who invested that city on the seventeenth, and sent to colonel Grace, the governor for king James, to surrender. Grace was an old and a valiant soldier, of approved fidelity to the master he served, and made no other reply than by firing a pistol, and bidding the trumpeter tell the person that sent him, that those were his terms. Douglas therefore resolved to attack the place; but as it was strongly fortified by nature, and defended by a good castle, and Douglas was deficient in artillery, he was constrained to raise the siege, after a fortnight's fruitless attempt. In the mean time, king William having committed the government of Dublin to brigadier Trelawney, proceeded with the rest of his army westward, and at Carlow detached the duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny, while the army encamped at Carrick; from whence, on the twenty-first of July, major-general Kirk was dispatched against Waterford with two regiments and a party of horse. The garrison surrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and were conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon, which commands the entrance of the harbour of Waterford, submitted on the same terms. Here the lord Dover and lord George Howard, who had been excepted from the bill of indemnity, petitioned and obtained the king's pardon. On the twenty-seventh of July the king left the camp at Carrick, and went to Dublin, in order to take shipping for England, in pursuance of the request before-mentioned from the queen and council: but here he found other letters of a different and more pleasing tenor, informing him that every thing was now quiet at home, and that his presence was no longer so pressingly necessary. Hereupon his majesty went to Chapel Izard, where he continued for some time, and during his stay published a second pardon, confirming and extending the former: but this declaration had very little effect upon the Irish, who, spirited up by their priests, and elated with the news of the bad success of our fleet against the French, still held out, in hopes that the distractions in England would soon oblige king William to return thither.

His majesty, however, satisfied by his late advices that his domestic enemies were kept in awe,

and that the French had retired into their own harbours, resolved not to quit Ireland till he had effectually reduced the Jacobite party, there to perfect obedience, or at least to an inability of doing him any prejudice. With this view he determined upon undertaking the siege of Limerick, which was defended by monsieur Boisseleau, the governor for king James; and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield, who with their troops had thrown themselves into that place after the defeat of the Boyne, and James's flight, acted as inferior officers. On the ninth of August the king invested the town with his whole army, and immediately sent a trumpeter to summon the governor. Tho' the place was extremely strong, and the garrison very numerous and healthy, there were many, as well of the soldiers as of the inhabitants, who were for capitulating; but the governor, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsfield, opposed it with such vehemence that the others acquiesced, and it was determined to defend the place to the last extremity: upon which monsieur Boisseleau sent the trumpeter back with this answer, "That he imagined he could not more effectually gain the good opinion of the prince of Orange, than by vigorously defending the town, which his royal master had entrusted to his care." Every thing was now prepared for the siege: the king the same evening gave orders for a party of dragoons to pass the river Shannon, at a ford about two miles above the town, which was effected by the valour and conduct of general Ginckle, who, after defeating a body of Irish that guarded the pass, crossed over the next morning with about five thousand horse and foot; but before the siege could be regularly formed, colonel Sarsfield, hearing that the king's artillery was in its way from Kilkenny to the camp, resolved to attempt the taking or destroying it. With this view he passed the Shannon in the night of the 10th, with a body of five or six hundred horse and dragoons, and lurked all the next day in the hills; and having notice that the artillery was a little on this side of Cullen, and that the troops that conveyed it had halted to rest themselves, and were then perfectly unprepared for an attack, he took with him guides who brought him to the very spot, where he fell upon them before they were aware, killed several of the men, split the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned safely to Limerick.

The news of this adventure was very unwelcome in the king's camp, where it gave birth to a warm dispute between duke Schomberg (son to the late marshal) and the earl of Portland, the former accusing the latter and count Solmes of having neglected to send in time a detachment of sufficient strength to secure the train. This quarrel however was soon made up, and the siege pursued. On the seventeenth the trenches were opened, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterfield. Both sides now exerted their utmost vigor and resolution in the attack and defence of the place, during which the king had se-

veral narrow escapes for his life; and it is universally allowed, that on all military occasions William's personal courage was more conspicuous than his prudence or caution. On the twenty-sixth of August, the engineers having assured the king that there was a sufficient breach made in the walls for an attack, he detached monsieur de la Barthe, a brave French (protestant) officer, with nine companies of grenadiers, besides an hundred French officers and volunteers, to begin the attack; which was performed with such bravery and success, that in spite of all the opposition of the besieged, the assailants effected a lodgment on the redoubt or counterscarp: but these brave men not being properly seconded, through the negligence of count Solmes and count Nassau, the enemy returned to the charge with redoubled numbers, and a most bloody and obstinate dispute of four hours ensued; but in the end our troops were repulsed, with the loss of one thousand two hundred men, either killed or mortally wounded on the spot. Notwithstanding this check, it is said that the king would not have quitted the siege, had not the season of the year, and the nature of the country, which in those parts is very subject to be overflowed, proved so bad, that the soldiers could no longer remain in the trenches, half filled with water; which inconvenience no art or industry could remedy. Orders were therefore issued on the thirtieth of August for sending off the heavy baggage and artillery; and the next day the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel, without meeting the least disturbance from the enemy, either in the decamping or the march. The king now determined to return to England; and having appointed the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby, esq. (afterwards earl of that name) lords justices of Ireland, and entrusted the command of the army to count Solmes, his majesty set sail from Waterford with prince George of Denmark, and some other persons of distinction, on the fifth of September, and next day arrived safe in King's-Road near Bristol, and on the ninth got to Windsor, where he was received by the queen with unspeakable joy.

Great was the exultation of king James's friends in Ireland on occasion of the raising the siege of Limerick, and the departure of William for his English dominions. They were still in possession of several good towns besides Limerick, and their army was very numerous; so that they were filled with the most sanguine hopes of restoring their old master to the sovereignty of Ireland at least: but how were their expectations dashed by the arrival of an English fleet before Corke harbour, on the twenty-first of September, with a body of forces under the command of the earl of Marlborough! It seems that this nobleman, after the French fleet had retired into their harbours, and ours had repaired the damage it sustained in the engagement, had proposed employing about five thousand troops, who then lay inactive at home, in an attempt upon Cork* and Kinsale†, in Ireland, which he doubted not of taking, with the assistance of such troops

* A capital city of a county of the same name, and province of Munster, in Ireland, situated on the river Lee. It has a good harbour, and is, next to Dublin, the best trading place in that kingdom.

† A populous trading town in the county of Cork, and province of Munster, having an excellent harbour on the river Bandon, disembogueing itself into the Atlantic Ocean. It lies sixteen miles south of the city of Cork.

as the king might be able to spare him from the army. This proposal was approved of, and the earl sent over, who on his arrival found that his majesty, who had been made acquainted with the intended expedition, had left orders for an additional body of five thousand men, under the duke of Wirtemberg and major-general Scrivenmore, to reinforce his lordship, and assist him in the reduction of the before-mentioned places.

The earl having landed his men, though with some opposition, in the neighbourhood of Corke, was soon after joined by the reinforcement from the main army; but a dispute happened between the duke of Wirtemberg and Marlborough concerning the chief command, which both of them claimed; the former as due to his rank of a sovereign prince, the other as being the elder officer, and commanding the troops of his own nation. The matter, however, was at length compromised by the interposition of brigadier la Melionere; it being agreed, that the earl should command the first day and the duke the next, and so alternately, during the expedition. The dispute thus adjusted, the trenches were opened, and the batteries played with such fury, that a breach was soon effected in the walls, which brought the besieged to demand a parley; but colonel M'Ellicut, the governor of Corke, not liking the conditions of surrender proposed by the king's generals, hostilities were renewed with double vigour. The duke of Grafton, who served in the expedition as a volunteer, as he was marching on to the attack of the breach, had the misfortune to receive a wound in the shoulder by a cannon bullet, of which he soon after died greatly regretted, as being of all king Charles the Second's children, the person of whom there was the greatest hope. Bishop Burnet says, "he was brave, and probably would have become a great sea-commander." The main breach being now judged practicable, all things were prepared for a general assault on the twenty-eighth of September, when the besieged not chusing to incur all the horrors of a storm, colonel M'Ellicut thought proper to surrender himself and garrison prisoners of war. Besides the governor and colonel Rycart, there were taken in the place the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone.

This success inspired our generals and their little army with fresh ardour. The same day that the earl of Marlborough entered Corke, he detached brigadier Villiers with a body of horse and dragoons to summon Kinsale; and the next day advanced with the rest of his troops to enforce that demand. The place was in a very indifferent posture of defence, and therefore, after making some shew of resistance for about a week or ten days, sir Edward Scot the governor surrendered on honourable terms. The earl of Marlborough having thus, in little more than a month, accomplished the reduction of those two important maritime towns, by which he effectually deprived the French of all communication with this side of the island, and confined the remains of the refractory Irish to the province of Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty, returned with his prisoners to England, and arrived at Kensington the twenty-eighth of October, where he was received by their majesties in a manner agreeable to the services he had done the state.

While these things were transacting, count Lauzun, with the French troops, remained in the neighbourhood of Galway (a county in the province of Connaught in the west of Ireland) without attempting any thing. They were, in fact, heartily weary of a service they now with good reason looked upon as desperate, and the count sent pressing remonstrances to be recalled: his request was complied with. A squadron of ships were sent to bring him and his men off, in which he sailed about the beginning of October, leaving the command in chief of the Irish forces to the duke of Berwick, which was afterwards transferred to Mr. de St. Ruth. The duke of Tyrconnel accompanied him over, and applied to the French court for a farther supply of arms, cloaths, and ammunition, for the Irish army, engaging for them, if thus encouraged, that they would still continue to support the cause of king James. This remonstrance did not a little prejudice to the reputation of Lauzun, who was openly accused of having too precipitately abandoned the cause of that unhappy monarch. In the mean while, the Irish formed themselves into a number of freebooting parties, which acquired the name of Rapparees, who committed a thousand outrages on the defenceless inhabitants of the kingdom, while the troops of king William indulged themselves at ease in their quarters, nor once concerned themselves about the protection of the poor people, who suffered all the calamities of lawless rapine and cruelty. Thus ended the campaign in Ireland. Let us now take a short view of the affairs on the continent.

By this time the grand alliance which William had formed against France was farther strengthened by the accession of the duke of Savoy, who, renouncing the neutrality he had hitherto observed, concluded a league with the emperor and the king of Spain, and openly engaged in the general confederacy. Lewis XIV. was no sooner informed of the engagements which the duke had entered into, than he sent twelve thousand men into Piedmont, under the conduct of that brave and able officer monsieur Catinat, afterwards marshal of France, with orders to demand of the duke, as a pledge of his fidelity, that he would deliver up to France his troops, together with Verrue, and the citadel of Turin, the capital of his dominions. The duke, confounded with this unforeseen stroke, endeavoured to amuse his enemy by submissions and offers, till he could procure assistance from the emperor and Spain; but finding those two powers only fed him with promises, he solicited assistance from the States-general and king William, to whom he sent an ambassador in October this year, to congratulate him on his accession to the English throne. William, highly pleased with the accession of so valuable an ally, received his compliment with great civility, and promised to employ his utmost endeavours for his assistance. The French king, however, who was not to be deceived by fair promises, had before this sent orders to Catinat to begin hostilities in Piedmont and Savoy, where the duke exerted his utmost endeavours to oppose the torrent which threatened the ruin of all his dominions. Victor Amadeus II. duke of Savoy, was (says M. de Voltaire, in his Age of Lewis XIV.) a wife and politic, though an unfortunate, prince:

as a general, his courage was indisputable; he always headed his own armies, and exposed his person on every occasion like a common man: no one better understood the finesses of that kind of war which is carried on in an uneven and mountainous country, such as his: he was active, vigilant, tenacious of regularity and military discipline, but sometimes guilty of errors, both as a prince and a general. He was guilty of a fatal one, in the bad manner in which he drew up his army, in presence of that of Catinat, near Saluces, or Saluzzo *, who taking advantage of his mistake, gained a compleat victory over him on the eighth of August. After this battle all Savoy, except Montmelian, submitted to the French. Catinat then marched into Piedmont, forced the enemy's entrenchments near Susa, took that town, together with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed impregnable, Viellano, and Carmagniola, and returned afterwards to Montmelian, of which he made himself master in the spring of the following year, 1691, after an obstinate siege.

Lewis XIV. had this same year (1690) another army in Flanders, under the command of the duke of Luxembourg, who had been a pupil in the art of war to the great Condé, whom he much resembled in his character, having a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick discernment, and a mind greedy of knowledge, but too extensive and irregular. The allies dreading the power of France, which was daily increasing both by sea and land, resolved that the army of the States-general, under prince Waldeck, should oppose Luxembourg, while the elector of Brandenburg should observe the motions of monsieur Boufflers, who commanded a third army for Lewis upon the banks of the Moselle in Germany: but before the troops of Brandenburg could be assembled, Boufflers found means to encamp his forces between the Sambre and the Meuse, and thereby opened a free communication between his own army and that of Luxembourg. Prince Waldeck, sensible how much it behoved him to keep the French on the other side of the Sambre, detached the count de Berlo with one thousand five hundred horse, to observe whether the French attempted to pass that river. The count having advanced as far as the village of Fleurus, found that a good part of the French army had already passed the Sambre, whereof he immediately sent notice to prince Waldeck; but it was too late: for being surrounded on every side, he was defeated and slain; and the next day (June 30) being the same on which king William obtained the victory at the Boyne, the duke of Luxembourg attacked the main body under prince Waldeck, which, after a very obstinate engagement, was obliged to give way, leaving about four thousand six hundred men dead upon the spot. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners; but they bought their victory dearly, their loss being equal, if not greater than that of the Dutch. The loss of this battle is said to have been occasioned by the cowardice of the Dutch horse, who abandoned their foot at the first charge: but never any infantry made so brave a retreat as those under prince Waldeck; for notwithstanding the battle

was fought in a plain champaign country, and they were charged both in front and in flank by the enemy, they made such an impression upon the French by their regular, undaunted, and uniform fire, that the latter durst not attempt to make the least pursuit, but suffered the Dutch to march off with the utmost composure. This was the only action in Flanders this campaign.

In the spring of this year the emperor Leopold's son Joseph was, by the electoral college, advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans: but his affairs suffered an irreparable loss in the death of the brave duke of Lorraine, which happened suddenly, after a few hours illness only, on the eighth of April, aged forty-seven years, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the procurement of the French monarch, whose boundless ambition he had constantly and courageously opposed. We are, however, to be cautious how we too readily believe such reports without good authority. The duke himself, in a note he wrote to the emperor a little before he expired, expressed himself as if he thought he had met with foul play: "I am dying, says he: I know not whether I am paying by my death the ordinary debt of nature; or whether I am sacrificed to the unjust and ambitious views of a crown which has declared itself an implacable enemy to me and my family *." The command of the imperial army was, upon his demise, given to the elector of Bavaria, who was presently after joined by the elector of Saxony and his two sons. The dauphin had crossed the Rhine at the head of forty thousand men, with a design to force his way into Wirtemberg; but the imperial general, by his conduct and carriage, defeated his attempt, and obliged him to remain on the defensive during the remaining part of the campaign. After this account of the foreign transactions which relate to king William, as head of the confederacy against France, it is now time to return to England.

King William, on his return from his Irish expedition, was congratulated upon his victory at the Boyne, and his other successes in that kingdom, by the city of London; and addresses of the same tenor came up from most of the towns and counties in England. This could not fail to be highly pleasing to the king, who, so far from thinking of indulging himself in an easy inactivity during the rest of the year, had actually formed the design of going over to Flanders, to put himself at the head of the allied army; but the season being now so far advanced, as to render it necessary for the troops soon to take to winter quarters, his majesty laid aside his design for the present, but at the same time determined to call the parliament together as early as possible, that they might settle the supplies for the ensuing year, and give him an opportunity of going over early in the spring to the Hague, to have an interview with the German princes, who proposed to hold a congress or meeting there, in order to concert measures for the next campaign.

Accordingly, on the second day of October the parliament met at Westminster, and was opened by a speech from the throne, wherein his majesty told them, "That he had used his best endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, in which he had met

* A city of Piedmont in Italy, seventeen miles distant from Turin, the capital of Sardinia.

† Life of Leopold, p. 213. 214. French Continuation of Rabin.

with success, and doubted not that he should have been fully possessed of that kingdom, if the supplies had been given him in time last session. He put them in mind also, that he had asked no revenue for himself, but what he had subjected to be charged for the uses of the war; recommended to them the clearing of his revenue, so as to enable him to subsist, and maintain the charge of the civil government: then addressing himself to both houses jointly, told them, that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with spirit and concord; and that whoever should go about to divert their attention from the important subjects he had recommended to them, could neither be his friends, nor friends to the kingdom *."

The lords and commons, in answer to this speech, congratulated him separately upon his successes in Ireland, and on the queen's happy administration during his absence. The commons particularly told him, "That he too freely exposed his invaluable life, upon which the whole protestant interest of Europe depended; concluding, that they should be ever ready to assist him to the utmost of their power: and as the best and truest way of expressing their gratitude, would endeavour effectually to support his government against all his enemies †." As a proof of the sincerity of these assurances, the very same day these addresses were presented, the commons voted, pursuant to an estimate laid before them of the next year's charges, a supply of four millions (the largest sum that had ever been asked by a king of England) for the support of the fleet and army, in order to compleat the reduction of Ireland, and for the more vigorous carrying on the war against France. Among other taxes for raising this sum, one hundred thirty-seven thousand six hundred forty-one pounds per month, at three shillings in the pound, was laid upon lands: the excise upon beer and ale was doubled: a duty was laid on East-India goods and foreign-wrought silks, and several other goods imported; and a duty was imposed upon new wines and spirits of the first extraction. A supply of five hundred and seventy thousand pounds was voted to be raised on these additional duties, for building seventeen third-rate ships, of sixty guns each, besides the ships already provided to be built ‡. They also resolved that the sum of one million should be raised by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland, and that a bill should be prepared for confiscating these estates, with a clause empowering his majesty to grant a third part of them to those who had served in the war. This clause was repealed, and many petitions were presented against the bill by creditors and heirs who had continued faithful. These petitions however were rejected by the commons, who on this occasion suffered their zeal for the service of the king, to get the better of that attention they owed to the lawful and just remonstrances of their fellow-subjects, and they unanimously passed the bill §: but when it went up to the house of lords, that august body thought it their duty fairly to examine the merit of those petitions: this took up so long time, that the bill was dropped for the present session.

The excise-bill being ready, the king came to the house on the twenty-fifth of November, and

gave it the royal assent: after which he made a speech to both houses, and thanked them for the large supplies they were raising, desiring however that they would use all possible dispatch, because his presence was required early in the following year at the Hague: at the same time he again put them in mind of providing for the civil list. His majesty coming again to the house on the twentieth of December, passed the act for laying a duty upon East-India goods, the act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and some others: and on the fifth of January the king, being impatient to be at the congress in Holland, came to the house, and gave the royal assent to the rest of the bills of supply, together with a bill for appointing commissioners to state the public accounts, in which there had been great mismanagement; to a bill for raising the militia; to a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors; and to another to prevent vexatious suits against such as acted in defence of his majesty and the kingdom. After which the king closed the session with a speech, in which he assured both houses, that he entertained the most grateful sense of the liberality and dispatch with which they had granted the public supplies, which should be faithfully employed in the services for which they were allotted: that he would make no grant of any of the forfeited estates in Ireland, till that matter should be settled in parliament, to the satisfaction of all parties: that he hoped they would take care to propagate, in their several counties, the same principles of zeal and attachment to his government, which they had so eminently displayed in parliament: and that he trusted the good understanding between him and his subjects, would be more than sufficient to defeat the designs of their secret foes, and the attempts of their open and avowed enemies. Then the lord chief-justice Atkins declared it was his majesty's pleasure that the house should adjourn themselves to the twenty-first day of March ||.

During this session of parliament, a thanksgiving was ordered to be observed on the nineteenth of October, for the successes in Ireland, and particular prayers appointed to be used on every Wednesday and Friday during the war with France. On the fifteenth of the same month, the princess of Denmark was brought to bed of a daughter, baptized by the name of Mary, who died soon after. On the fourteenth of the same month a transaction happened, which greatly engaged the attention of the public. Captain James Campbell, brother to the earl of Argyle in Scotland, by the assistance of Archibald Montgomery, esquire, and sir John Johnston, seized and forcibly married Miss Mary Wharton, a rich heiress of thirteen years of age; for which sir John Johnston was condemned to be hanged, and an act of parliament was afterwards obtained by the relations of the young lady, to set aside the marriage between her and Mr. Campbell. For further particulars of this affair, the reader may consult the fourth volume of the State Trials. And here we must not pass unnoticed an attempt that was made by the Whig party, to revive the old impeachments against the marquis of Caermarthen (formerly earl of Danby) who had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to that party by his steady attachment to the Tories. This scheme was formed

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 384.
† Ibid.

‡ Proceedings of House of Commons, ii. 386. § Ibid.
|| Ibid. 338.

and conducted by fourteen leading men, of whom the earl of Shrewsbury was the chief. Their design however came to nought; for the earl having performed an acceptable piece of service to the government about this time, in detecting some designs set on foot by the Jacobite party to disturb the peace of the kingdom, the affair was dropped *.

I shall close the occurrences of this year with a short account of some material transactions relating to the increase of our colonies, trade, and manufactures. In this year, 1690, general Codrington, commander in chief of the English Leeward Islands, by the help of succours from England, joined to the regiments he had raised in those islands, retook from the French the island of St. Christopher's, in the West Indies, sending away the inhabitants to Martinico and Hispaniola, and peopling the place with our own subjects: he likewise retook the isle of St. Eustatia, of which the French had, the year before, dispossessed the Dutch; as also the isles of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew. He afterwards made an attempt upon the island of Guadeloupe; but in that he miscarried.

In this same year sir William Phipps, with a fleet and land-forces from New England, took the fort and town of Port Royal (since called Annapolis Royal), in the bay of Fundy, from whence the French had so greatly distressed our trade in America, by means of their privateers, as to acquire that place the appellation of the Dunkirk of America. King William, however, was obliged to restore it to France, by the treaty of Ryswic, and it remained in their hands till the following reign.

Until about this year there was scarce any other kind of paper made in England but the worst crown fort; but the war with France occasioning high duties to be laid on foreign paper, the French protestant refugees, in concert with our own few paper-makers, now began to manufacture white writing and printing paper, which in length of time has been brought to so great perfection, both for beauty and substance, that we now import only certain kinds of Genoa and Dutch paper. How great a saving this proved to the nation, may partly be conceived from what is affirmed by writers well versed in those subjects, viz. that to France alone, from whom we now take none, we paid annually for this article to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds †. Besides the many other benefits arising to England from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it proved of infinite service to the English colonies in America; and particularly in this year, when king William settled some hundreds of French

refugee families on the south side of James's River, in Virginia, above the Falls, where they have since much improved that naturally fine country *. But to resume the chain of our history.

King William, having obtained the supplies he desired of parliament, as hath been already related, embarked for Holland on the sixteenth of January, 1691, in order to assist at the congress of the confederate princes and states, appointed to be held at the Hague, to concert measures for the defence of the liberties of Europe against the encroachments of France. He was attended thither by the dukes of Norfolk and Ormond, the earls of Devon, Dorset, Essex, Nottingham, Scarborough, Portland, Monmouth, and Selkirk, the bishop of London, the duke of Schomberg and his brother count Schomberg, and several other persons of distinction: he was convoyed by twelve men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Rooke. On the eighteenth, in the morning, they came off Goree island: the weather being very thick and hazy, they hailed a fishing-vessel, which passed close by them, and asked the master what distance he thought they were from the shore; who replied, about a league and half: upon this the king, who was impatient to be on land, resolved to quit his yacht, and put off in a boat. Accordingly three large ones being manned, his majesty got into one, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earl of Portland, the lord-steward, and the lord-chamberlain, and was followed in the two others by mynheers Overkirk and Zuylestein, and other attendants upon his person. There was no doubt made but that his majesty would land in an hour or two; but the sea being rough, and the fog growing thicker, they quickly lost sight both of the shore and their own fleet; and night coming on, they were exposed, in very severe weather, to the dangers of the sea, and of falling into the hands of the enemy, for above eighteen hours, during which the king and all his attendants were many times in imminent danger of perishing. Providence, however, was pleased to order it otherwise, and about eight the next morning, the boats reached the Goree: here his majesty and his retinue went ashore, and, after taking some refreshment, of which they stood in great need, took boat again, and, about two in the afternoon, arrived at Oranien-Haak, in the neighbourhood of Maesland Sluys: at Hinnslaar-Dyke, a few miles from thence, he was met and complimented by the deputies of the States, who conducted him to the Hague.

On his arrival in that capital of the United Provinces, the states-general, the states of Holland,

* On the fifteenth of November the king ordered a new commission to pass the great-seal, constituting the lord Godolphin, sir John Lowther, Mr. Richard Hampden, sir Stephen Fox, Mr. Thomas Pelham, commissioners of his majesty's treasury. About a month after, his majesty disposed of the vacant bishoprics of Ireland, and appointed sir Charles Porter to be lord-chancellor of that kingdom, and one of the lords justices, in the room of the lord viscount Sidney, who was recalled to be made one of the secretaries of state, on the twenty-sixth of December: in the beginning of which month, colonel John Cuts was made baron Cuts of Gowran, in the kingdom of Ireland. On the thirtieth of the same month George-William duke of Zell, eldest prince of the house of Brunswick and Lunenburg, was made a knight of the garter, an honour which just before had been conferred upon the elector of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia: and on the first of January, 1691, sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, and first commission-

er of the great-seal, was admitted into the privy-council.

† Anderson on Commerce, vol. ii. p. 196, 197.

‡ By the return of the books of the hearth-duty at Lady-day 1690, the number of houses in England and Wales were, one million three hundred and ninety-one thousand two hundred and fifteen, which, at six persons to a house, makes the number of souls seven millions nine hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred and ninety, or very near eight millions; so that reckoning one million and a half in Scotland, and two millions in Ireland, which may be fairly done, there will appear to have been at that time at least eleven millions of souls in the three kingdoms. My author makes the houses in Yorkshire to be one hundred and twenty one thousand fifty-two; in Wales, seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and twenty-one; and in London, Westminster, and Middlesex, one hundred and eleven thousand two hundred and fifteen. See D'Avenant's Essay on Ways and Means of supplying the War. London 1695.

the council of state, and other colleges waited on him with their compliments and congratulations for his safety, after so great toil and hazard to his royal person. As his sudden arrival had prevented the solemnity of a formal reception, he was solicited to make a public entry, which was accordingly performed on the twenty-sixth of the month, with great pomp: triumphal arches were erected in the several principal streets through which he was to pass, with inscriptions expressing his noble achievements; the burghers appeared under arms, the cannon were fired, and the evening concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. After this ceremony was over, his majesty took his seat as stadtholder in the assembly of the states, when he gave that respectable body a brief account of his successes in England and Ireland, since he last parted from them; and concluded with the warmest assurances of ever continuing their good friend and ally. The heer Winchels, president of the assembly, then returned his majesty an answer, in the name of the rest, conceived in the most grateful and affectionate terms. After which the princes and other great men, who were already arrived to assist at the approaching conferences, were introduced, and paid their compliments to his majesty.

And now was opened the most glorious congress that ever yet appeared of Christian princes and ministers, who assembled upon the most noble of all designs, that of opposing the encroachments of arbitrary power and oppression, and securing the peace, tranquility, and liberty of a whole continent.

The ambassadors and foreign ministers present, were, from the emperor, the counts de Wenditsgratz and Borks, with the chevalier de Campecht; from the king of Spain, don Emanuel de Colonna; from the king of Denmark, the count de Rebenklam and M. Centhe; from the king of Sweden, count Oxenstiern; from the king of Poland, M. Moreau; from the elector of Bavaria, the baron de Boomgarten and M. Prielmeyere; from the elector of Brandenburg, Mess. Van Dieft and Smettau; from the elector of Saxony, M. Haxhausen; from the elector of Treves, the baron de Leyen and M. Champagne; from the elector of Mentz, Mess. Talberg and Meyers; from the elector of Cologne, the general and baron Berusaw and M. Soalmaker; from the elector Palatine, M. Hertermans; from the duke of Savoy, the count de Pielat and the president de la Tour; from the duke of Zell, Mr. Ziger; from the bishop of Munster, M. de Nort; from the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the baron Gortz and M. Reppelaar; from the duke of Wolfenbottle, the baron Crosek; from the duke of Hanover, M. Klekk; from the duke of Holstein Gottorp, M. Tourken; and from the prince of Liege, counsellor Mean: of king William's subjects, besides those already mentioned by name, who attend-

ed him out of England, were the lords Drumlanrigg and Dursley, and others. Many of the princes who had ministers at the congress, assisted also in person thereat, as the reader will find in the note at the bottom of the page*.

King William, as the soul of this grand alliance, opened the congress with a pathetic speech, in which he laid before them "the imminent danger to which they were at present exposed; plainly demonstrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the absolute necessity of an immediate change of measures: that it was not time now to deliberate, but to act: that the enemy was already master of the principal fortresses which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would soon be able to possess himself of all the inferior ones, if a spirit of division, selfishness, and irresolution, continued to influence them: that every one ought to consider his own interest as involved in the general good: that the enemy's forces were numerous and powerful, and, if not prevented, would carry all things like a torrent before them: that it was in vain to oppose the pretensions of injustice by unavailing complaints, unprofitable clamour, or fruitless protestations: that they were not the resolutions of a peaceable diet, nor the hopes of some men of fortune built on a sandy foundation, but powerful armies, bold enterprizes, and a prompt and vigorous execution, that must accomplish the glorious work: that all these must instantly be employed against the common enemy, if they meant to check his progress, and to snatch from his hands the liberties of Europe, which he now held subjected to a cruel and heavy yoke. He concluded with assuring them, that for his own part he would not spare his forces, credit, or person, in order to effect so noble a design, but would come in the spring at the head of his troops, faithfully to make good his royal promises."

This speech from a prince, in whom the whole confederacy placed an unbounded confidence, had so good effect, that this august assembly speedily came to a resolution of employing two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France, of which the several princes and states were to furnish the following proportions: the king of England, twenty thousand; the emperor, twenty thousand; the king of Spain in Flanders, twenty thousand; the States-General, twenty-five thousand; the duke of Savoy, and the troops of Milan, twenty thousand; the elector of Bavaria, eighteen thousand; the elector of Saxony, twelve thousand; the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, eight thousand; the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, ten thousand; the duke of Wirtemberg, six thousand; the elector of Brandenburg, twenty thousand; the prince of Liege, six thousand; the elector-palatine, four thousand; and the prince of Lunenburg, sixteen thousand.

* The electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria; the dukes of Lunenburg, of Zell, and of Wolfenbottle; the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; prince Christian-Louis of Brandenburg; prince Waldeck; the prince of Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland; the prince of Nassau-Saarburg, governor of Bois-le-duc; the prince of Nassau-Dillemburg; the prince of Nassau-Idstein; the duke, administrator of Wirtemberg; the two princes of Anspach; the landgrave of Hesse-D'Armstadt; the prince his brother; the duke of Saxe-Eysenach; prince Philip palatine; the duke of Zulstback; the prince of Wirtemberg-Neustadt; the prince of Wirtemberg, and the prince his brother; the duke of Courland, and prince Ferdinand his brother; the prince of Anhalt-Zeerbst; the landgrave of Homburg; three

princes of Holsteinbeck; the duke of Holstein, prince of Commerci; the prince palatine of Berkenfeld: to which we may add the princess of Nassau-Friseland, the princess Radzeville, the countess of Soissons, the princess of Saxe-Eysenach, and other illustrious persons. The most remarkable of the counts were, the counts of Horn, Erbach, Tiremont, de Broca, de Gryal, d'Arco, de Rivera, de Sanfray, de Lippe, de Espense, de Fugger, de Denhof, de Carelson; with the barons of Palant and Spain, the Rhinegrave and his brother; the marquises of Castlemontayo, Castanaga governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and the generals Chauvert, d'Elwicht, Barfus, d'Autel, Valsi, &c.

These engagements however were so badly observed by several of the contracting parties, that England and Holland were forced to bear almost the whole expence and burden of the war. The next thing the assembly did, was to adjust the operations of the war, which was done among the princes themselves with such secrecy, that even their own ministers were not admitted to a knowledge of them. It is remarkable, that in this solemn interview there prevailed such an easy freedom, and such perfect unanimity and concord amongst the several princes, that none of those disputes happened on points of ceremony, which too often interrupt and retard negotiations of this kind.

The congress broke up about the beginning of March, and king William was preparing to return to England, when his departure was retarded, by advice that the French had collected all their forces, in order to take the field before the confederates could be ready to oppose them; and that Lewis in person had invested the city of Mons, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, and an army of 80,000 men. William upon this dispatched prince Waldeck to Halle, near Brussels, which was appointed for the general rendezvous of what forces could be drawn together: the king himself followed on the twenty-seventh of March, where he found an army of fifty thousand men; but, through the neglect of the Spaniards, so miserably deficient in all kind of necessaries for a march, that before the troops could be put in motion, news arrived of the reduction of the place: the governor being reduced to the last extremity, after having in vain waited for relief, was obliged to capitulate on the first of April, and surrendered the town on very honourable terms. After this disappointment, there remained nothing to require the immediate presence of king William on the continent, who therefore returned to the Hague, and embarking for England, on the 13th day of April arrived safe in London*.

Here he found, that during his absence the Jacobites had resumed their favourite scheme, in concert with France, of restoring king James. The persons chiefly concerned in this conspiracy were said to be the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, the lord viscount Preston (a Scottish peer) and his brother Mr. Graham: and William Penn the famous quaker, the lord Preston, Mr. Ashton a servant of king James's queen, and Mr. Elliot, were pitched upon to go over to France, and concert measures at the court of St. Germain's. With this view they hired a vessel of one Mr. Prat of Barkington in Essex, who, suspecting something from the eagerness the conspirators shewed to get under sail, and the high price they offered for their passage, communicated the matter to the earl of Caermarthen, who reported the same to the queen and council; whereupon proper persons were dispatched to board the vessel, which lay off Gravesend, when the three conspirators were found concealed in the hold. The lord Preston, who had letters about him from the chiefs of the conspiracy to king James, endeavoured to secrete them, but was discovered, and the papers taken from him. Up-

on examination they were found to contain several circumstances of intelligence, and other matters of a very treasonable and dangerous tendency. Hereupon a bill of high-treason was preferred, and found against the offenders by the grand jury. The lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were brought to their trials on the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth of January. Their design of going to France, and the treasonable papers found upon them, some written in the lord Preston's hand, and some in Mr. Ashton's, were fully proved; and for these practices they were found guilty and condemned. Ashton was executed, but lord Preston lay a long time under conviction by a reprieve, and his sentence was at last remitted. Elliot was not tried, there appearing no evidence against him. The earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence which he owed to his near relationship to the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, absconded, and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

The discovery of the bishop of Ely's concern in this conspiracy, furnished the king with a fair pretext for filling up the bishoprics that had been so long vacant by the non-compliance of their former possessors with the act of parliament, requiring all ecclesiastics to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance on pain of deprivation. Accordingly, the archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotson, in the room of Dr. Sancroft, who was now formally deprived. Dr. Simon Patrick, bishop of Chichester, was translated to the bishoprick of Ely, in the room of bishop Turner; Cumberland, to that of Peterborough, in the room of bishop White; Moore to Norwich, in the room of bishop Lloyd; Grove to Chichester, void by the translation of Cumberland; Dr. Fowler to the see of Gloucester, in the room of Frampton; and Dr. Beveridge, rector of St. Peter's in Cornhill, was nominated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in the room of bishop Kenn; but Beveridge refusing the offer, it was bestowed upon Dr. Kidder. Soon after their majesties nominated Dr. Sharp, dean of Canterbury, to the archbishopric of York, in the room of archbishop Lamplugh; Dr. Ironside, bishop of Bristol, to succeed Dr. Henry Crofts, lately deceased, in the bishopric of Hereford; and Dr. John Hall to be bishop of Bristol. Loud and vehement were the complaints of the deprived clergy and their friends on this occasion; the kingdom was filled with pamphlets, in which every effort of learning and resentment was exerted to blacken the character of those in power: the justice of a lay deprivation was warmly denied: the distinctions of De Jure et De Facto were now revived, and applied to the church-government, as it had formerly been to the civil administration. To frustrate these efforts of the malcontents, the court employed their engines to answer and recriminate; and, not content with that, recourse was had to the more powerful eloquence of the law: a proclamation was issued against papists and other disaffected persons, in which all magistrates were enjoined to make search

* A few days before his arrival, great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire, through the carelessness of a female servant.

and apprehend those who should, by seditious discourses and libels, presume to defame the government.

The reader will readily perceive how strangely change of circumstances operates upon the weak mind of man, since he cannot but recollect that the very practices which were now so strongly condemned by the present government, had proved the principal means of bringing about the Revolution; and that the very prelates who were now outed from their sees, had rendered themselves respectable throughout Christendom by the brave stand they had made in the late reign, when the religion and civil rights of the subject were invaded. Candour and a regard for truth has drawn from me this observation: I find myself obliged, by the same motives, to acknowledge that the persons appointed to fill the places of these prelates, were remarkable for their moderation, piety, and learning, and most of them shining ornaments to the English church. But to return from this digression:

His majesty having settled affairs at home as well as the short space of time would admit, resolved to set out for Holland, in order to command in person the confederate army in Flanders, agreeable to the promise he had made the allies at the congress; but first he gave the necessary orders for the total reduction of Ireland, that he might have nothing to call off his attention from the war on the continent: and having appointed general Ginckle commander in chief of the army in that kingdom, his majesty embarked at Harwich on the second of May, set sail with a fair wind for Holland, attended by a squadron of men of war under rear-admiral Rooke, landed the next day near Maesland-sluyce, and arrived the same evening at the Hague, where we shall leave him to take a view of the operations in Ireland.

The French king, who still persevered in supporting king James's desperate fortune, had sent his friends in that kingdom a large supply of provisions, cloaths, and ammunition, together with three thousand regular troops, under the command of M. St. Ruth, a brave and experienced general, who had greatly distinguished himself in Germany. On the other hand, general Ginckle, who in conduct and courage yielded to few commanders of his time, having been lately reinforced by a body of troops under major-general Mackay (returned from the reduction of the Scots Highlanders) took the field in the beginning of June, and invested the town of Ballymore, which was defended by a thousand men, under colonel Bourke. The batteries being raised quickly, made such a breach in a place of no great strength, that nothing remained in a few days but to give a general assault; however, the enemy saved our troops that trouble, by submitting at discretion, after a six days siege only. There were taken seven hundred and eighty men, besides four field-officers, and near three hundred of the Rapparees, or Irish free-booters, who had mixed themselves with king James's forces to wait the fortune of war.

The general having put the town in a better condition of defence, marched from thence on the eighteenth of June: and being joined the same day by the prince of Wirtemberg, encamped at Ballymony pass, from whence he advanced the next day to Athlone, situated on the other side the Shannon, and secured by the Irish and French army

under St. Ruth, which was encamped in its neighbourhood. The English town was taken by storm in two days, many of the Irish were killed in the attack, and more drowned by falling into the river; in their hasty retreat over the bridge to the Old-town. After this success, batteries were planted on the twenty-second against the Irish town, which did such execution, that the castle and other strong buildings were soon laid in ruins. The enemy, who hung out French colours, made a most obstinate resistance; insomuch that on the thirtieth our general held a council of war, to consider whether it was advisable to continue the attack, or draw off: but the duke of Wirtemberg, the generals Mackay, Talmash, Ruvigny, and Tetteau, expressed themselves strongly against such a measure, and proposed passing the Shannon in order to attack the enemy, offering themselves to be the first to conduct that attempt. Their opinion having prevailed, a detachment was sent to pass at a ford a little to the left of the town. Though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom slippery and full of stones, and the pass defended by a bastion which the enemy had erected on purpose; yet our English troops, whose courage and heroism ever increase with danger and difficulties, regardless of aught but glory, threw themselves into the river, which they waded, amidst the thickest of the enemy's fire; and having gained the other bank, threw in their hand-grenadoes, and then discharged such a furious volley of small-shot, that the enemy, unable to sustain the charge, abandoned their works. This brave detachment being supported by fresh battalions, the English in an hour's time made themselves masters of the town, with the loss of not more than fifty men. Mackay, Tetteau, Talmash, and la Melionere, performed miracles on the occasion, while general Ginckle, by his example, exhortations, and happy disposition of his men, secured us victory. The French general St. Ruth, by an effect of that vanity and presumption, which on many occasions is but too much the characteristic of his countrymen, treated the attempt of the English to force the passage of the Shannon, with a contempt that did little credit to that prudence and circumspection for which he had been hitherto distinguished. In vain did Sarsfield press him to send succours to the town: he laughed at that officer's apprehensions, and it was not till too late that he found himself convinced, that no enterprize was too difficult for English courage. When we had got possession of the place, he indeed ordered some detachments to march and drive our troops out again; but the thunder of the cannon from the town, which on our entering it was immediately turned against him, quickly made him glad to consult his own safety by a precipitate decampment.

General Ginckle having put a garrison into Athlone, and ordered the fortifications to be repaired, set out on the tenth of July in pursuit of the French and Irish army, who made a stand near Aghrim, a town about ten miles distant from Athlone. Here St. Ruth encamped in a very advantageous situation; and having by draughts from different garrisons increased his army to twenty-five thousand men, while ours under general Ginckle did not exceed eighteen thousand, he resolved to hazard a general engagement. Ginckle, notwithstanding his disparity of numbers, resolved to fight the enemy. On Sunday the twelfth day

of July both armies came to action. Of this famous battle of Aghrim, Story in his History of the Wars of Ireland, and other writers, gives us the following account.

The morning of the day appointed for making the attack proved so foggy, that general Ginckle could not begin any operation till about twelve o'clock, when the army crossed the river Suck, on the banks of which it was encamped, opposite to that of the enemy, whose center was posted on a rising ground, uneven in many places, and intersected with banks and ditches lined with musqueteers, and secured in front by a large bog almost impassable: their right was defended by intrenchments and by two Danish forts, and their left by the castle of Aghrim. The English having effected their landing, marched up to the edge of the great bog, and endeavoured to force the only two places by which it was passable, in order to gain ground on the other side. The enemy made a most furious resistance, and our horse were several times repulsed: but at last the troops on the right carried their point, by means of some field-pieces properly placed, and admirably well served. So much time however was unavoidably spent in these manœuvres, that the general would have put off the battle till the next morning; but a confusion that he observed in the enemy's camp, making him apprehensive that they intended to decamp in the night, he changed his resolution, and ordered his troops to prepare for the charge.

At five in the evening the left wing of the English attacked the right wing of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm reception, that it required the utmost efforts of their courage and resolution before they could compel them to give ground. The Irish musqueteers who lined the ditches were strongly supported by their horse, placed behind them, and maintained their posts with a most heroic obstinacy; nor would they stir from one side of the ditch, till the English presented their pieces from the other; and then, having lines of communication, they presently took post in the next ditch, where they continued to make the same resolute defence. St. Ruth perceiving that his men were in danger of being overpowered, immediately reinforced them from his center and left wing: this motion being observed by major-general Mackay, that vigilant officer instantly ordered two regiments to go round the bog, and fall upon the enemy's left wing, weakened by the detachments sent off, as already mentioned; and at the same time our center advanced through the middle of the bog, tho' up to their waists in mud and water. After having, with unspeakable difficulty, gained the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with ditches and hedges; and these were lined with musqueteers, sustained at proper distances with squadrons of horse: there the enemy made such a resolute stand, and fought with such perseverance, that they pushed our men back into the middle of the bog, which St. Ruth perceiving, cried out in a bravado, "That now he had the English at a disadvantage, and would drive them back to the gates of Dublin." Our men were indeed most miserably hampered, and in a confusion that might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, had not general Talmaish in this critical moment hastened to their

relief with some fresh men, and gave orders to the broken regiments to halt and face about, which they obeyed with an unparalleled readiness and alacrity: they then in their turn charged the Irish (who had advanced upon them into the center of the bog) with such fury, as to kill above three hundred of them before they could retreat out of it; and marching forward regained the old ground from which they had been so lately driven.

While the infantry was thus engaged, Ruvigny's regiment of French protestant horse, which had formerly been duke Schomberg's, and sir John Lanier's being posted on the right, Lanier's was afterwards drawn to the left, where they did very great service; and the right wing of the English horse were in the mean time making the best of their way to succour the foot, being sensible of their extreme danger, and that all lay at stake. The cavalry, besides being exposed to a most furious fire from the enemy's dragoons, who were posted under a cover, were likewise obliged to press and tumble over a very dangerous pass; but having bravely surmounted all these difficulties, they lodged themselves at last in a dry ditch, in the hottest of the enemy's fire from Aghrim-castle, and some old walls and houses adjoining.

The battle now seemed doubtful for some time, or if there was any advantage, it was possessed by the enemy, to whose side victory appeared to be leaning: but major-general Mackay having timely reinforced the left wing with a body of horse and dragoons, first turned the balance in favour of the English. Ruvigny, who had distinguished himself by his diligence, courage, and activity, during the whole action, putting himself at the head of his own regiment of horse and another, scoured the side of the bog, and bore down all before him; which St. Ruth perceiving, resolved to attack him in an hollow way, which he knew he must be obliged to pass in his march to sustain the center. With this view he ordered a brigade of his own horse from the right wing to march up to the left; and putting himself at their head, began to descend Kircommodon hill, towards the place which he saw the English endeavouring to pass; but when he came near this place, where the main stress of the battle was fought, he was killed by a cannon-ball.

The death of the French general decided the fate of the day: the French and Irish were so much discouraged thereby, that Sarsfield, who was second in command, in vain endeavoured to recover them from their disorder. Ruvigny observing the confusion they were in, pressed boldly on, and falling upon them sword in hand, drove them with very little resistance to the top of the hill, where their camp had lain; then their whole line giving way at once, they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight. They were hotly pursued for the space of three miles, and suffered a most dreadful slaughter; but night coming on, with a thick misty rain, prevented our men from getting between them and an advantageous post near Loughbreak. However, it was computed that there were no less than seven thousand of the Irish slain on the spot, while the English had only six hundred killed, and nine hundred and sixty wounded: a very inconsiderable loss, if we reflect on the great superiority of the enemy before the engage-

engagement! The Irish took shelter in Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hopes of receiving such succours from France as would enable them either to continue there, or obtain good terms from king William*.

General Ginckle, having allowed a few days for the refreshment of his men after this hot encounter, marched to Galway, the most considerable place left in the possession of the Irish, next to Limerick, and by a trumpet summoned the lord Dillon, the governor, to surrender the town. Though he at first refused, yet, upon part of the English army passing the river, and seizing a fort the Irish were building, he changed his resolution, and surrendered the place on the twentieth of July, upon advantageous articles, and the garrison were safely conducted to Limerick; to which place, the last refuge of the despairing Irish, general Ginckle soon bent his march, and came before it on the twenty-fifth of August.

The very next day the English made themselves masters of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, which were now ordered to be called Mackay's and Nassau's, because gained under these commanders. Two days after, castle Connel and castle Garrick, two small forts standing upon the Shannon, three miles below the town, were attacked, and the garrisons of both made prisoners of war. The batteries were then opened against Limerick, and the attack of the place was carried on with all imaginable vigour till the seventeenth of September; but the resistance of the enemy was so obstinate, and the place so very defensible, that a council of war was held in the English camp, to debate whether it would not be most eligible to pass the river and destroy the enemy's forage, and then turn the siege into a blockade, rather than hazard the lives of the troops in fruitless attacks. The former expedient was preferred, and some steps taken towards putting it in practice, which filled the enemy with the greatest joy, who took it for granted, by what they saw the English doing, that they should soon be rid of such troublesome guests. Their satisfaction however was of short duration; for upon a second consultation it was resolved to press the siege, and at all events endeavour to make ourselves masters of the town. In pursuance of this resolution, the English, in the night of the eighteenth, formed a bridge of boats over the river, about a mile above the camp, and a strong party of horse and foot was sent over it; which struck the enemy that guarded the opposite side of the river with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and fled in haste. On the twenty-second general Ginckle himself passed the Shannon with a strong detachment of horse and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon, leaving Wirtemberg, Mackay, and Talmash, to command on the hither side of the river. The siege was now pressed with redoubled vigour, and the batteries continued to play against the town with great fury: at length, the English having taken several of the out-forts, and made a lodgment within ten yards of Thomond-bridge foot; the Irish, finding themselves cut off from all hopes of relief, determined to capitulate, which they did on the twenty-ninth of September; and on the first of October the lords

justices of Ireland arrived in the English camp, where they settled all the articles of the capitulation, which were finally concluded on the third of the same month. By these articles, which were twenty in number, the Irish were all indemnified, and restored to the enjoyment of all the liberty in the exercise of their religion which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of subjects upon taking the oaths of allegiance, without being obliged to take the oath of supremacy: and not only the French, but as many of the Irish as chose to go over to France, had free liberty so to do. In virtue of these articles, Limerick, and all other towns, forts, and castles, that yet remained in the hands of the catholics, were to be surrendered up within a limited time. Accordingly, the English were put in possession of the place on the fifth; the French and many of the Irish were sent away in transport vessels, the remainder of their army in the field submitting to be included in the amnesty.

By the surrender of Limerick, Ireland was reduced to the subjection of the crown of England, and a solid peace established there, which has to this day continued without any interruption. Ginckle returning to England, was received with the highest applause, and, together with his general officers, feasted by the city of London: nor was this all; for the commons, on the meeting of the parliament, in token of their gratitude for the important services the general had been of to the state, ordered seven of their members to attend him with the thanks of their house. His majesty soon after created him earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim, that he might perpetuate to his posterity the honour of his glorious achievements; and to enable him the better to support his dignity, he was gratified with a grant of lands in Ireland to a very large amount†.

The events at sea this year were not very considerable. The Smyrna fleet being expected home this spring, and the English and Dutch having a joint concern therein, to the amount of several millions, both nations were extremely apprehensive of its being attacked by the French fleet, then cruising off the Chops of the Channel and in the Bay of Biscay, under admiral Tourville; and therefore strict orders were sent to admiral Russel, to use his utmost care for its preservation, which he executed with equal industry and success: for having appointed single ships to cruise for them on every point of the compass, he crossed with the main fleet to Cape Clear on the Irish coast; and being off Kinsale, received advice that the Smyrna men were safely arrived in that harbour. Upon this he resolved to conduct them as far as Scilly, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the Channel, having first taken the necessary precaution of sending a frigate before to Plymouth, that he might be satisfied none of the enemies ships were upon the coast. After parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to go off Ushant; and if the French were gone from thence, to follow them to Belleisle; but not seeing any thing of them, he returned back towards our own coast; and arriving in the Channel, he sent sir Cloudesley Shovel to look into Brest, where he saw

* Story's Life of King William. Burnet. Tindal.

† Ibid.

about forty sail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ships from Bretagne, escorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudesley on this occasion made use of an excellent stratagem to decoy these ships into his hands: he knew the French had intelligence that a small squadron of their fleet had made prize of several English merchantmen: he therefore ordered part of his squadron to put out French colours, and the rest to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally suppose it that squadron with their prizes. This succeeded in part; but the greater number of the French discovered the cheat time enough to get safe back into port*. Towards the latter end of July admiral Russel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with fresh provisions. Some of these were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting; and though for the space of a month Russel did all he could to come up with them, yet they still eluded his vigilance. The season being over for action, Russel wrote to be recalled; but before he could receive an answer, was overtaken by a violent storm on the second of September off the Land's End, which obliged him to bear up for so dangerous a port as Plymouth, where the Warwick, a third-rate, and the Coronation, a second-rate, were lost in coming to an anchor, and many others were in the utmost danger.

The admiral immediately gave orders for refitting such ships as had been damaged in the storm, and left sir Cloudesley Shovel at Plymouth to see it performed, steering himself with the rest of the fleet for Spithead. Here he received orders to form a squadron of thirty sail of English and Dutch ships, to be sent to the coast of Ireland; and he accordingly appointed sir Ralph Dalaval, vice-admiral of the blue squadron, to the command, who attempted four times to execute that duty, and was as often forced back by contrary winds†. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the honour, profit, or satisfaction of the nation. Loud complaints were made against admiral Russel for mismanagement; whereupon the house of commons ordered the admiral's instructions, and the letters written to and by him, to be laid before them, which sufficiently cleared him from all blame. It is now time to return to king William, whom we left at the Hague.

We have already seen that the French had taken the field much earlier than the confederates. Luxemburg, with an army of forty thousand men, was advancing to besiege Brussels, while the marquis de Boufflers with another army sat down before Liege. William, upon advice of these motions, lost no time in putting himself at the head of his troops, and arrived in time not only to cover the former place, but likewise to raise the siege of the latter. The confederate army was now superior to that of the enemy, and the king did all in his power to bring Luxemburg to an engagement; but that able commander, who was perfectly skilled in every art of war, as well defensive as offensive, so managed matters as to baffle all the king's endeavours, who perceiving he could not bring what he intended to bear, caused the fortifications

of Beaumont, a place which he had made himself master of, to be demolished, and marched the army towards Aeth, from whence he departed the seventh of September for Loo, leaving the forces under the command of prince Waldeck. In his absence the French became somewhat more daring, yet not till they found they had gotten the confederate army at an advantage: for the prince having remained some time in the neighbourhood of Aeth, to cover and secure the adjacent country from the inroads of the enemies parties; and having, as he thought, provided effectually for that purpose, he moved off towards Benain; when Luxemburg, taking the advantage of this motion, advanced by great marches, and with several chosen squadrons of his best horse fell upon the rear of the confederate army, as it was passing a little river and defile near Casoire, charging so furiously, that after a terrible fight, the first line of the confederates gave way, and fell behind the second; which, after sustaining very hot charges, gave ground also; but their officers exerting themselves with unparalleled bravery, so animated the men by their example and exhortations, that they soon returned again to the fight. Whereupon the French horse, fearing to be encompassed by our infantry, retired, and left the confederate army to march on without any farther molestation. In this encounter we lost one thousand men: nor had the enemy much occasion to boast; for notwithstanding the great disadvantage at which they had taken the allies, they had five hundred of their men left dead upon the place; among whom were several officers of note, and a great many afterwards died of their wounds. The season being now far advanced, nothing of moment was farther attempted during this campaign, but both armies returned into winter-quarters. In the mean time, the duke de Noailles, with the army that acted against Spain, besieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French squadron commanded by the count d'Etrées bombarded Barcelona and Alicant‡.

The confederates had proposed to act vigorously in Italy against the French; but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The elector of Bavaria was nominated to the chief command; but Catinat had already over-run Piedmont, and the duke of Savoy saw himself reduced to the brink of ruin, almost all his places of strength being in the hands of the enemy, who now laid siege to Coni, a fortified town about thirty miles from Nice. The garrison was reduced to such extremity, that, unless speedily relieved, nothing remained for them but to surrender the place, the loss of which would have been attended with the most fatal consequences. To prevent therefore, if possible, this additional calamity, prince Eugene, brother to the duke of Savoy, was sent with a convoy of provisions and two thousand horse. At Magliano he was joined by six thousand militia. M. Bulonde, who by Catinat's orders conducted the siege, hearing of their approach, thought proper to quit the place, and seek for his safety in a retreat; which he performed with so much haste and confusion, that he left behind him several pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, and utensils, with

* Burchet's Memoirs. Campbell's Lives of Admirals. † Kennet. Burchet. Columna Rostrata. ‡ Burnet. Boyer. Kennet.

all his sick and wounded; for which he was, on his arrival in Catinat's camp, immediately put under arrest. The inglorious retreat of the French from before Coni gave no small reputation to the duke of Savoy's army, and that prince's affairs assumed a more favourable aspect from this period*. Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova and Asti, while La Hogue, another French general, who had forced the passes of Aoste, which opened an entrance into the Verceillois, and threatened Turin with a bombardment, was obliged to abandon his post, and retreat with his forces into winter-quarters.

The Imperialists, under the command of prince Lewis of Baden, had also the good fortune to gain a signal victory over the Turks at Salankamen, on the nineteenth of August this year, in which Kuperli the grand vizier was killed; and the prince of Baden afterwards took the town of Peterwaradin in Lower Hungary: but this did not put an end to the war between the emperor and the Turks; the Imperialists were still obliged to keep the greatest part of their forces in Hungary, and could not furnish their quota of troops against France, which was a great disadvantage to the allies. It is observable that the French have seldom entered into a war with their neighbours, but they have brought the Turks into Christendom, who usually make a powerful diversion in their favour. Our attention must now be turned to affairs at home.

King William, after leaving the army, continued some time at the Hague, regulating the operations of the next campaign; and then embarking for England, attended by a squadron of men of war under the command of sir Cloudesley Shovel, arrived at Margate on the nineteenth of October; and three days after, viz. on the twenty-second of the same month, both houses of parliament met for the dispatch of business. The session was opened by a speech from the throne, wherein his majesty told the two houses, "That he hoped the success his forces had met with in Ireland would be a great encouragement to them to assist him with fresh supplies. He recommended to them the keeping a strong fleet at sea, and an army of sixty-five thousand men ashore, that they might annoy the enemy in the most sensible part; adding, that they had now an opportunity of establishing their future quiet and prosperity, which if they neglected they might never more regain†."

Both houses hereupon congratulated his majesty upon his happy return, after so many hazards in his voyage to Holland, as also on the success of his arms in Ireland, promising to assist him in carrying on a vigorous war against France, in order to procure an honourable peace to his own dominions, and to secure his neighbours from the common oppressor‡. A proclamation was al-

so published for keeping a thanksgiving on the twenty-sixth of November, "for his majesty's preservation from the great and manifest dangers in his voyage to and from Holland, and for the wonderful success of the Irish war, whereby their majesties were now happily established in the full possession of their three kingdoms." Addresses were also presented to the queen, acknowledging her prudent care in the administration of the government during the king's absence§.

Notwithstanding these warm and loyal proceedings, it soon appeared that there was a very strong party formed against the government. These were the Tories, who by no means approved of the maxims or conduct of king William: they inveighed both in private and public against the folly and extravagance of keeping on foot a standing army; they insisted that England ought only to assist her allies with some auxiliary troops, and that the management of affairs at sea was chiefly to be regarded. To this the advocates for the court replied, that without the interposition of England the grand alliance would never have taken place, nor could a stop have been put to the spreading conquests of the ambitious Lewis, who must soon have reduced both Flanders and Holland, and in them have destroyed the commerce, and even the liberties, of this kingdom. The arguments against continental connections were so much to the taste of the public, that the present government was in general greatly censured. Another principal cause of discontent was the evident partiality the king shewed to the Dutch over the English; and it was the general cry of the nation, that the former were the only persons favoured and trusted, while the English were wholly overlooked. It must be confessed that king William took too little pains to obviate this general disgust, which spread both among the English officers and nobility, or to gain the affections of his British subjects. He continued shut up all day with one or two particulars only, and those his own countrymen; and the sullen reserve and silence he observed when he did admit any of our nobility to an audience, gave them as much distaste as a denial would have done. The earl of Marlborough thought that his services were not sufficiently rewarded, and began to speak the language of a discontented person||. Let us now attend the proceedings of the parliament.

The commons on the ninth of November voted upwards of a million and a half for the service of the navy and ordnance, and upwards of two millions for the service of the land forces, for the ensuing year 1692, besides the supplies given the year before for the civil list, and other uses; so that there were about five millions of money raised this year¶.

The king coming to the house of peers on the

* The miscarriage of the French before Coni, made such an impression on the mind of Louvois, the minister of Lewis, that he could not help shedding tears when he imparted the news to his master. Lewis replied, with great composure, "You are too easily affected with a trifle. You are plainly spoiled by good fortune. For my part, who remember to have seen the Spanish troops in Paris, I can bear greater misfortunes with indifference." *Memoires du Marquis de la Farre.*

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 389.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

|| Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 85.

¶ By a continuance of the excise upon beer and ale, &c. by a land-tax, amounting to 1,651,702 l. being about three shillings in the pound; by a poll-tax, and by tonnage and poundage, or the duties on merchandize, which were assigned the last year for the support of the civil government for four years.

By the poll-tax granted this session, all persons (excepting the poor) were to pay twelve-pence per quarter for one year; all tradesmen who were worth three hundred pounds, ten shillings

the twenty-fourth of December, gave the royal assent to several acts *. After which his majesty made a speech to both houses, wherein he thanked them for their resolutions to assist him, but pressed them to hasten the remainder of the supplies, that the enemy might not get the start of him in the field, as they had done in the last campaign. But the dispatch so much desired by the king was retarded by several incidental affairs which engaged the attention of the house: one was a contest between the East India Company and some private merchants: the matter was referred to the examination of a committee; and the Company's defence was so little to the satisfaction of the examiners, that the house addressed the king to dissolve the present Company, and grant a charter to a new one. The king returned this answer; "It is a motion of very great importance to the trade of this kingdom: I will consider of it, and in a very short time give the commons a positive answer †." However, his majesty in the mean time was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on sir John Goldsborough, who was going to India in quality of the Company's commissary-general. The next affair that came before the parliament was the pretended discovery of a plot, by one Fuller, a prisoner for debt in the King's-Bench, who fell upon this stratagem to procure his enlargement: but having trifled most egregiously upon several examinations, and not being able to make good the least part of his sham-evidence, the commons were so provoked at his insolence and presumption, that they voted him "a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser, who had scandalized his majesty's person and government, abused the house of commons, and falsely accused several persons of honour and quality:" and they farther resolved, "That an address be presented to his majesty to command his attorney-general to prosecute the said impostor." Fuller was accordingly prosecuted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; which ignominious punishment he underwent with a surprising effrontery.

The public business met with a farther and more considerable interruption, by a very warm contest that arose between the two houses, on occasion of a bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason; which being passed by the commons, was sent up to the lords for their concurrence, who on the first reading added the following clause to it: "That upon the trial of any peer or peeress for treason, or misprision of treason, ALL the peers who have a right to sit and vote in parliament, should be duly summoned to attend twenty days at least before the trial, and should vote at the trial of such peers or peeresses:" and with this amendment the bill was sent back to the

commons, who rejected to the clause, which occasioned several conferences between both houses; in which Charles Montagu, afterwards earl of Halifax, distinguished himself as a manager for the commons; as did the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Mulgrave, Rochester, Nottingham, Monmouth, and Stamford, for the lords ‡. After a long time wasted in fruitless arguments in both sides, neither of which would give way to the other, the bill was dropped for the present, but it passed with the said clause a few years afterwards.

The funds for the ensuing year being at length settled, the king came to the house on the twenty-fourth of February; and having given the royal assent to the money-bills, and several acts relating to civil polity §, he closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked his parliament for the zeal and attachment they had shewn to his government, and the liberality and dispatch with which they had provided for the necessities of the state, acquainting them at the same time with his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the parliament was adjourned to the twelfth day of April, and afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth of May.

In the course of this session, Dr. Wellwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded at the bar of the house of commons, for having reflected upon that house in a weekly paper, entitled *Mercurius Reformatus*; but as it was written in defence of the government, the king appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. But the most remarkable incident during this session, was the disgrace of the earl of Marlborough, to whom his majesty sent the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, some day in January, to acquaint him, that he had no farther occasion for his services, and therefore demanded all his commissions. Numberless were the conjectures of the public, on the cause of this nobleman's disgrace: it was said that he had incurred the king's displeasure by some speeches reflecting upon the Dutch favourites, particularly the earl of Portland (Bentinck) and the earl of Rochford (Zuylestein); it was also alleged that the king having formed a design to surprize Dunkirk, had communicated it to the earl of Marlborough, and he had told it to his lady, who is supposed to have acquainted her sister, lady Tyrconnel with the secret, by whom it was revealed to the king's enemies; and that his majesty thereupon thought proper to remove so imprudent a person from any place of trust: thus much is certain, that the earl was not employed again, nor called to council, till after the peace of Ryswick ||. His countess was also forbid the court; and the princess of Denmark was desired to dismiss her from her fa-

lings per quarter; all gentlemen and reputed gentlemen having estates of three hundred pounds per annum, and all clergymen and dissenting teachers having ecclesiastical benefices or contributions of the value of eighty pounds per annum, twenty shillings per quarter; and every lord of parliament, spiritual and temporal, ten pounds per quarter, and all non-jurors double.

* To an act for granting certain impositions upon ale and beer; to an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; and to an act for ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax; and on the Thursday following to the land-tax.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 391, 392.

‡ Ibid. ii. 393.

§ Viz. an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment; an act against deer-stealing; an act for repairing the high-ways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods; and an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devises. Pr. House of Com. ii. 407.

|| Life of Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 71. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 90.

mily, which she refusing to do, it occasioned a quarrel between her and the queen her sister; upon which her royal highness retired from court, and removed to Sion House, which she borrowed of the duke of Somerset. Great endeavours were used on this occasion by the discontented party at home to get the princess to head their faction; but her highness gave not the least encouragement to their measures, but continued to observe the same unblameable conduct which she had made the sole rule of her actions ever since the accession of their majesties to the crown.

Before I close the transactions of the year 1691, I shall just take notice of an unsuccessful expedition of our colonists from New England, against the French in Canada. It seems that the government of New England, finding the French very troublesome neighbours, sent out a fleet, in the summer of this year, of thirty-two sail, with two thousand land-forces on board, for the attack of Quebec; but this armament being eight weeks in sailing up the river of St. Lawrence, they thereby gave the enemy time to bring all their strength for the defence of the place, before which our people were repulsed, obliged to reembark, and, in coming down the river, lost many of their ships upon the rocks and shoals: and when two thousand English and fifteen hundred Indians had marched over-land from New York, Connecticut, &c. they found no canoes to transport them over the lakes, and were therefore obliged to return home. In this unfortunate and ill-conducted expedition, the province of New England contracted a debt of one hundred and forty thousand pounds; and there were said to have been upwards of one thousand lives lost, by the different accidents attending it*.

As soon as Lewis XIV. perceived that it was impossible to support the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a resolution of employing the forces that were still left king James, to serve his purpose another way: with this view he entered into a correspondence with the Jacobite party in England for an invasion on the coast of Sussex: and though for this design it was necessary to draw together a great number of transports, as well as a considerable body of forces, yet he had both in readiness before it was so much as suspected here, so extremely bad was the intelligence of our court at that time. The land army consisted of fourteen battalions of English and Irish troops, and about nine thousand French, commanded by the marshal de Belfondes; so that in all there were full twenty thousand men†. The fleet of transports consisted of three hundred sail, and was well provided with every thing necessary for the invasion: in short, nothing was wanting to the execution of the design in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Estrees's squadron of twelve men of war,

which was to escort the embarkation, while Tourville cruized in the Channel with the grand fleet, which was also ready to put to sea, but detained by contrary winds. Things being in this promising situation, king James sent over colonel Parker, and some other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions: these arrived about the latter end of January 1692. This officer, with one Johnson, had formed a plot for assassinating king William; but before they could execute their barbarous design, his majesty, having settled all affairs at home, embarked for Holland the fifth of March, and arrived safely at the Hague, from whence he soon after went to Loo‡.

In this interval king James, finding his queen big with child, that there might be no more disputes about her majesty's delivery, sent over letters, directed to several lords who had formerly been members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and distinction§, acquainting them with his queen's pregnancy, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labour. This invitation, however, was not accepted by any of those to whom it was addressed. Those among them who wished well to his interest were restrained, by fear of incurring the resentment of the present government, while the Revolutionists thought it a matter of little concern whether James's queen was really in a state of child-bearing or not. Not long after, king James sent over a printed declaration, dated at St. Germain's, in which he openly avowed his intentions of using all possible means to recover the throne of his ancestors, and boasted of the powerful assistance he expected from France; at the same time exhorting all his faithful subjects to continue their fidelity to him: he offered pardon and rewards to all of the prince of Orange's soldiers, or others, who would come in to him; and proceeded so far as to except by name from the said indemnity no less than thirteen noblemen, two bishops, seven barons, and a great number of clergy and gentlemen.

All this time colonel Parker, and other agents, were employed in inlisting men privately in the counties of York and Lancaster, and the bishopric of Durham, while Mr. James Fountaine, as lieutenant-colonel to the lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, were forming two regiments of horse in London, who were to join king James on his landing. In their zeal for their old master's service, however, they overshot the mark: for having entertained a notion that rear-admiral Carter was disaffected to king William's government, they applied to him; and he having given the queen and council information thereof, he was ordered to feign an inclination to join the conspirators; which he did so effectually, that they credulously gave into the snare, to the destruction of their plot and their

* British Empire in America. Anderson.

† Histoire Militaire, tome ii. 473, 577.

‡ Before the king went abroad he made the following promotions: Thomas earl of Pembroke, in the beginning of March, was made lord privy-seal, being succeeded as a commissioner of the admiralty by Charles lord Cornwallis; sir Edward Seymour, bart. and Charles Montagu, esq. were made lords commissioners of the treasury, in the room of sir John Lowther, vice-chamberlain of the household, and Thomas Pelham, who resigned; and Henry lord viscount Sidney, principal secretary of state, resigning that office, was constituted lord-lieutenant of

Ireland.

§ The letter was directed not only to the privy counsellors, but likewise to the duchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the marchioness of Hallifax, the countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville, those of sir John Trevor speaker of the house of commons, sir Edward Seymour, sir Christopher Musgrave, sir Thomas Stamford lord mayor of London, sir William Ashhurst and sir Richard Levett sheriffs; and lastly to Dr. Chamberlain the famous practitioner in midwifery. State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 234.

good friend's fleet; for they presently sent over an express to the lord Melfort, James's secretary, to acquaint him with their having corrupted Carter, who would take care of the officers of his squadron. They likewise sent a list of the ships that composed the English fleet, desiring lord Melfort to lay the same before the French king, and press him to send peremptory orders to Tourville to attack them before they could be joined by the Dutch squadron from Holland. Lewis, pleased to find his schemes in so fine a way of succeeding, commanded Tourville to put to sea, and fall upon the English fleet at all events, without waiting for being joined by the squadron under count d'Estrees, while king James repaired to La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy, ready to embark with his army.

The court of England must certainly have been in great consternation when they heard that James was on the coast of France with an army ready to invade them, and the Dutch squadron not yet come over to join our fleet. Queen Mary, however, who had the administration during the king's absence, behaved upon this occasion with great wisdom and firmness of mind; for without discovering any apprehensions of danger, she took all the precautions that were necessary to prevent it, by publishing a proclamation requiring all papists to quit the cities of London and Westminster; another for assembling both houses of parliament; and a third for apprehending the following noblemen and gentlemen, who were supposed to be in her father's interest, namely, the earls of Scarfdale, Litchfield, Newburgh, Middleton, and Dunmore; the lords Griffin and Forbes; sir John Fenwicke, sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, sir Andrew Forrester, and others. These proclamations were issued on the fifth of May, and the next day the earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough, with the lords Brudenell and Fanshaw, were sent to the Tower; and Mr. Edward Ridley, Mr. Knevitt, Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Robert Ferguson, to Newgate, on violent suspicion of high-treason, in abetting and adhering to their majesties enemies. The trained-bands of London and Westminster, amounting to about ten thousand men, were drawn out in Hyde-Park, and reviewed by the queen in person. Orders were likewise sent to admiral Russel, then lying at St. Helen's, to hasten out to sea, in whatever condition the fleet might be.

King William, as soon as he arrived in Holland, had taken care to hasten the naval preparations there with unusual diligence; so that the Dutch

fleet was ready to put to sea much sooner than had been expected, or at least much sooner than it had done the year before, and in a much better condition: in short, the Dutch squadron under admiral Allemonde, of thirty-six sail, joined our fleet at St. Helen's about the middle of May; and the admiral was soon after farther reinforced by the squadron under sir Ralph Delaval from the Mediterranean, and admiral Carter from the Channel*. While they lay at St. Helen's, admiral Russel received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, as secretary of state, written by queen Mary's directions; wherein he was informed, "That a scandalous and malicious report was spread, as if some of the officers of their majesties fleet were disaffected, or not hearty in their service, and that her majesty had been thereupon induced to order the discharge of many of them; but her majesty charged the admiral to acquaint his officers, that she was satisfied this report was raised by the enemies of the government, and that she reposed an entire confidence in their fidelity, and had resolved not to displace so much as one of them†." Upon this the flag-officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on board the Britannia, at St. Helen's, May 15, 1692, which was transmitted to court, and presented by the lords of the admiralty to her majesty, who was pleased to return this gracious answer, which was published that same night (May 17) in the Gazette‡: "I always had this opinion of the commanders, but I am glad this is come, to satisfy others."

The whole confederate fleet being now in a body, admiral Russel weighed anchor from St. Helen's on the eighteenth of May, and steered over to the coast of France. Next morning about three o'clock, the scouts to the westward of the fleet made the signal for discovering the enemy. The admiral immediately gave orders for forming the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was in good order, having the Dutch squadron in the van, our red squadron in the center, and the blue in the rear. Tourville was confounded at the sight of the combined squadrons: he might, as he was to windward, have avoided an engagement; but he had received positive orders to fight, on the supposition, as we have already mentioned, that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Full of that implicit obedience which every Frenchman thinks it his duty to pay to the commands of his sovereign, he resolved to fight at all events§, and bore down upon our fleet with great resolution.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 464.

† Campbell's Lives of Admirals, vol. iii. p. 63.

‡ No. 2767.

§ For the information of our readers, we shall here give an abstract of the force of the respective fleets.

The ENGLISH FLEET.

RED SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
1 First	3,835	500
3 Second	1,800	270
16 Third	6,400	1100
7 Fourth	1,860	350
31	13,895	2,220

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The Right Honourable EDWARD RUSSEL, Esquire, Admiral, Commander in Chief.

Sir RALPH DELAVAL, Vice-admiral.

Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, Rear-admiral.

BLUE SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
1 First	780	100
7 Second	4,655	636
18 Third	7,740	1270
6 Fourth	1,500	304
32	14,675	2,310

Sir JOHN ASHBY, Admiral.

GEORGE ROOKE, Esquire, Vice-admiral.

RICHARD CARTER, Esquire, Rear-admiral.

The

tion. About half an hour after eleven he, in our ship the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, brought to, and began the fight with admiral Russel, within less than musket-shot; in which posture he lay about an hour and a half, plying his guns very smartly; but then began to tow off in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail-yards, being very much damaged.

About noon the wind shifted to the north-west, so that five of the enemy's blue squadron posted themselves three a-head and two a-stern of their admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The admiral and his two seconds, captain Churchill and captain Aylmer, had all these ships to deal with. About four there was so great a fog, that the enemy could not be seen; and as soon as it cleared up, the French admiral was seen towing away northward: upon which admiral Russel crowded sail after him, and made the signal for the rest of the fleet to chace. While this passed between the admirals, sir Cloudesley Shovel was got to windward of Tourville's squadron, and engaged them; but the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor. The weather afterwards clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, while the English pursued with all the canvass they could spread; and the English blue squadron having again fallen in with the enemy, engaged about three quarters of an hour, till the latter, having lost four ships, bore away for Conquet Road. In this short action admiral Carter was killed, whose last words sufficiently refuted the opinion the Jacobites had formed of him; for finding himself mortally wounded, he recommended it to his captain to fight the ship as long as she could swim *.

The next day, the twentieth of May, proved so dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before our fleet descryed that of the enemy, and then there followed a general chace, the French crowding away to the westward. About four in the afternoon both fleets came to an anchor near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-second, about seven in the morning, our fleet resumed the chace with all the success they could desire: about eleven the French admiral ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burnt by sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, a ship of 102 guns, the Conquerant of eighty, and three others of lesser force. Eighteen other ships of the fleet took shelter in La Hogue, where thirteen of them were burnt by admiral Rooke, who at the same time destroyed a

great number of transports loaded with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from their fort, and in sight of king James's camp. Sir John Ashby, with the blue squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the fleet which escaped, through the Race of Alderney, among such rocks and shoals, that the English could not attempt to enter without running the most imminent danger of being dashed in pieces †.

Besides the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, the French lost another ship of one hundred and two, one of ninety, two of eighty, four of seventy-six, four of sixty, and two of fifty guns ‡. If indeed sir John Ashby could have come up with those that took shelter in St. Maloes, it had in a good measure put an end to the French power at sea. As it was, it must be acknowledged a most glorious victory, and perpetual praise is due to the memory of the brave men who achieved it. From this time to the peace concluded in 1697, the French did not attempt to engage the English fleet at sea, but contented themselves with prejudicing our trade by their smaller ships of war and privateers.

The loss of the French fleet was a fatal stroke to king James, who now saw all his hopes swallowed up at once; and, according to Burnet and some other authors, he wrote a letter to the king of France, wherein, after lamenting his own ill fortune, which he said had proved contagious to all his friends, he intreated his most christian majesty no longer to concern himself for a prince so fated to disappointments; "Since, says he, I doubt not to hear of the quick return of your majesty's wonted triumphs over both your enemies and mine, when my interest shall be no longer intermixed with yours." Lewis endeavoured to sooth his affliction by the warmest expressions of friendship, and a promise never to forsake him in his most desperate fortunes.

Admiral Russel, having ordered sir John Ashby to scour the French coast as far as Havre de Grace, returned to England to refit his damaged ships (none of which were lost in the late glorious victory) and supply the fleet with provisions. As soon as news arrived of the fleet's being anchored at Spithead, the queen sent down thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors, and gold medals for the officers, to express the sense she had of their fidelity and courage. She also gave orders for the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings (of the Sandwich) the only two

The DUTCH SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
9 First	4,515	796
10 Second	3,766	772
9 Third	2,925	640
8 Fourth	1,845	406
36	13,051	2,614

Admiral ALLEMONDE.
Vice-admiral CALLEMBERG.
Rear-admiral VANDERGOES.

The FRENCH FLEET.

The VAN.
26 Ships, from 90 to 60 Guns.
The CENTER.
25 Ships, from 104 to 54 Guns.

The REAR.

12 Ships, from 94 to 54 Guns.

So that admiral Russel had ninety-nine ships of the line under his command, and count Tourville but sixty-three, some of which were detached in the time of action. It is however to be remarked, that though the confederate fleet had this great superiority over the French, yet scarce one half of it could engage, which was owing to the disposition made by admiral Russel, upon notice that the enemy was at hand; for he made a signal for the blue squadron, under sir George Rooke, the vice-admiral, to tack northward, in order to engage the French the sooner, in case they had stood that way; but the fog which ushered in the day dispersing about four o'clock in the morning, they were seen standing to the southward. Burchet, 138, 139. Campbell, iii. 64, 65.

* Burchet. Campbell. Burnet.
† Campbell.
‡ Burchet, 146.

officers of note who lost their lives in the engagement, to be honourably interred, at the charge of the crown. At the same time, in order to make the most of the consternation the French were thrown into by their late defeat, it was resolved to make a descent either at St. Malo's, Brest, or Rochfort. Accordingly, in the latter end of July, seven thousand men were embarked for that purpose, under the command of the duke of Leinster; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition; but by some unaccountable negligence in the ministry, the whole scheme vanished into air: and the soldiery, after having lain upwards of a month on board, were sent over to serve in Flanders, where they arrived on the twenty-second day of August. The general reflection of the more sensible part of the nation on this occasion was, that the victory, which the favour of heaven and the bravery of our men had procured us, those who were entrusted with the management of public affairs had neither spirit nor sagacity to improve. The Dutch openly exclaimed against the treachery of the king's counsellors, affirming, that every thing that was transacted in the cabinet at Whitehall, was so speedily betrayed to the French, that it was in vain to hope for any success from designs concerted there. After the sending these troops into Flanders, the great ships were ordered round to Chatham, and the rest of the fleet divided into squadrons, as was judged most convenient for the service; and thus ended the naval transactions of this year. From England we will now pass over to the continent, and take a view of the military operations there.

Lewis XIV. to console himself for the disgrace he had lately sustained in the defeat of his fleet, laid siege to Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, both by its situation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese, and by its citadel, which is built on a rock. His army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with part of which he invested the town on the fifteenth of May, while Luxemburg with the rest covered his operations. The siege was pushed with such vigour and resolution, that in eight days the French made themselves masters of the town, and of the citadel in twenty-two, while the duke of Luxemburg prevented king William from passing the Meuse, who had advanced to the banks of that river, at the head of eighty thousand men, to raise the siege. After this conquest, Lewis returned again to Versailles, and Luxemburg still continued to make head against the army of the confederates*: and now it was that the battle of Steinkirk was fought, so famous for the military art and courage displayed there.

King William, rightly judging that it would be some reflection either on his conduct or courage, to have suffered a place of such importance as Namur to be taken in his view, earnestly sought an opportunity to retrieve his reputation. With this view he formed a design to surprize Mons; but being disappointed in this enterprize also, he determined to fight the French at all hazards, especially as he had just received a reinforcement of eight thousand Hanoverians. Marshal Luxemburg had pitched his camp in a very advantageous

post, covered by a wood and thick hedges, between Enghien and Steinkirk. Here king William resolved to attack him, upon the information of some persons who were thought to understand the nature of the ground, though it was found to be narrower, and more difficult of access than the king had been made to believe it was. However, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of July, the army was ordered to march by break of day, and attack the enemy in their camp. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack: the French were all asleep in their tents, never dreaming of such a visit, and one entire brigade was cut in pieces before the marshal knew any thing of the matter. He was then very ill; a fatal circumstance at a time when uncommon activity was required: but the greatness of the danger seemed to give him new strength: he changed his ground; gave a field of battle to his army which before was pent up; recovered the right wing, which was all in confusion; rallied his men three several times, and three times charged at the head of the household troops; and all this in less than two hours. He had with him in his army the duke of Chartres, a grandson of France, who was then not above fifteen years old, and consequently could be of but little service in any great operation; but his presence contributed much to animate the soldiers. A grandson and a grand-nephew of the great Condé served also under Luxemburg as lieutenant generals: the one was the duke of Bourbon, the other the prince of Conti. These two were rivals in courage, ambition, and fame, and exerted themselves in a memorable manner to retrieve the fortune of the day. All these princes put themselves at the head of the rallied troops, and made a most furious and desperate resistance. Wirtemberg, unable to contend with such superior numbers, sent several messages to count Solmes, soliciting a reinforcement: but that nobleman, from some pique he had conceived against the English, disregarded his request. The king being informed of the danger his troops were exposed to, sent orders to the count to march to their assistance; but the horse, on account of the unevenness of the ground, could be of no service; so that the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, sustained the whole fury of the fight. At length Boufflers, who was posted with a strong body of dragoons at some distance from the field of battle, coming up and joining the French army, the confederates, unable to withstand this additional superiority, gave way, though the retreat was performed in good order; for the French, contenting themselves with having thus retrieved their affairs, did not offer to molest them. On the other hand, king William would not venture to renew the engagement, for fear of exposing his whole army to the danger of a defeat, and therefore drew off his forces. In this attack, which was a very desperate one, we lost five or six thousand men at least; and among them lieutenant-general Mackay, sir John Lanier, the earl of Angus, sir Robert Douglas, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the French was also very considerable, both in private men and officers of rank; and they would have suffered still more, had it not been for the treachery of

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

one Millevoix, secretary to the elector of Bavaria, who had for a considerable time made it his practice to send intelligence to the enemy of all the plans agreed upon by the allies in their councils of war. Being detected on this occasion, he was hanged on a tree on the right wing of the confederate army.

But a scene of greater treachery was about this time happily brought to light: for the French court, finding that they could not destroy king William in open war, resolved to take him off by secret villainy; and an attempt was now set on foot against his life by the management of Barbesieux, secretary of state to Lewis XIV. and one colonel Parker, who had fled to that court. Grandval, a French knight of a desperate fortune, was encouraged with considerable sums in hand, and still more considerable promises, to assassinate the king of England as he should ride out at the head of the troops, or upon any other advantage as he could find it, by laying in ambush and shooting at him. Troops were accordingly ordered to be near at hand, to support and bring him off as soon as the murder was perpetrated. Grandval took two other persons into the confederacy as his assistants; one Du Mont, and Leefdale a Dutch papist. These three had several times attempted to put their hellish purpose in execution, as well at Loo, while the king was there, as in the camp. Du Mont had entered into the confederate army as a deserter, in order to have the fairer opportunity: but being at length discouraged by several disappointments, and struck with horror at the thought of the villainy he was engaged in, he made a full discovery of the whole plot. Hereupon Grandval was seized as he was skulking about the king's quarters; and being examined before a court-martial, for some time obstinately denied any knowledge of the intended assassination, till being confronted with Du Mont, and some papers produced, in which the whole plan of operations was laid down, he at length confessed the design, with all the circumstances that had attended it from time to time, and made a full discovery of the persons who had set him on and were to support him*. Upon full evidence of his guilt he received sentence of death, as in cases of high-treason, and was drawn, hanged, and quartered, his head and quarters being, by way of terror, set upon poles without the camp. Du Mont and Leefdale were allowed to escape with their lives, on account of being evidences to convict Grandval.

Not long after the battle of Steenkirk, the count Sericlas de Tilly fell in with a strong detachment of French, sent out of Namur to put the country under contribution, whom he totally defeated, taking four hundred prisoners, and amongst them thirty officers, some of considerable note, who were sent to Hays: amongst the slain was the marquis of Hocquincourt. Our army being about the

same time reinforced by the recruits from England under the duke of Leinster, a detachment from the camp, under the command of lieutenant general Talmash, was sent towards Newport, when they possessed themselves of Furnes, a very important post, and fortified it; and soon after seized on Dixmuyde, with the villages, and all the dependent territories. Many skirmishes happened during these transactions, but none worthy of notice here. In Germany the town of Reinfeldt was invested this year by count Tallard. On the side of Italy, the duke of Savoy made an invasion into Dauphine, but soon retired; and the season now advancing to close the campaign, many of the troops were sent into winter-quarters, and the rest had their rendezvous appointed for some time longer, to prevent the enemy making incursions. King William having conferred the command of the allied army on the elector of Bavaria, embarked for England on the fifteenth day of October, arrived at Yarmouth the eighteenth, was met by the queen at Newhall on the twentieth, and proceeded to his capital, where he was received with great acclamations by the people.

In the course of this year the protestant interest in Germany received a considerable addition of strength, by the creation of a new electorate, in favour of Ernest Augustus duke of Hanover, through the application and interposition of king William. After a tedious negotiation, the duke of Hanover was honoured with the investiture, under the title of Elector of Brunswick, and created great marshal of the empire; but as he had not attained the consent of all the electors, he was not as yet admitted into the college†.

During the king's absence, a sham plot was discovered by one Young, a prisoner in Newgate. This miscreant had formed a pretended association in favour of king James; to which he had counterfeited the hands of the earls of Marlborough and Salisbury, Sprat bishop of Rochester, the lord Cornbury, eldest son to the earl of Clarendon, and sir Basil Firebrace. This paper was artfully dropped in the bishop's hall, where it was found by the king's messenger, in consequence of Young's information. The bishop was thereupon apprehended; but the forgery being soon after fully detected, his lordship was set at liberty; and the earl of Marlborough, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was admitted to bail. Young the impostor was afterwards brought to his trial at the King's-Bench bar, and sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and to continue in prison till he should pay a fine of one thousand pounds.

Now it was that the affair of the Glencoe men in Scotland was greatly talked of throughout the kingdom, and represented as bad as the massacres at Paris and in Ireland, and the whole blame laid upon the king as his act and deed, though the Scottish parliament, upon making a strict enquiry

* Lewis the Great, the pattern, as his admirers stile him, of every princely virtue, madame de Maintenon his favourite mistress, Paparel pay-master to his army, and almost all his principal ministers, were privy to this design; and it is even said that king James himself approved of this undertaking: a very ungrateful return (if true) for the care that king William always shewed of his life. *Life of Will. III. p. 289.*

† In the beginning of September this year, the shock of an earthquake was felt in London, and in many other parts of

England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta. In the former, especially, no less than an hundred thousand persons are said to have perished on the occasion. Soon after, the town of Port-Royal in Jamaica was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake, about fifteen hundred persons being buried in the ruins. *Burnet. Kennet.*

into this affair in the year 1695, resolved, "That the persons concerned in it had exceeded his majesty's instructions for suppressing the Highland rebels who had not accepted the indemnity that was offered by the time prefixed in the proclamation." I shall, however, relate the story with all its circumstances, as given us by bishop Burnet (in the second volume of his History of his own Times, p. 88, &c.) and leave the reader to make his own reflections upon it.

"There was at this time (in the beginning of this year 1692) a very barbarous massacre committed in Scotland, which shewed both the cruelty and treachery of some of those who had unhappily insinuated themselves into the king's confidence. The earl of Braidalbin formed a scheme of quieting all the Highlanders, if the king would give twelve or fifteen thousand pounds for doing it; which sum was remitted down from England, and this was to be divided among the heads of the tribes or clans of the Highlanders. He employed his emissaries among them, and told them, the best service they could do king James was to lie quiet, and reserve themselves to a better time; and if they would take the oaths, the king would be contented with that, and they would have a share of this sum that was sent down to buy their quiet; but this came to nothing: their demands rose high: they knew this lord had money to distribute among them: they believed he intended to keep the best part of it himself; so they asked more than he could give. Among the most clamorous and obstinate of these were the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who were believed guilty of much robbery and murders, and so had gained too much by their pilfering war to be easily brought to give it over. The head of that Valley had so particularly provoked lord Braidalbin, that as his scheme was quite defeated by the opposition which the other raised, so he designed a severer revenge. The king had by a proclamation offered an indemnity to all the Highlanders that had been in arms against him, upon their coming in by a prefixed day to take the oaths. The day had been twice or thrice prolonged, and it was at last carried to the end of the year 1691, with a positive threatening of proceeding to military execution against such as should not come into his obedience by the last day of December.

"All were so terrified that they came in; and even Macdonald went to the governor of Fort-William; but he being only a military man, could or would not tender them, and Macdonald was forced to seek for some of the legal magistrates to tender them to him. The snows were then fallen, so that four or five days passed before he could come to a magistrate. He took the oaths in his presence on the fifth or sixth of January, when, by the strictness of the law, he could claim no benefit by them. The matter was signified to the council, and the person had a reprimand for giving him the oaths when the day was past.

"This was kept up from the king, and the earl of Braidalbin came to court to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, since he could not do the service for which he had it. He informed against this Macdonald as the chief person who had defeated that good design; and that he might gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to all the Highlanders, he propos-

ed that orders should be sent for a military execution on those of Glencoe. An instruction was drawn by a secretary of state to be both signed and countersigned by the king (that so he (lord Braidalbin) might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lay wholly on the king) that such as had not taken the oaths by the time limited should be shut out of the benefit of the indemnity, and be received only upon mercy: but when it was found this would not authorize what was intended, a second order was got to be signed and countersigned, that if the Glencoe men could be separated from the rest of the Highlanders, some examples might be made of them, in order to strike terror into the rest. The king signed this order without any enquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his slowness in dispatching business: for as he was apt to suffer things to run on till there was a great heap of papers laid before him, so then he signed them a little too precipitately: but all this while the king knew nothing of Macdonald's offering to take the oaths within the time, and of his taking them soon after it was past when he came to a proper magistrate. As these orders were sent down, the secretary of state writ many private letters to Livingstone, who commanded in Scotland, giving him a strict charge and particular directions for the execution of them, and the passes in the Valley to be kept, describing them so minutely, that the orders were certainly drawn by one who knew the country well. He gave also a positive direction that no prisoners should be taken, that so the execution might be as terrible as possible. He pressed this upon Livingstone with strains of vehemence, that looked as if there was something more than ordinary in it: he indeed grounded it on his zeal for the king's service, adding, that such rebels and murderers should be made an example of.

"In February 1692 a company was sent to Glencoe, who were kindly received, and quartered over the Valley, the inhabitants thinking themselves safe, and looking for no hostilities. After they had staid a week among them, they took their time in the night, and killed about six and thirty of them, the rest taking the alarm and escaping. This raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the king's government as cruel and barbarous, tho' in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild rather to an excess. The king sent orders to enquire into the matter; but when the letters writ upon this business were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared that so many were involved in the matter, that the king's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault, and he contented himself with dismissing the master of Stair from his service. The Highlanders were so inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a disposition as the Jacobites wished for to have rebelled upon the first favourable opportunity; and indeed the not punishing this action with a due rigour was the greatest blot of this whole reign, and had a very ill effect in alienating the Scottish nation from the king and his government." Let us now return to the affairs in England.

His majesty, on his arrival at Kensington, received a congratulatory address from the lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thanksgiving was also appointed for the victory at sea, and his majesty's happy escape from the perils and dangers of war, and the private attempts of his enemies against his royal person. On the fourth of November the parliament met, when the king in his speech to both houses thanked them very cordially for their last supplies; congratulated them upon the victory obtained at sea; condoled them on the bad success of the last campaign by land, observing, that the diligence of the French in augmenting their forces was such, that it would be absolutely necessary to have as great a force to oppose them; and demanded a supply suitable to the exigence. He expressed great concern at the sending such large sums out of the kingdom for the payment of the troops; an inconvenience, he said, that he wished they could find some way to remedy. He intimated a design of making a descent upon France, and hoped that his parliament would give such speedy dispatch to the supplies, that the preparations might be timely and effectual: he declared that he had no interest but what was theirs, nor any other view but that of making them a happy people. "Hitherto, added he in conclusion, I have never spared my own person for the good and welfare of this nation; and I am so sensible of your good affections to me, that I shall continue so to do with great cheerfulness upon all occasions, wherein I may contribute to the honour and advantage of England *."

There was at this time a strong party formed in the upper house against the measures of the government, which party was chiefly under the direction of the earl of Marlborough; so that, instead of receiving the king's speech with that applause which was expected, they immediately fell upon an enquiry into the commitment of those peers who had been lately imprisoned. This enquiry was conducted with great animosity; but the king having agreed to release these lords upon their bail, the affair at last was entirely compromised.

The commons, by occasion of the thinness of the house, adjourned to the eleventh of November, when they presented an address of thanks to his majesty for his speech, and another desiring that the state of foreign alliances might be laid before them; and on the twelfth a bill was introduced for regulating trials in cases of high-treason; they also voted thanks to admiral Russel, and the commanders and seamen of the fleet, for their behaviour in the late fight off La Hogue. However, it having been much talked abroad that this victory had not been improved as it might have been, several instructions, orders, and resolutions of councils of war, concerning the last summer's expedition at sea, and the intended descent after the victory, were called for and examined by the house; and sir John Ashby, one of the admirals, was particularly examined in relation to the French men of war that escaped through the Race of Alderney into St. Malo's; when that officer gave an account of the proceedings of the ships under his command in and after the engagement, so much

to the satisfaction of the house, that they directed their speaker to acquaint him in form, "That the house took notice of his ingenuous behaviour at their bar, and that he had given an account to the satisfaction of the house, and was dismissed from farther attendance †." Admiral Russel was also examined the same day, in relation to the miscarriage of the intended descent, who justified himself by the orders he received from the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state; and the earl shewed that those orders had been dictated to him by a superior power; whereupon the matter was dropped, though not till several severe speeches had been made against the ministers in general, and his lordship in particular: the commons thought fit, however, again to testify their approbation of the admiral's conduct.

The house next proceeded to take into consideration the article of supplies; and the proper estimates being laid before them, they resolved to grant the whole sum demanded, which amounted to about five millions, viz. near two millions for the charge of the navy and ordnance, two millions and upwards for the land-forces, including the extraordinary charges of the office of ordnance in relation to the land-service, and the charge of the transports, hospitals, and other contingencies. Besides which, the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds was granted to make good the deficiencies in the late quarterly poll. The civil list was provided for in the former session, so that the expences of the government, ordinary and extraordinary, for the ensuing year 1693, could not be computed at much less than six millions of money.

In order to raise these supplies, a tax of four shillings in the pound was imposed upon all lands, according to their yearly value; and all offices and employments of profit, except military offices in the army or navy. They likewise empowered his majesty to borrow money on the credit of this tax at the rate of four per cent. and farther enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the Exchequer by granting annuities. This was the first annuity-act, and was the principal means of involving this nation in debt. A third way of raising money was, by levying additional duties on goods and merchandize imported and exported, particularly the sum of eight pounds on every ton of French wines. A new imposition of eight per cent. was also laid on the capital stock of the East-India Company, estimated at seven hundred forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; and of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's-Bay Company; and they empowered his majesty to borrow half a million on those funds which were entirely set apart for carrying on the war ‡.

A bill was brought in this session for incapacitating persons having certain civil and military employments, to sit in the house of commons, which passed the lower house, but occasioned long and warm debates in the house of peers; in which the earl of Mulgrave distinguished himself in a particular manner, by a speech he made in favour of the bill. He observed, that the commons were the representatives of the people: "But if, after

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 408.

† Ibid. ii. 410.

‡ Ibid. ii. 411, 412.

they are chosen, says he, they shall change their dependency, engage in employments plainly inconsistent with the great trust reposed in them, what are the people to expect from them? A commoner who has a command in the army must have a divided duty; and perhaps his troops or regiment may be in some action abroad, and he must either have the shame of being absent from them at such a time, or from that house where he is entrusted with our liberties. There is another sort of incapacity worse than this, proceeded he, I mean that of parliament-men having such places in the Exchequer, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the king in parliament: Would any of your lordships lend or entrust a man to make a bargain for you, whose very interest shall be concerned to make you give as much as he possibly can?" After several other arguments of the like tendency, he desired the house "to consider of what great consequence it might be that so many votes should be free, when upon one single voice might depend the whole security or loss of the nation; adding, that the people could never be brought to bear patiently so great a provocation as the being debarred from a security in their representatives; and would be easily persuaded, by those whose interests it was to inflame their minds with discontent, that all those vast sums which had been, and still must be, raised towards carrying on the war, were not disposed of in so fair a manner as they ought to be; and I am afraid, concluded he, that their money is not *given*, but *taken*." This bill however was thrown out, after a long debate, by a majority of two voices only; the argument against passing it being, that it seemed to establish an opposition between the crown and the people, as if those who were employed by the one were not fit to be trusted by the other. Various attempts have since been made to procure an act of this kind, but always without success, for reasons that are too obvious to be repeated.

Another bill was introduced much about the same time for establishing triennial parliaments, which, after having passed both houses, was rejected by his majesty, who seems to have had no mind to part with a parliament which had been so liberal to him in their supplies.

A complaint was made to the house of commons soon after of a pamphlet, entitled, King William and Queen Mary Conquerors, which tended to make the lives and estates of the subject depend entirely on the will of the sovereign. The house was so alarmed at the pernicious tendency of this book, that they ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, together with bishop Burnet's Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of his Diocese, in which this notion of conquest had been first advanced. After which both houses, in order to shew their sentiments of the matter, came to this resolution, That the assertion of king William and queen Mary being king and queen by conquest, was highly injurious to their majesties *rightful* title to the crown, inconsistent with the principles on which this government was founded, and tended to the subversion of the rights of the people*. The lords shortly after taking into con-

sideration the ill success of the campaign in Flanders, reflected severely on count Solmes, as the principal cause of the defeat at Steinkirk, and presented an address to his majesty, humbly entreating that the commanding officer of the English forces should be a native of his majesty's dominions; that English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies who did not belong to crowned heads; and lastly, that no foreigner should sit at the board of ordnance. To this address the king only replied, that he would take it into consideration. They next proceeded to enquire into the failure of the intended descent upon the French coast, and passed some votes reflecting on the conduct of admiral Russel; but the commons still adhered to their former opinion, and repeated their thanks to that admiral for his fidelity, courage, and conduct.

There was a grievance at this time much complained of, namely, the pressing landmen for the sea-service by the officers of the navy, who carried them over to Holland, and there sold them to the officers of the army; which infamous practice would in all probability have passed unnoticed, had not a servant belonging to one of the members of parliament been thus spirited away. Sir John Trevor the speaker being ordered to lay this oppression before his majesty, the king was pleased to express a just resentment on the occasion, and ordered that no officers should presume to press landmen for the future, on pain of being cashiered. The parliament next proceeded to take into consideration the state of Ireland, concerning which they examined a number of witnesses, and then both houses presented addresses to his majesty†; wherein they complained of the conditions that had been granted the Irish on the surrender of Limerick, and of the king's disposal of some of the forfeited estates and effects in that kingdom; as also of the licentiousness of the soldiers for want of pay in that kingdom, which, they said, they hoped they had provided for. They complained of the recruiting of his majesty's troops with Irish papists, of the selling the forfeited estates at under rates, to the prejudice of the revenue, the embezzlement of the stores in the towns and garrisons taken from king James, as also of the forfeited estates and goods; and represented that certain additions made to the articles of Limerick, after the said articles had been signed, had given great encouragement to the Irish papists, and considerably weakened the English interest in that country. These abuses they most humbly besought his majesty to redress, particularly that the soldiers might be paid their arrears, and that no Irish papist might serve in the army there; that no grant might be made of the forfeited estates in Ireland, till there be an opportunity for settling that matter in parliament, &c. &c. To which the king answered in general terms, That what was amiss should be remedied. It was however noticed, that he granted large portions of these estates to the lord Portland and other of his favourites afterwards.

On the fourteenth day of March 1693, the king came to the house of lords, where, after having given the royal assent to several bills, he closed

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 413.

† On the ninth of March 1693.

the session with a speech, in which he thanked the parliament for the large supplies they had given him, recommended the peace of their respective counties to their care, as also the levying the taxes equally. He told them that his presence was required abroad, but that he should leave a sufficient number of troops for the security of the kingdom, concluding, "That he should continue to expose his person upon all occasions, for the good and advantage of these kingdoms, assuring them that his hearty and sincere endeavours should never be wanting in any way to make England a great and flourishing nation;" and then by his majesty's command the parliament was prorogued to the second of May *.

During this session of parliament, in the month of December, sir John Trevor, speaker of the House of Commons, was made Master of the Rolls, in the room of Henry Powle, esq. deceased. He had enjoyed that place under king James. Sir Edward Ward was made attorney-general, which gave such disgust to sir Thomas Trevor, the solicitor-general, who thought he had a right to succeed to that office, that it was with great difficulty his friends could prevail on him not to resign his own place. About the latter end of January the king thought fit to dismiss admiral Russel, and gave the command of the fleet jointly to Henry Killigrew, esq. sir Ralph Delaval, and sir Cloudesley Shovel. George Rook, esq. was appointed vice-admiral of the red, George lord Berkeley vice-admiral of the blue, captain Matthew Aylmer rear-admiral of the red, and captain David Mitchel rear-admiral of the blue. On the 16th of February his majesty went down to Portsmouth to take a view of the fleet there; and dining on board with vice-admiral Rook, conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and now his majesty being about to embark for Holland, was pleased on the twenty-third of March to constitute John Somers, the attorney-general, lord-keeper of the great-seal, and sir John Frankland one of the principal secretaries of state: and at the same time sir John Lowther, Henry Priestman, esq. Anthony lord viscount Falkland, Robert Austen, esq. sir Robert Rich, Henry Killigrew, esq. and sir Ralph Delaval, were appointed lords commissioners of the admiralty.

We shall close this year, 1692, with some remarks on the state of our trade. Immense was the loss that England sustained in the two first years of her wars with France, by the captures made of her merchant ships by the French privateers; for by an account laid before the parliament this year, it appeared that they had taken from us no fewer than three thousand sail of trading vessels great and small; whereas we had during the same space of time taken from France only sixty-nine merchant ships: an alarming difference! But on the other hand, to balance in part this great misfortune, the strict prohibition of commerce by both nations

during this war, proved the occasion of vast detriment to France, and advantage to us, by putting a stop to the importation of many of her most lucrative manufactures. Thus, in the first place, she was deprived of a most profitable linen-manufacture in dowlas and lockram, chiefly manufactured in Normandy and Brittany, of which it was said we took off to the value of two hundred thousand pounds yearly. In the next place, France before this war manufactured such good and cheap felt hats at Caudebec, Havre de Grace, and other places in Normandy, that by our prohibiting them we have gradually arrived at so great a perfection in that manufacture as to make them better, as well as cheaper, than the French can do. Again, before this war, the fine glass manufacture was almost entirely in the possession of France, who not only furnished us with almost all the glass for our coaches and chairs, and our fine looking-glasses, but also with our finest window-glass, which was usually called Normandy glass and French crown-glass: both which we have since made our own manufacture in the greatest perfection. Lastly, cutlery-ware, watches, toys, ribbands, &c. and particularly our broad silk manufacture, have been so greatly improved as even to out-do the French themselves. Hence our reader will readily conceive how great a blow the French must have received by this decrease of their manufactures.

In this same year several French refugees, studious to promote the interest of England, and to weaken France by impairing her manufactures, in conjunction with some English merchants, and being supported by the protection of the earl of Pembroke, whom they chose their governor, erected themselves into a company, called the Royal Lustring Company, and obtained the king's patent, whereby they were reputed a body-politic, having the full and sole privilege for the making of lustrings and alamodes in England. On the twenty-sixth of October this patent was read in full committee at their house in Austin-Friars; at which time the Company was assured by their governor of his majesty's satisfaction in this undertaking to such a degree, that all other encouragements might be expected for the promoting of it. And although by the change of fashion these silks are not at present much in request, yet the project greatly contributed to the improvement of the silk manufacture in general †.

I shall now proceed to the transactions of the year 1693.

King William having settled affairs at home on such a footing as he thought most likely to ensure the peace of his dominions during his absence, embarked for Holland, on the thirty-first of March, at Gravesend. On his arrival at the Hague, the second of April, the elector of Bavaria, having been appointed by the king of Spain governor of his territories in the Netherlands, sent the count d'Arco

* Among the laws enacted in this session were these that follow. An act, enabling the inhabitants of Yorkshire to dispose of their personal estates by will. An act for raising the militia in the year 1693. An act authorizing the judges to empower any person, except common attorneys and solicitors, to take special bail upon all actions and suits, unless the party live within ten miles of the capital. An act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen, entitling every person, who should take a robber, to the sum of forty pounds; within one

month after conviction, as also to the horse, furniture, and arms of the criminal, and such money as may be found upon him. An act to prevent clandestine mortgages. An act for the better discovery of judgments in the courts of law. And an act to prevent malicious informations in the court of King's bench, obliging every informer, that he will effectually prosecute the person, against whom he complains. Pr. of the House of Com. p. 415.

† Anderson, vol. ii. p. 198, 199. Tindal, vol. ii. p. 41.

to wait on his majesty, and compliment him on his arrival. The campaign this year began with several skirmishes on either frontier, with various success. A party of one hundred Newburghers suddenly entering the village of Multerne, surprized eighty French horse, which they brought prisoners, with their arms and baggage, to the general rendezvous; but in the mean while the French army broke into the Palatinate, and committed grievous outrages there, burning and plundering in such a manner as to lay the whole country waste. The war in Flanders was now pushed on with vigour; the duke of Wirtemberg was sent, with a strong detachment of horse and foot, to force the enemies lines, which they had drawn to secure that part of the Netherlands commonly called French Flanders. This he effected with much facility, and put the country for several leagues round under contribution, raising some millions of livres, and taking in several places much booty. This spirited enterprise greatly alarmed Luxemburg, the French general, who saw his honour at stake unless he performed some daring exploit to preserve it: accordingly he formed the bold design of obliging Wirtemberg to withdraw his forces. With this view he, in the first place, attempted, with fifty squadrons of horse, ten battalions of foot, and some field-pieces, to fall upon part of the garrisons of Liege and Maestricht, consisting of eighteen squadrons of horse and some regiments of foot, under count Tilly; but they, having received timely notice of his intentions, retreated over the river Sare, whilst three squadrons of horse kept the French in play, and beat back their advanced parties, thus securing the retreat of their own foot.

Luxemburg, thus baffled in the first of his schemes, fell upon a second, which was attended with greater success. King William, upon his joining the army in Flanders, had possessed himself of the strong camp of Landen, in Louvain; the allied army at that time did not consist of above seventy thousand men, and, besides, was considerably weakened by the detachments the king was obliged to send off, to reinforce the neighbouring garrisons; whereas the French army amounted to no less than one hundred and twenty thousand men. Luxemburg, conscious of his superiority over the confederate forces, and knowing that the king of England's camp must be greatly weakened by the many detachments lately sent off, especially that under the duke of Wirtemberg, resolved to attack his majesty in his camp, or at least to fall upon the rear of his army, should he attempt to retreat at the approach of the French. With this view he made a motion towards Liege, as if he intended to invest that place, and encamped at Heidelberg, about seven leagues from the camp of the confederates. On the eighteenth of July O. S. he began his march, in four columns, and passed the Sare without opposition. The king had marched out, a few days before, to relieve Huy, which the French had invested; but on his way he had news by his scouts, that Huy had surrendered, and that the van of the French army was advancing towards him, which they believed to be the fore-runner of the motion of the whole army. This made him change his march; for, having sent a detachment to strengthen the garrison of Liege, he directed his route to the neighbourhood of Hesperen, near Landen, and then halted to get more certain intelli-

gence of the enemy's intention: there being informed that the whole French army was advancing against him, he resolved to keep his ground, and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle; but his disposition was so erroneous, that Luxemburg, as soon as he saw it, cried, "Now I believe that Waldeck is dead!" alluding to that general's known sagacity in chusing ground for an engagement.

Early next morning, the twenty-ninth of July, the French appeared on the high ground and hills of Gertruyden and Landen, and soon after descended, in good order, into the plains, though the cannon of the allies played on them very fiercely all the time. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer Winden (or Nerwinde) with great impetuosity. Luxemburg and the princes of France, at the head of the household troops, carried the village sword in hand two different times; but the instant the marshal turned another way, the allies retook it again. At length the French, out-numbering the confederates, pressed on with resistless fury, fresh men still supplying the ranks that were broken by the well-served artillery from the king's camp. Thus the battle increased, and held on till near sun-set, when Luxemburg having carried the village of Neer Winden a third time, and the confederates being wearied out with the heat of the day, and their long fatigue, the French forced their camp with their horse, and formed their lines, though with great loss. After this, making way for their whole army to follow, William, who had through the whole day signalized himself by the greatest efforts of courage and perseverance, giving every where the necessary orders, and leading up in person several troops and battalions to the charge, seeing all lost, and fearing that he should be surrounded by the enemy's victorious troops, drew off his army, and retreated in as good order as so pressing a situation would admit. After having paid the justice due to king William's personal courage, it must be acknowledged that Luxemburg shewed himself much the greater general, first by those feints and stratagems that induced the confederates to weaken their army by detachments, and then by forcing them in a camp which they looked upon as inaccessible. Few actions proved more bloody; there were about twenty thousand killed, including both sides, the French having lost eight, and the allies about twelve thousand men: the greatest loss of the latter fell on the foot, especially the English, who fought bravely to the last: the duke of Ormond was wounded in several places, and taken prisoner; and the count de Solmes had his leg shot off by a cannon-ball, of which he died in a few hours. The allies lost sixty pieces of cannon and nine mortars. The enemy, though they had gained the day, had little reason to boast of their victory: besides the common men, they lost two thousand officers, either killed or wounded, and were so much weakened that they either were not able or willing to pursue the confederates; while king William having sent to the duke of Wirtemberg to join him, and in a little time the scattered soldiers coming to their colours, the army was so well recruited, that in a few days it took the field again, and marched against the enemy, who thought fit to retire, having had enough of hot work for one campaign. This battle was called the Battle of Landen by the allies, and by the

the French the Battle of Neer Winden. The remaining part of the campaign produced nothing memorable, except the reduction of Charleroy, which, after sustaining a regular siege of six-and-twenty days, surrendered, on the tenth of September, to the enemy on honourable terms.

The French were equally successful in every other quarter, though the advantages they gained were generally purchased at a dear rate. In Catalonia they reduced Roses and the castle of Ampurias, a circumstance which threw the whole kingdom of Spain into the utmost consternation. But no where did the confederates receive so entire a defeat as at Marlaglia, in Piedmont, where the duke of Schomberg commanded the troops in English pay, and those celebrated generals, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, his brother, the rest of that army. Catinat, the French general, obtained this victory by a stratagem never used before, which was making his soldiers screw their bayonets over the barrels of their pieces, and charge with them loaded: the generals of the allied army observing bayonets at the end of the enemies musquets, imagined they had been discharged, and were thrown into confusion; when they found their mistake, and were saluted with a terrible volley of shot. Soon after this action pikes began to be laid aside, and bayonets to be used in their room, all over Europe. Duke Schomberg was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner by the French in this engagement, which was fought on the fourth of October.

The English were as unsuccessful at sea this year, as the allies had been by land. About the middle of May the fleet assembled at St. Helen's, and soon after were joined by the Dutch, when they made a formidable appearance*, and every one expected something very considerable would be performed. It appeared, however, but too soon, that things were in a very distracted condition, and that the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their striking any blow of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions to undertake any thing of themselves: in short, the only service resolved on, was that sir George Rook should convoy the merchant-fleet going to the Mediterranean, amounting in all to about four hundred sail, belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. Had this design been executed as soon as taken, it had been honourable for the nation and fortunate for the merchants; but such was the dilatoriness of either the admirals or the higher powers, that it was the beginning of June before this fleet sailed, and then we had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but the admirals took their measures at random; a circumstance which, however disgraceful to our naval officers at that time, comes too well authenticated † to warrant a doubt, and is too important to be concealed. It was resolved that the combined fleets should accompany the trading vessels fifty leagues to the westward of Ushant, but were then to leave sir George Rooke, with a squadron of twenty-three ships of war, to proceed with them to their destined ports.

It was not long before the imprudence of these measures appeared: admiral Rooke had no sooner arrived off Cape St. Vincent, on the coast of Por-

tugal, than he discovered, on the seventeenth of June, the French fleet, amounting to eighty sail, under the command of the counts de Tourville and d'Etrées. A council of war being called in this exigence, it was resolved that orders should be sent to the small ships that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to use their utmost endeavours in the night to slip into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz, while the admiral should stand off to sea, with an easy sail, for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening, the French admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, which had the whole afternoon gained upon the squadron, notwithstanding all the sail they could make, came up with the leeward and sternmost ships of the confederate fleet; these were Dutch men of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander Poel, who, finding there was no probability of escaping, tacked-in for the shore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which saved the rest of the fleet. The Dutch captains made a most obstinate defence, and for five hours together bravely fought, first eleven and then seven of the enemy's ships, till at length, overpowered by numbers, they were constrained to yield. Admiral Rooke stood off all night with a fresh gale, and the next morning saw fifty-four ships of the convoy about him; he also descried five sail of the enemy's ships to leeward, and one to windward, which last continued to dog him all that day. On the nineteenth the admiral sent for the officers of the men of war and merchant-ships on board, in order to get an account of the condition they were in, and to concert the proper measures for securing the remainder of the trade; the result was, that the admiral bore away for the Madeiras, where he hoped to meet with a part of his scattered fleet; and having provided himself at that place with wood and water, of which he stood in need, he set sail for Ireland, and on the third day of August arrived at Corke, with about fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels.

Had the French admirals pursued their advantage properly, there is hardly any probability that any part of the men of war or merchant-ships could have escaped; but either from a wrong disposition of their fleet, or from their orders not being obeyed by the commanders of the respective ships, they made but a very poor use of their prodigious superiority; not but that the English and Dutch trade sustained a severe loss by this attack: according to the best accounts, the marquis de Coetlogon took seven large Smyrna ships, and burnt or sunk four more at Gibraltar; and M. de Tourville and the count d'Etrées took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace and an English man of war, took twenty-nine merchantmen, and destroyed about fifty more: the value of the cargoes and the men of war together, was computed at twenty millions of French livres, or one million sterling; whereas had the French admirals exerted themselves properly, they must have been gainers four millions. The sieur Du Mont, who then wrote a political journal in Holland, speaks thus of the matter: "It is certain that the French missed taking the greatest part of the convoy; and that sir George

* Of the English there were six first rates, nine second, twenty-six third, five fourths, two fifths, and three sixths, besides thirteen fireships; of the Dutch, six first rates, three second, fourteen third, six fourths, three sixths, and six fireships:

in all one hundred and two sail. Burchet. Campbell.

† See Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, State Tracts, and in short all the Memoirs of that time.

Rooke upon this occasion acquired infinitely more honour than those who commanded the French fleet: for the one, unable to resist such as attacked him, in the midst of threatening danger, by his prudence, dexterity, and courage, saved the best part of the fleet committed to his charge, at a time that the others suffered themselves to be deprived, by the superior skill of this admiral, of a booty which, if they could have kept it, fortune put into their hands." The French admirals next made an attempt to surprize Cadiz, but found the design impracticable. They then bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, who afterwards sailed along the coast of Spain, burnt some English and Dutch ships at Malaga and Alicant, and then returned to Toulon about the latter end of September.

On the nineteenth of the same month fifteen Dutch ships of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majesty to Holland, and twenty-six men of war and seven fire-ships were assigned for the winter fleet, which it was then thought would have put an end to the naval operations of this year; but it soon after appeared that there was yet a secret expedition to be undertaken, in order to check the immoderate boasting of the French for their late successful exploits by sea.

Our trade had suffered most terrible losses for a considerable time by the privateers from St. Malo's: never did one port send out so great a number of these cruizers, nor any place acquire, in so short a space of time, so much wealth, without engaging in any trade. The sea was covered with their cruizers from the Channel to the Mediterranean, and their very names were dreaded by the merchants of London, Amsterdam, and Cadiz. The repeated complaints of the sufferers by this predatory war so alarmed our government, that a resolution was taken to make a descent and destroy St. Malo's, the nest of these formidable enemies to our trade: and commodore Benbow, in conjunction with captain Philips, a famous engineer, was appointed to the command of this expedition, who, with a squadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-ketches, and other vessels, sailed for St. Malo's, where they arrived on the sixteenth of November, and about four in the afternoon came to an anchor before the place. After bombarding the town for three days, on the night of the nineteenth, taking advantage of a fresh gale of wind, a strong tide, and very dark weather, they sent in a fire-ship of an extraordinary construction*, and which was intended to reduce the town to ashes: this it would unavoidably have done, but for an accident; for when she had got, unperceived by the enemy, within pistol-shot of the place where they intended to have moored her, a sudden flurry of wind drove her upon a rock, from which all the skill of those on board could not get her off. At last, the engineer who was on board finding

her beginning to open, and fearing she might sink, set fire to her; the explosion of which was so terrible as to shake the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthen-ware for three leagues round. The inhabitants were struck with such consternation, that a small body of troops might easily have taken the place: but the ministry, by an effect of their usual inattention, or somewhat worse, had sent out this squadron without a single soldier on board. Sir George Rooke's squadron was by this time arrived in England, and laid up. Thus ended the naval expeditions of this year, as little for the honour of the English nation as any that had ever been set on foot.

The discontents begotten by such a continued series of miscarriages, were too violent to be dormant: every mouth in the nation was opened against the ministers, whom they scrupled not openly to accuse of treachery. It was affirmed that the French court was privately acquainted with all the designs of ours, and were thereby enabled to take their measures for rendering them ineffectual; while the English remained, or affected to remain, in the most profound ignorance of the schemes of our adversaries. The weight of this accusation fell chiefly on the earl of Nottingham, Killigrew, and Delaval, two of the admirals, the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earl of Rochester. Certain it is, these persons were all then known to have been strongly attached to the late king, and were not yet reconciled to the present government, though possessing lucrative and honourable posts and employments under it. It is not for us rashly to assert that the accusations against these persons were absolutely true: it is sufficient to remark, that the proofs alleged in support of them were very striking, and that their conduct had given but too much occasion to unfavourable surmises.

While we were thus pining under our losses in England, the French were starving amidst their victories: that kingdom was afflicted with a dreadful famine, which swept off many thousands; and the whole nation was reduced to poverty and distress. Lewis XIV. in this conjuncture thought it his duty to free his people, if possible, from the burthen of that ruinous war in which his ambition had involved them. With this view he attempted to conclude a separate peace with some of the allies; but as his demands were still so high as to afford the allies no prospect of a just peace, these offers were rejected.

The campaign being now closed in Flanders, king William returned to England the latter end of the month of October, when his first care was to quiet the murmurings among his people, by making a total change in his ministry. The earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, was now laid aside, and his department filled by the earl of Shrewsbury. The command of the fleet was taken

* The reader may not be displeased to see a description of this famous engine of destruction: I shall therefore give it a place in this note, as I find it in Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii. p. 103, 104. The French writers say that this was one of those dreadful machines, stiled Infernal, which the Dutch made use of to destroy the bridge over the Schelde, when the prince of Parma besieged Antwerp in the year 1585. The reader will perceive by the following description, that it was in fact a fire-ship, contrived to operate when moored close to the town walls. It was a new ship of about three hundred,

or, as the marquis de Quincey says, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold were one hundred barrels of powder: these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots; over which lay beams bored through, to give air to the fire, and upon these lay three hundred carcasses, filled with granadoes, chain shot, iron bars, and the bottoms of glass bottles. There were six holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were so vehement as to consume the hardest substances, and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water.

out of the hands of the commissioners, and committed solely to the gallant admiral Ruffel: in a word, the Tory party were in general forced to make way for their adversaries the Whigs, such only of the former who were thought staunch to the present government being continued in office. These measures were chiefly owing to the representations of the earl of Sunderland, who had acquired a considerable influence with his majesty, and had found means to persuade him that the Whigs were his only true friends, while the Tories, under a mark of pretended loyalty to him, were in their hearts devoted to the interests of the late sovereign: and yet it seems hard to reconcile this imputation with the conduct they had observed ever since the Revolution; for no parliament ever contributed more bountifully to the necessities of the state than this (which was chiefly composed of those called Tories) had done. It is no wonder indeed that king William should shew distinguishing marks of favour to the earl of Sunderland, who, by the intelligence he afforded him when prince of Orange, and the double part he acted towards king James, contributed principally to the success of the Revolution: but I shall forbear entering into remarks, in which it will be impossible to please all my readers.

On the king's coming over a thanksgiving was observed for his preservation in the field, and his safe return. The parliament meeting on the seventh of November, his majesty made a speech to both houses, wherein he took notice of the several disadvantages the confederates had received by land, and of our own miscarriages at sea: "The former, he said, were occasioned by the superior numbers of the enemy in all places: as to the latter, he told them he would make them the particular objects of his strict enquiry; promised to inflict condign punishment on such as should, upon trial, appear to have been wanting in their duty; and would use his utmost endeavours that our naval power should be rightly managed for the future. He recommended to the parliament the increasing our forces by sea and land, as the allies, he said, had resolved to increase theirs. He then concluded with desiring the commons to take such timely resolutions that their supplies might be effectual, and our preparations in that forwardness, as to ensure the safety and honour of the nation §."

The commons, in answer to this speech, unanimously resolved, "that they would support their majesties and their government, and grant a sufficient supply for the vigorous prosecution of the war." But before they proceeded upon that matter, they thought proper to make enquiry into the miscarriages of the fleet last summer. Bishop Burnet's account of this enquiry is so concise, and at the same time so strong and to the purpose, that I think myself obliged to lay it before the reader, as the best information he can receive on this head.

"The enquiry into the conduct at sea (says that right reverend author *), particularly with relation to the Smyrna fleet, took up much time, and held

long. Great exceptions were taken to the many delays, by which it seemed a train was laid, that they should not get out of our ports till the French were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of; the instructions that the admirals, who commanded the fleet, had received from the cabinet-council, were thought ill-given, and yet worse executed: their orders seemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective; nor had they shewed any zeal in doing more than strictly to obey such orders; they had very cautiously kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle. They had used no diligence to get certain information concerning the French fleet, whether it was still in Brest, or had sailed out; but in that important matter they had trusted general and uncertain reports too easily: nor had they sailed far enough with Rooke to see him past danger. To all this their answer was, that they had observed their orders; they had reason to think the French were still in Brest; that therefore it was not safe to sail too far from the coast of England, when they had, as they understood, ground to believe that they had left behind them a great naval force, which might make an impression on our coast, when they were at too great a distance from it. The getting certain intelligence from Brest was represented as impracticable. They had many specious things to say in their own defence, and many friends to support them; for it was now the business of one party to accuse, and of another to justify their conduct. In conclusion, there was not ground sufficient to condemn the admirals, since they had followed their instructions, so a vote passed in their favour." A protest, however, against this resolution was entered by several peers †, who mentioned a number of facts which reflected greatly on the conduct of the admirals.

On the twenty-fifth of November the commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and supplies for the ensuing year, when they voted the following sums; viz. five hundred thousand pounds to pay the arrears due to the seamen, two millions for the service of the fleet, and two millions five hundred thousand pounds and upwards, for the army, which it was resolved to increase to the number of eighty-three thousand one hundred and twenty-one men, including officers; and there appearing a deficiency of one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds in the late annuity-act, this was agreed to be made good by enlarging the time for paying in the sum of one million, intended to be raised by that act; and towards raising the money for the maintenance of the fleet, it was agreed that any person might add a second life to the life already named in the annuity-act, upon paying thirty-five pounds more to every hundred already paid in; and a third life for the farther sum of twenty pounds ‡.

The king coming to the house on the twenty-fifth of January, gave the royal assent to an act for raising four shillings in the pound upon lands; to an act for the importation of Italian thrown silk;

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 415.

* Vol. ii. p. 125.

† The duke of Bolton, the earls of Berkely, Strafford, and

Oxford, the lords Ossulston and Clifford, and the earls of Devonshire and Stamford. Proceed. of the House of Lords, i. 422.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 431.

and to some other acts of lesser moment; but he again refused the place-bill, which so piqued the commons that they passed, the next day, the following vote: "That whoever had advised the king not to give the royal assent to that bill, was an enemy to their majesties and the kingdom §." They also drew up an address, or representation, which they presented to his majesty, wherein they expressed themselves in the following terms: "That it was with great grief of heart they observed, since his majesty's accession, that this and several other bills had not obtained the royal assent, which they could not impute to any other cause than the insinuations of particular persons, who took upon them, for their own private ends, to advise his majesty contrary to the advice given him by his parliament." To which address his majesty returned an answer, thanking them for their zeal, professing his attachment to the constitution of the kingdom, assuring them that he was fully sensible of the absolute necessity of a good understanding between the sovereign and his people, and declaring that he would look upon all those as his enemies who should endeavour to lessen that mutual confidence. This answer, however, appeared too vague and general to many in the house, and therefore they made a motion, "that his majesty should be intreated to return a more particular answer;" but the question being put, it was carried in the negative by a great majority, two hundred and twenty-nine against twenty-eight.

On the sixteenth of December, the earl of Bellamont having presented articles of impeachment against Thomas, lord Coningsby, and sir Charles Porter, two of the late lords justices in Ireland, the commons, after several debates, agreed that there were not sufficient grounds to found a charge of high-treason upon. If the lords-justices had been guilty of any arbitrary and violent proceedings, the earl of Bellamont, by bringing a charge so much above the nature of the offence, defeated his own design.

But the lord Falkland, a member of the commons, did not escape so well; for Mr. Harley, one of the commissioners for taking and stating the public accounts, delivered a report to the house, which contained a charge of peculation against that nobleman, for having received from his majesty two thousand pounds, contrary to the usual method of issuing and bestowing the king's money. Upon examination he was found guilty of a high misdemeanor and breach of trust, and committed to the

Tower, there to continue during the pleasure of the house. He was, however, set at liberty a very short time afterwards*.

The revenues of the city of London having in some former times been under bad management, the fund for the orphans of freemen was suffered to run so far in arrears, that the chamber of London was shut for several years: hereof great complaints were made at sundry times; at length the magistracy coming into better hands, they, in this session, obtained an act of parliament "for the relief of the orphans and other creditors of the city of London," by which the city was empowered to pay the yearly interest of these sums at the rate of four per cent. This act consisted of several articles, extending to different charges on the city-lands, aqueducts, personal estates, and imposing duties on binding apprentices, and admitting freemen, as also upon wines and coals imported into London †.

The East India company having, on the eleventh of November this year, 1693, obtained a new charter ‖, some merchants moved the house of commons against the same, entreating them to erect a new company; whereupon the house having examined the charter of the old company, the book of new subscriptions, the state of the present stock, and the petition of the merchants, resolved, on the nineteenth of January, "that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament." This gave the first hint to forming a new East India company by statute.

Among other expedients for raising money this year, the parliament hit upon one that was not thought of before, which was by way of lottery, for which certain duties upon salt, beer, and ale, were assigned as a fund; and by this means a million of money was raised to defray the charges of the war.

On the twenty-eighth of February the royal assent was given to the bill for making good the deficiencies of the late annuity-act; to an act to prevent disputes concerning the royal mines; and on the twenty-third of March to an act for granting certain aids on salt, and on beer and ale, to be a fund for the intended lottery. This session is also memorable for the first erection of the present most useful and laudable corporation of the Bank of England, which has not only proved extremely beneficial to commerce, but has also, on many emergencies, been a great support to the public credit

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 432.

* Ibid. ii. 438.

† See Stat. 5 & 6 Will. & Mar. cap. x.

‖ This charter was in substance as follows:

"I. All subscribers shall be members of the company.

"II. Seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds shall be the whole capital of the company.

"III. None shall subscribe above ten thousand pounds.

"IV. In general courts, one thousand pounds stock to have one vote; nor none shall have above ten votes.

"V. Such as shall become proprietors by purchase, shall pay for their freedom five pounds, who (as also the new subscribers) shall take the oaths appointed by law, and also the freeman's oath.

"VI. The governor, or, in his absence, the deputy-governor, to have a casting vote in all courts; each of them to have four thousand pounds in their own right; and each committeeman one thousand pounds. [They had not as yet got the modern name of Directors]

"VII. No permission shall be granted for ships to India on a private account, on penalty of forfeiting the Charters.

"VIII. No private contract is to be made for sale of the company's goods (salt-petre only excepted, sold for the king's use), but all to be openly and publicly sold; and no one lot (jewels excepted) to exceed five hundred pounds value.

"IX. The company shall annually export to India, of the growth and product of England, to the value of at least one hundred thousand pounds.

"X. The company shall annually supply the crown with five hundred tons of salt-petre, at thirty-eight pounds ten shillings per ton in time of peace, and at forty-five pounds in time of war.

"XI. All dividends of the company's profits shall, for the future, be made in money only.

"XII. A book hereafter to be kept by the company, wherein the value of their stock shall be entered, as attested upon oath; and to be viewed by all concerned: and the like as to all mortgages, alienations, transfers, and Assignments.

"XIII. The joint-stock of the company shall continue for twenty-one years; and one year before its expiration, books shall lie open for new subscriptions to a new joint-stock." Anderson, vol. ii. p. 199, 200.

of the nation : and it is, indeed, somewhat strange that a public or general bank, capable of not only supporting its own credit by a paper-currency, for the benefit of trade (especially in respect to large payments), but also for assisting or supporting the national credit, was not sooner established in a country so much abounding in wealth and commerce.

We must not forget to observe, that a new corporation was erected by an act of parliament this session, for the Greenland trade, by the name of the Company of Merchants of London trading to Greenland, with the usual powers of succession, &c. this company having already subscribed forty thousand pounds for that end : the master and only one third of the mariners of each vessel employed in this trade, to be natives of this kingdom, the want of English harponeers being then very great ; the ships were to be English built. This corporation was to exist for only fourteen years, from the first of October, 1694*.

On the twenty-third of March the Bank-act was passed, as was also another act for granting to their majesties several duties on vellum, parchment, and paper ; and a third for raising money by licensing hackney and stage-coaches and chairs. Thus there were granted this session, for the ordinary and extraordinary charges of the government, upwards of six millions. Besides the acts of supply, and those already mentioned, there passed several other acts, which the reader will find in the note at the bottom of the page†.

These being all ready for the royal assent, and his majesty being impatient to return to the continent, he came to the house of peers on the twenty-fifth of April, 1694, and closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked the commons for the large supplies they had given ; and as the posture of affairs made his absence necessary, he recommended it to both houses to preserve the public peace ; then the lord-keeper, by his majesty's command, prorogued the parliament till the eighteenth of September ; and soon after this prorogation the king bestowed the following honours and preferments : lord Butler, brother to the duke of Ormond, was created lord Butler of Weston in England, and earl of Arran in Ireland. The earl of Shrewsbury was dignified with the title of duke : the earl of Mulgrave was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, and the title of marquis of Normandy : Henry Herbert, esq. was ennobled by the title of baron Herbert of Cherbury, in the county of Salop : the earls of Bedford and Devonshire were promoted to the rank of dukes : the marquis of Caermarthen was made duke of Leeds : the earl of Clare, duke of Newcastle : lord viscount Sidney, earl of Rumney : and the viscount Newport, earl of Bradford. Peregrine Bertie was appointed vice-chamberlain to his majesty, in the room of sir John Lowther, who resigned : admiral Russel, sir George Rooke, and sir John Houblon, were appointed commissioners of the admiralty : Charles Montague was made

chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer : and lord Godolphin, sir Stephen Fox, sir William Trumball, and John Smith, were constituted commissioners of the Treasury.

There were several occurrences that happened in the year 1693 that must not be passed over in silence, though I chose to give the preference to the proceedings in parliament, and to continue them to the end of the session without interruption.

The whole presbyterian party in Scotland were now again in the king's interest : the matters of the church were now brought into better temper than was expected. The episcopal clergy had more moderate terms offered them : they were only required to make an address to the general-assembly, offering to subscribe to a general confession of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery to be the only government of that church, with a promise to submit to it ; upon which, within a fortnight after such submission and subscription, if no matter of scandal was objected to them, the assembly was either to receive them into the government of the church ; or if they could not be brought to that, the king was to take them into his protection, and maintain them in their churches, without any dependence on the presbytery. The Scottish parliament augmented their taxes so as to proportion them to the maintenance of six thousand three hundred men, to supply the magazines of the kingdom with arms and stores, and to satisfy the country for their arrears and quarters ; so that the whole sum then given amounted to one hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds sterling, to be raised in eighteen months, by a poll-tax, an excise upon beer and malt, and by continuing the cess upon land, which was then to last seven months and an half to ten months and an half beyond that term. Duke Hamilton, who had for some time withdrawn from business, was now prevailed on to resume it, and was appointed his majesty's high-commissioner to this parliament, which met on the eighteenth of April 1693. The Jacobite party, however, and the discontented Highlanders were very busy all this year in cutting out work for the government ; and they even made a proposition, which if the court of St. Germain's had accepted, as it appeared to be its interest to do, might have thrown the nation into great cabals and disorders : this was no other than that king James should offer to resign his title in favour of his son, and send him to be bred up in England under the directions of the parliament till he should be of age ; but for some reasons this was not complied with†.

A parliament had been summoned this year in Ireland ; but they met full of discontent, so that the lord Sidney, the lord-lieutenant, dismissed them before they had brought any of their bills to perfection. There were indeed great complaints of an ill administration in that government, chiefly in the revenue, in the paying of the army, and in the embezzling of the stores, which made much noise in England, and, as we have related, occa-

* Anderson, ii. 200, 201.

† An act to prevent delays of proceeding at the quarterly sessions of the peace ; an act for punishing mutiny and desertion ; an act for the importation of saltpetre ; an act for the

exportation of iron and copper ; an act for raising the militia ; an act for stating the public accounts ; an act for the building good and defensible ships ; an act for the better discipline of the royal navy. Tindal, from Sec. Vernon's MSS. Letters.

fioned both houses of parliament to address his majesty upon the subject; the result of which was, that the king recalled the lord Sidney (who was afterwards made master of the ordnance) and put the government of Ireland into the hands of three lords-justices, viz. lord Capel, sir Cecil Wych, and Mr. William Duncomb, who had lately been ambassador extraordinary to the court of Sweden.

On the twenty-fourth of November this year died the most reverend father in God, Dr. William Sancroft, late archbishop of Canterbury, who had retired to a little estate he had at Fretchingfield in Suffolk, where, by his own direction, he was buried in the church-yard of that place.

On the thirty-first of December prince Lewis of Baden arrived at Gravesend, and continued in England till the fourteenth of February; during which time he concerted measures with the king, and was treated with singular respect, and at a great expence, not only by his majesty, but also by several of the nobility, particularly the duke of Ormond.

The duke of Schomberg, commander of the forces in Piedmont, in the pay of Great Britain, being killed, as has been related, at the battle of Marsaglia in the last campaign, monsieur de Ruigny, who had been so instrumental in the reduction of Ireland, and for his services had been lately honoured by his majesty with the title of earl of Galway in that kingdom, was this winter appointed to the command of those forces in the duke's stead, and at the same time received the character of his majesty's envoy-extraordinary to the duke of Savoy.

In the beginning of the year 1694 the nation sustained a great misfortune in the fate of sir Francis Wheeler, who with three men of war, and several Turkey ships of great value, were lost in a most terrible storm on the nineteenth of February, off Gibraltar-Bay, in the Mediterranean. The *Suffex*, on board which the admiral was, foundered, and himself, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were lost. The admiral's body was soon after found on a sand-bank in his shirt and slippers, from whence it was conjectured that he had thrown himself over-board, in order to save his life, if possible, by swimming. His body was afterwards embalmed and sent to England.

His majesty having settled all affairs in England, embarked for Holland on the sixth of May 1694, and after a very short passage got safe into the Brill in Holland, from whence he set out for the Hague, where having presided at an assembly of the States, he went to Loo; at which place he remained till matters were ripe for opening the campaign in Flanders, which, as we shall hereafter see, proved a very languid one.

In Spain indeed the French exerted themselves with great activity, and their arms were attended with no less success. Lewis, pursuing his project of obtaining a separate peace, in order to relieve the miseries his subjects suffered from famine, and the other melancholy consequences of a long war, had applied to the court of Spain to induce them to accept a separate peace, and to declare the duke of Anjou, one of his grandsons, heir to that crown; but these overtures being rejected, Lewis proposed this spring to have forced the Spaniard into his measures, by invading that kingdom by sea and

land, and particularly on the side of Catalonia. With this view the marshal de Noailles, taking the field early in the spring, advanced at the head of thirty thousand men to the banks of the Ter, and forced the passage of that river on the twenty-eighth day of May, in the face of sixteen thousand of the Spanish forces encamped there to oppose him. After that he proceeded to Palamos, which he immediately invested; while the combined squadrons of Brest and Toulon, under Tourville and d'Estrees, kept it blocked up by sea. On the seventh of June the place was taken by storm, and the French exercised great cruelties on the wretched inhabitants, which struck the Spaniards with such dread, that they immediately withdrew their garrisons out of Felieu de Quixolo and the castle of St. Elmo, with which they reinforced that of Gironne, a town well fortified, and capable of holding out a long siege: yet such was the panic that prevailed among the soldiers, that it submitted on the nineteenth of June, upon very humiliating terms. From Gironne Noailles led his troops before Ostalric, a town on the road to Barcelona, which he carried without meeting with the smallest resistance. This success encouraged the marshal, after having given his troops time to refresh themselves, on account of the extreme heat of the country at that season, to attempt the reduction of Barcelona, the capital, and the only fortified town in the province of Catalonia now remaining to the Spaniards. His plan was to attack the town both by sea and land at the same time, and upon meeting with the success he expected, he intended afterwards to have secured the whole sea-coast of Spain, destroying every town of any note he came to. These designs however were happily frustrated, by the arrival of the English admiral Russel in the Mediterranean, with a numerous fleet under his command.

King William having been previously informed of the enemy's design upon Barcelona, had resolved to send a strong fleet up the Mediterranean, as well to assist the king of Spain, as to prevent the Toulon squadron from coming into the Ocean, and thereby hindering the French from making any figure this year at sea. With this view all imaginable pains had been taken both in England and Holland to fit out a more numerous fleet, and to send it earlier to sea than in any year since the war began. Accordingly Russel, who, as we have already observed, was again appointed to the command of the fleet, sailed from St. Helen's on the third of May with the combined squadrons, consisting of fifty-two English, and forty-one Dutch ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels: but when he came off Brest, he found the squadron that had been fitted out there under Tourville, had already quitted that harbour. Upon which he determined to follow them: but being informed by the captain of a Swedish ship, that there was a fleet of French merchant ships laying in an harbour near Conquet-Bay, he detached captain Pritchard, in the *Monmouth*, with the *Roebuck* and *Resolution* fire-ships, to attempt the taking or destroying them. This service Pritchard performed so effectually, that out of fifty-five sail he burnt or sunk thirty-five, and drove the man of war, which was to protect them, ashore on the rock, where she was lost. The admiral, not having been able to find the Brest fleet, returned

to St. Helen's, which he again left on the twenty-ninth; and, after having detached several of his ships to go upon the intended expedition against Brest, of which we shall speak hereafter, he proceeded for the Mediterranean with the rest. On the twenty-fifth of June he arrived off the Rock of Lisbon, where he was joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with the Dutch vice-admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with sixteen ships of the line, which increased the number of those already under his command to sixty-three. Russel now made the best of his way for Barcelona, in order to save that city and the province of Catalonia from falling into the hands of the French, who had by this time blocked it up both by land and sea. On his appearance before that place on the last day of July, the French admirals, not being able to look such a fleet in the face, returned, pursuant to their orders, into the harbour of Toulon, and Noailles abandoned his enterprize. The siege of Barcelona was now raised, to the infinite joy of the king of Spain, whose empire was just before reduced to the most desperate condition. The French durst not appear at sea while Russel continued in the Mediterranean, which he did all the winter of this year; and it was now out of dispute that France was no longer in a condition, as she had vainly boasted, to give laws to the other maritime powers*.

The death of the bishop and prince of Liege towards the beginning of this year, gave the French a fair prospect of embroiling the affairs of the confederates on that side; but the elector of Cologne being chosen in his room against the cardinal of Bouillon, whom the French court had put up and strongly supported in this election, together with the great power of the allies in Flanders this campaign, changed the face of affairs, greatly to the disadvantage of Lewis. The confederate army under king William's command took the field the latter end of June, and encamped at Mont St. André, consisting of thirty-one thousand horse and dragoons, and fifty-one thousand foot, all prime troops; besides a body of seven thousand men under count Thian near Ghent. The French were not much inferior in number: but the dauphin of France, who commanded in person, declared that he had orders not to stir out of his camp so long as the allies continued in theirs; so that these two great armies continued looking at each other only, and waiting to take their advantages, till the latter end of the year, when king William attempted to pass the Schelde, and force the French lines; but was disappointed by an incredible swift march of the enemy, who thereby prevented the allies from penetrating into French Flanders, where, considering their strength, they would in all probability have made some important conquest, or at least secured winter-quarters. The king having in vain, by marches and counter-marches, endeavoured to bring the French to an engagement, gave orders for besieging Huy, which was accordingly invested by the count de Tilly, in the beginning of September, and after a siege of ten days surrendered to the allies, by whom it was garrisoned. By this conquest the bishopric of Liege was secured from the insults of the French; and now the season advan-

cing for putting an end to the campaign on this side, William, after having ordered Dixmuyde, Deynse, Nivove, and Tillemont, to be secured for winter-quarters to part of the army, quitted the camp on the last day of September. The dauphin soon afterwards left his army, and returned to Versailles, and both camps broke up about the middle of October. Thus ended this fruitless campaign in Flanders, not a little to the mortification of the confederates, especially the Dutch and English, who loudly complained of being obliged to bear the burthen of such an expensive war to so little purpose, either in point of honour or advantage.

On the side of the Rhine the prince of Baden, at the head of the Imperialists, being impatient of action, crossed the river, and marched towards the French under marshal de Lorges, who being apprized of the prince's motions, retired towards Landau. In this retreat however great part of his rear was cut off by the Imperialists, who, as the French still retreated before them, advanced and plundered several towns in their way, and then returned unopposed, having raised contributions all over the adjacent country, and made a very considerable booty; and thus ended the campaign in Germany.

The war was carried on with as little spirit in Piedmont; for though the duke of Savoy had openly rejected the terms which had been offered him by France after his defeat at Marsaglia, he yet engaged in secret negotiations with that court, which made him neglect the military operations of the campaign, notwithstanding the pressing remonstrances of Ruvigny, lord Galway, who, as we have before observed, had succeeded the duke of Schomberg in the command of the British forces in that country. Casal indeed was blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained some petty advantages in the Valley of Ragelas; but no enterprize of importance was attempted during the whole campaign.

King William, persuaded that there was no way left effectually to humble France, but by carrying the war into her own bowels, had, before his departure from England, concerted a plan to make a descent on Brest, and other places on her sea-coast. The execution of this was committed to lieutenant-general Talmash. Accordingly, when admiral Russel sailed with the grand fleet for the Streights in June this year, the lord Berkeley, with thirty sail of men of war and transports, having a body of six or seven thousand men on board, under the command of the afore-named general, was ordered to make a descent at Camaret-Bay, near Brest, in order to ruin that harbour, or render it useless to the French. There is a high rock or promontory that runs up from Camaret to the entrance of the harbour of Brest, which whoever is master of, may command the shipping going in and out. This promontory is joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, which it was proposed to possess ourselves of, and which might be defended with four or five thousand men against any force that could have been brought against it. By the possession of this important spot, where we were to have built a fort, we should not only have prevented the French from assembling their fleets

* *Histoire Militaire*, tom. iii. P. Daniel. Burnet. *Naval History*.

there as usual, but have had it in our power to make incursions into the province of Brittany at pleasure. Had this succeeded, the French would not have had one port upon the Ocean fit for receiving their large men of war: but the French king being apprised of the design, as indeed he was at this time of most that we formed, and sensible of the fatal consequence it would be attended with, had taken care, under the conduct of the famous engineer Vauban, to have the isthmus, the rock, and all the avenues to it, so fortified as to render it inaccessible. An army had also been drawn down, twice the number of ours which was to attack them; and strong batteries were raised, that commanded every place where there appeared the least possibility of landing. Such was the state of the place, when our fleet, having on board the lord Berkeley, general Talmash, the marquis of Caermarthen, the lord Cutts, and other brave commanders, arrived before it on the seventh of June.

The disadvantages of making an attempt upon a place well prepared for annoyance, as well as defence, was warmly represented by several of the officers to general Talmash, and he was advised not to expose himself or his men: to which he answered, "This advice comes too late; the honour of the English nation is at stake, and therefore I must and will land." Hereupon the marquis of Caermarthen, with great bravery, stood in with seven or eight of the men of war, and came to an anchor very near the shore, in order to cover the descent of our troops. He had not been long in this station before he found himself exposed to a most terrible fire from several batteries, none of which they discovered till they felt the shot from them. The marquis, however, not in the least daunted, kept up a brisk and continual fire from his ships, in return. The first eight hundred men that went on shore in the boats were commanded by general Talmash in person; who was no sooner landed but he found the enterprize impracticable, and made a signal to retreat; but it happening to be tide of ebb, the boats stuck fast upon the ooze, and the men being all the while exposed to the fire from the batteries, and the troops in the entrenchments, no less than six hundred of them were slain; and a squadron of the French coming down to the shore, obliged those that were left alive to lay down their arms and demand quarter. Upon this several other boats full of men, who were hasting from the fleet to land and join their comrades, returned on board with precipitation. The boat in which general Talmash was, did indeed fortunately get off, but not till that gallant officer had received a wound in his thigh by a ball, of which he died at sea on his return to England. The ships that covered the descent were also very roughly handled, having lost six or seven hundred of their men, and their masts and rigging almost cut in pieces by

the batteries from the shore. The marquis of Caermarthen however brought them all off, with infinite difficulty and hazard, except a Dutch frigate of thirty guns, which fell into the hands of the enemy: a council of war being now called on board the lord Berkeley's ship, it was resolved to return immediately to Spithead*, where the fleet arrived on the fifteenth of June: there they found the queen's orders to call a council of war, to consider how the ships and troops might be best employed. After several consultations, it was resolved to make some attempts on the coast of Normandy: accordingly, putting to sea on the twenty-seventh of June, after being driven about for some time by hard and contrary winds, they arrived before Dieppe on the 8th of July, and on the twelfth they began to play upon the town, and continued firing without ceasing for the space of twelve hours, during which time they threw one thousand one hundred bombs and carcases into the town: and the streets being narrow, the houses old, and most of them built of timber, the town was set on fire in twenty places at once; so that the far greater part of it was consumed to ashes. After this execution, the English squadron sailed along the coast, and obliged the French troops quartered thereabouts to march night and day, in order to be ready, in case we should attempt a descent, which however was no part of the admiral's orders. On the fifteenth, about noon, the lord Berkeley came off Havre de Grace, and about four o'clock began to bombard it. The marquis de Quincy says, that but very few houses were destroyed on this occasion: however, he owns that not only the inhabitants, but the soldiers, of which the French had poured in great numbers, laboured excessively in putting out the fires wherever the bombs fell, which must have been attended with great loss of men. On the other hand, this could not be done without loss on our side; for during this service, which lasted, with intervals, six days, the Grenada bomb vessel was blown up, with all the men on board, and several other of the smaller craft so shattered, that it was thought convenient to retire, and the fleet returned to St. Helen's on the twenty-fifth of July to refit. An attempt was afterwards made, by a squadron under sir Cloudesley Shovel, upon Dunkirk: but as that place was well fortified, and strongly garrisoned, the design at last was found impracticable, and sir Cloudesley drew off his ships; but in his way home he came before Calais; and sent the bomb-vessel in, which discharged so many shells upon the town, that about forty houses were ruined. After this the admiral returned with his whole squadron into the Downs. Secretary Burchet, in speaking of these bombarding expeditions, gives it as his opinion (and indeed it seems to be a just one) that the expence the nation was put to by them, was more than equivalent to what the enemy suffered by them†.

* The marquis of Caermarthen, in his account of this desperate action, does great justice to all the officers employed therein. He says (page 46.) "My lord Berkeley, during all this expedition, has had a great deal of unusual trouble, by reason of the embarkation of the soldiers: notwithstanding which, both by his advice at councils of war and issuing orders, which his lordship has done very methodically, he hath behaved himself, in my opinion, with all the conduct and prudence that could be expected from a gentleman in his station."

† Lieutenant-general Talmash, the earl of Macclesfield, my lord Cutts, and all the officers of the land-forces, I think, have shewn all the forwardness and readiness imaginable for the attempting any thing that was possible to be done on this occasion. There are no officers of note, that I can yet hear of, killed in this action but monsieur Lamote, and lieutenant-general Talmash died the Tuesday following of the wound he received in his thigh."

† Naval Memoirs, p. 234.

The government, however, seem to have seen the matter in another light; for a medal was struck on the bombarding of Havre, which had on one side the king's head in profile, with these words, GULIELMUS MAGNUS INVICTISSIMUS: on the reverse, Perillus' bull, with this inscription, suis PERIT IGNIBUS AUCTOR; alluding to the French king's having begun this barbarous kind of war, by burning the Palatinate, and bombarding Genoa. In the exergue were these words, PORTUS GRATIÆ EXUSTUS ET EVERsus BOMBARDIS ANGLO BATAVIS, 1694.

No domestic transaction of any moment happened in England during the king's absence, if we except the affair of colonel Parker, who was apprehended and committed to the Tower, having been charged with a design to assassinate his majesty some time before. This man, according to Mr. Oldmixon*, knew so much of the designs of the Jacobite party, that they used all their endeavours to get him out of prison, as he was looked upon as the most daring and desperate, as well as the most active and bloody, of all king James's agents. While he was in the Tower a person came and offered to procure him his liberty for two hundred pounds. Parker told him he should have three: upon which, by this man's means, he got out of the Tower in the night of the eleventh of August, and made his escape to France, though a reward of four hundred pounds was offered for apprehending him.

The campaign in Flanders being closed, and his majesty having settled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked the eighth of November at Helvoetsluys, and the next day landed at Margate. He lay that night at Rochester: the day following he came to Kensington; and on Monday the 12th the parliament met, when the king opened the session with a short speech, wherein he observed, "That the designs of the French had been disappointed by sending a fleet into the Mediterranean, and this year a stop had been put to the progress of their arms; and earnestly recommended the providing supplies to prosecute the war with vigour, as the only effectual means to procure an honourable peace. He put them in mind that the act of tonnage and poundage, given for the civil list, would expire at Christmas; and hoped they would continue that revenue to the crown, and also take care for discharging the debt for the transport ships employed in the reduction of Ireland, which was still undischarged †."

This session proved the most unanimous and tranquil of any held during this reign: the supplies demanded by the government were very weighty; little less than five millions! ‡ but they were granted without any opposition. In order to raise this sum, the land-tax of four shillings in the pound was continued; the subsidy of tonnage and poundage renewed for five years; and certain rates and duties were imposed upon marriages, births and burials, bachelors and widows. An act was passed for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards discharging the debt for the transport ships; and another, imposing duties upon glass-wares, stone and earthen bottles, coals, and culm.

The commons, however, while they were shewing their loyalty to their sovereign in the liberality of their grants, forgot not what they looked upon as their own interest and that of the nation; the triennial bill, or bill for the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments, was now insisted on afresh, as the price of these compliances: and William, unable to resist the repeated applications of his subjects, or unwilling to ruffle a parliament that appeared in such a favourable disposition for giving, gave the royal assent to this bill on the twenty-second of December. It enacted, that a new parliament should be summoned every third year; and that the present parliament should cease and determine before the first day of January 1696, unless their majesties should think fit to dissolve it sooner. Universal was the joy expressed by the people on the passing this act; they fondly imagined that the door was now effectually shut to all those methods of corruption which long parliaments had given birth to; but they soon found themselves miserably deceived: candidates had still the same ends to answer; ministers had still favourite points to carry; and, in proportion as the time was shorter for them to accomplish their ends in, they were induced to bid up higher, and, more generally, to carry a majority.

About this period died Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, being in his sixty-third year. He had filled the metropolitan chair from the deprivation of archbishop Sancroft in 1690. Few prelates ever left behind them a more excellent character: no writer ever exceeded, few, very few, have equalled him in sacred composition, his sermons being to this day read with equal pleasure and instruction, by those who do not deem it too unfashionable to peruse works of that kind. He was succeeded by Dr. Tennison, bishop of Lincoln, who was also indulged with the permission of recommending Dr. Gardiner to the bishopric from which he had been translated. Most people, however, thought that Dr. Stillingfleet was better qualified for the archiepiscopal function; but he had too little of the courtier about him to be trusted in a station of that importance.

Queen Mary did not long survive her favourite prelate. She was taken ill of the small-pox; a distemper which had proved fatal to several of her family, on the twenty-first of December, and died the twenty-eighth, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her joint reign. Mary, though perhaps not quite so perfect as her panegyrists have made her, was certainly an excellent woman, and had many virtues which adorn the sex. Her charity was extensive, and without ostentation. She was an example of conjugal affection, beyond most we meet with in her exalted station, the will of the king her husband being the sole rule of all her actions; and to this only we can impute the little reluctance she discovered in mounting the throne from which her father had been deposed, by the assistance of that husband to whom, probably, she thought herself more strictly bound, than by any other earthly ties. Her treatment of her sister Anne is not perhaps so easily to be justified: all we shall therefore attempt to bring, in extenuation of her conduct in this respect is, that

* Page 94.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, ii. 455.

‡ For the navy, 2,382,712 l. For the army, 2,382,000 l.

Mary was not exempt from those failings which are the necessary attendants on human nature. She was in her person tall and well proportioned: her shape, till latterly, was easy and genteel, but began to be somewhat clogged: with a light brown complexion, and a visage perfectly oval, she had a quick and lively eye, and a pleasing regularity of features: she had a natural air of greatness that commanded respect, which was however tempered by a graceful countenance and an affable disposition. Her apprehension was clear and ready; her memory exact; her judgment solid: equally able to bear prosperity or adversity, she seemed to add the courage of the other sex to the softness of her own.

The parliament, sensible that his majesty's interest was extremely weakened by the queen's death, both houses attended him on the thirty-first of December with the following address, in which the lords led the way.

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, do with inexpressible grief humbly assure your majesty of the deep sense we have of the loss your majesty, and the whole kingdom, doth sustain, by the death of that excellent princess our sovereign lady the queen; most humbly beseeching your majesty that you would not indulge your grief upon this sad occasion, to the prejudice of the health of your royal person; in whole preservation, not only the welfare of your own subjects, but of all Christendom, is so much concerned. We further beg leave, upon this sad occasion, humbly to renew to your majesty the hearty and sincere assurances of our utmost assistance against all your enemies both at home and abroad, and of all other demonstrations of the greatest duty and affection that can possibly be paid by the most faithful subjects." To which his majesty returned them his hearty thanks for their kindness manifested to him, and especially for the sense they shewed of the great loss he had sustained, "which, says he, is above what I can express *." The example of the two houses was followed by the whole nation, and consolatory addresses now poured in upon his majesty from all quarters of the kingdom; but nothing gave him greater satisfaction than a letter he received from the princess of Denmark on this occasion, and which we shall here insert, for the reader's perusal:

"Sir, I beg your majesty's favourable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow for your great affliction in the loss of the queen; and I do assure your majesty I am as sensibly touched with this sad misfortune, as if I had never been so unhappy as to have fallen into her displeasure.

"It is my earnest desire your majesty would give me leave to wait upon you, as soon as it can be without danger of increasing your affliction, that I may have an opportunity myself not only of repeating this, but of assuring your majesty of my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving you constant proofs of my sincere respect and concern for your person and interest, as becomes, sir,

Your majesty's most affectionate sister
and servant,

A N N E." †

This letter removing his majesty's apprehensions of the princess's forming a party against him, he listened to the instances of the earl of Sunderland, who brought about a reconciliation between them, and he made the princess a present of most of the late queen's jewels, and assigned her St. James's palace for her residence: but notwithstanding these appearances of friendship, there seems to have still subsisted a jealousy on the king's side: a few formal visits passed between him and his sister-in-law, but he admitted her to no share in public business, nor would he suffer his ministers to attend her, or inform her of any of the transactions of state. Bishop Burnet tells us, that the king was inconsolable upon the death of his consort, insomuch that he could not for a long time give any attention to the business of royalty, seeming insensible of any thing but his great loss. I shall only observe here, that this extreme tenderness is not very agreeable to the character generally given of William as an husband; nor can we think he shewed any great respect to the memory of the deceased queen, by going to the house in person before she was buried, to give the royal assent to the land-tax bill, which he might have done by commission. Mary's corpse having lain in state at Whitehall till the fifth of March, was interred in Henry VII's chapel that evening, the duchess of Somerset being chief mourner; and both houses attending the solemnity, a funeral sermon was preached in the Abbey on this occasion by archbishop Tension.

Before we put an end to the transactions of the year 1694, it will be necessary briefly to mention some occurrences which we could not so conveniently introduce in their proper order of time.

Towards the beginning of this winter the public attention had been engaged by the trial of some papists in Lancashire, who had been detected in a conspiracy against the government. Their designs had been discovered by one Lunt, an Irishman; upon whose circumstantial evidence orders were issued for taking the principal conspirators into custody; and they were soon after brought to their trials at Manchester, where the witnesses for the crown proved that the prisoners, and particularly one Mr. Standish, of Standish-hall, had received commissions from the late king James to levy war against the present government; for which purpose they had bought up arms, and enlisted and maintained soldiers at their own expence. To corroborate this, captain Baker, and other officers employed in securing the conspirators, deposed to the finding such a quantity of arms in several of their houses, as plainly indicated a treasonable design to be on foot against the government. There was likewise found in Mr. Standish's closet the draught of a declaration, in the name of king James, which was to be published at his landing. Notwithstanding the force of this evidence, the friends of the plotters found means to manage matters so, by corrupting some of the king's witnesses, and getting others out of the way, that the accused gentlemen were acquitted, and several who had been taken into custody were immediately discharged without trial. The affair was afterwards brought into parliament at the instance of the Jacobite party, who accused Lunt and his fellow-witnesses of a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the persons

* Proceedings of the House of Lords, i. 443.

† Burnet. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

they had charged with the conspiracy: but upon a fair and candid examination into the merits of the cause, the commons resolved that there was sufficient ground for the prosecution and trial of the gentlemen at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the king and government. The conspirators, disappointed in this quarter, preferred their complaints before the house of peers; but their lordships concurred in the vote of the commons, the earls of Rochester and Nottingham only excepted, who entered their protests against this resolution. After this another indictment for perjury was preferred against Lunt and three more of the king's witnesses at the Lancaster assizes, and all of them were found guilty. They were likewise indicted by the crown for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the gentlemen accused. The design of the ministry in this indictment, was to discover the falsehoods which had been advanced by the witnesses in favour of the gentlemen: but the latter not chusing to abide that issue, dropped the prosecution, and the prisoners were released.

On the twenty-eighth of September, 1694, the English East-India Company had a second charter of regulations, which, after reciting the substance of the preceding charter, made the following alterations and explanations, viz.

I. "The Company may licence their own commanders and mariners [but none other] to trade on their own private account in such commodities, and to such value as a general court shall direct, provided entry be first duly made, as well as custom paid, before landing the same.

II. "To the intent that the Company's annually exporting to India the value of one hundred thousand pounds of English goods, may truly be proved, a just account thereof in writing, signed by the governor or deputy, shall be annually laid before the king and council, attested by the oaths of the proper officers; which goods shall not be re-landed, nor carried any where out of the Company's limits.

III. "Neither the governor, deputy, nor committee, shall lend out the Company's money, without the authority of a general court, &c.

IV. "If this and the two last charters shall not appear to be profitable to the crown, and either in whole or in part, then after three years warning all the said three charters shall be determined and void, and the said governor and Company shall no longer continue a corporation. Lastly,

V. "This Company shall, by a writing under their common seal, declare their acceptance and submission to this and the said two charters, or else they shall no longer act as a corporation."

Affairs in the West-Indies had for some time been in a very bad situation: the French destroyed our trade by their privateers, disturbed our settlements continually, and frequently made descents upon them, particularly on Jamaica, where they committed great devastation, and enriched themselves by the booty they carried off in their different incursions. The few ships of war we had in those parts were so far from being able to de-

fend our colonies with any effect, that several of them were taken by the enemy, insomuch that the loss of our colonies seemed no improbable, or indeed remote, consequence; since all their trade was destroyed, and their coasts plundered at will by their privateers that were equipped in whole squadrons from the settlements the French had established in Hispaniola. These advantages, however, seem not to have been so much owing to the superior force or courage of the French in those parts, as to the notorious want of public spirit and right management in us and the Spaniards. Our governors there had from time to time made the most pressing instances to the ministry at home, to take more care of our concerns in the West-Indies, by sending proper squadrons, and with them a sufficient supply of land-forces, into those parts: but other business intervening, and the Spaniards not appearing either willing or able to join us in the curbing the insolence of the enemy, neither the council nor the admiralty seem to have thought any more about the plantations till towards the end of this year, when they were alarmed with an account of a brisk attempt made upon Jamaica by monsieur Ducasse, the French governor of St. Domingo. This officer sailed in the month of June, with three men of war and twenty-three transports, having on board one thousand five hundred men, for the coast of Jamaica, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the same month, and made a descent on Port Morant, which they found abandoned; and marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and destroyed all they found in their way, and carried off money and effects to a considerable value *, having found that their schemes of conquest were altogether impracticable: for the people of Jamaica, when they found their property in danger, assembled readily for its defence, and behaved themselves so well in an engagement with the French, that it contributed not a little to make the latter lay aside their design, and to hinder them from resuming it afterwards †.

In this same year a beginning was made at home to the design of the now noble and magnificent hospital of Greenwich, for the reception of the decayed sailors serving in the royal navy. King William and queen Mary had for some time had this establishment much at heart, and they accordingly made a grant of the royal palace at Greenwich (a part of which, on the west side, had been begun to be rebuilt for a royal palace for king Charles II.) as also of a large adjoining space of ground. For this end king William, after the death of his royal consort, appointed by patent a number of commissioners for directing the building and endowing of this intended hospital, and granted a large sum out of his civil list for that purpose; and his royal successors were considerable benefactors to it. At length annual sums were granted by parliament for the finishing of this truly noble structure, which was fully completed in the reign of his late majesty king George the Second.

* See P. Charlevoix Histoire de St. Dominique, tom. iii. p. 37.

† British Empire in America. Hist. of Jamaica.

WILLIAM III. alone. A. D. 1695.

THE death of queen Mary gave the enemies of the government a desirable opportunity to attempt distressing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally dissolved by her majesty's decease. This, however singular, was the opinion of her majesty's uncle the earl of Rochester, and of some others, who maintained it in the house of peers, though it was certainly very ill founded. The executive part of the government was by law in king William only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared to be in their majesties jointly. The calling of a parliament was undoubtedly an act of the executive power, and consequently it ought to have been understood in law as the special and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majesties, as all other acts of state did, yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and nobody's seconding the earl of Rochester in his motion in the house of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberations as if no such accident had happened*. It is evident, if this could have been carried, and the parliament dissolved, things must have run into the utmost confusion; and therefore it is amazing that any man, who pretended the least regard for his country, should espouse so destructive a scheme, even though his sentiments had been opposite to those of the persons intrusted with the administration!

While the commons were employed in finding out ways and means for raising the money they had voted, they found their attention called off by the discovery of a surprising scene of bribery and corruption, in which not only the agents of the army, some members of parliament, but even the privy-counsellors themselves were deeply concerned. This discovery was made by a petition presented to the house by the inhabitants of Royston in Hertfordshire, January 12, complaining, that the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, demanded and exacted subsistence-money in their quarters and upon their march, and were guilty of many other abuses. Upon this, colonel Hastings, his agent, Mr. Tracey Pauncefort, his brother Edward Pauncefort, major Montell, and the agents of some other regiments, were sent for, and examined before the house, who thought proper to commit Tracey Pauncefort to the Tower, for having refused to answer certain questions put to him; as they also did his brother, for having defrauded colonel Hastings's regiment of five hundred guineas. These two were soon followed by Henry Guy, esq. a member of the house, and secretary to the treasury, who was proved to have received a bribe of two hundred guineas, for procuring the payment of the arrears which were due to the regiment.

The house next proceeded to draw up an address to his majesty, which was presented on the

fourth of March, and which we shall lay before the reader for his further insight into this shocking scene of military tyranny and corruption. The representation was as follows: "I. That the violences complained of from the soldiers, were in great measure occasioned by the ill practices of the agents of the army, who detained the soldiers pay, and converted it to their own use. II. By their intolerable exactions and extortions upon the officers and soldiers for paying money by way of advance, by charging more for the discount of tallies than they actually paid. III. That colonel Hastings in particular had compelled some officers of his regiment to take their cloaths from him at an exorbitant price, to promote his own private advantage, without any regard to his majesty's service, or to the discipline of the army. IV. That the said colonel Hastings had fraudulently detained five hundred guineas out of a bounty given by his majesty to the officers of his regiment, under pretence of having paid that sum as a bribe to obtain the said bounty; and had also taken two-pence in the pound out of the money due to the officers and soldiers, without having any warrant for making such deduction. V. That colonel Hastings's agent had refused or neglected to give an account of the pay due to the captains of his regiment and their companies, which tended apparently to the defrauding the officers and soldiers. VI. That many grievous and great deductions had been arbitrarily made by the agents, who had endeavoured to cover their frauds under the uncertain head of *contingencies*. VII. That colonel Hastings had discharged an ensign by putting another in his room, contrary to the true discipline of the army. VIII. and lastly, That the said colonel Hastings had taken money for recommending to commands in his regiment, to the discouragement of the officers who were to serve in his majesty's armies; who ought to be such as merited their commands, and not such as paid for them†." To all which abuses the house humbly intreated his majesty to give immediate redress. The king received this representation very graciously, and assured the house of his compliance with their request. Accordingly, colonel Hastings was cashiered, and his regiment given to sir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel. His majesty likewise appointed a council of officers to sit weekly, and examine all complaints against any officer or soldier; and published a proclamation for the strict discipline of the army, and the payment of quarters.

The commons however still continued to prosecute their enquiries, and on the seventh of March called before them several of the contractors for cloathing the army, particularly Mr. James Craggs and Mr. Richard Harnage, who refusing to be examined upon oath, or to produce their books, were committed: and a bill was brought in to compel the agents to discover their practices; but so great was the interest of the offenders, that the bill

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 140.

† State Tracts, vol. ii. Proceed. House of Comm. ii. 444, &c.

was dropped; and it does not appear that either the agents or superior officers of the army, who had cheated the soldiers, and defrauded the government in a most egregious manner, were ever punished according to their demerits. The commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches next came under censure, for having, by receiving bribes and other undue means, acted corruptly and arbitrarily, and his majesty was addressed to remove three of them, who were accordingly displaced*.

But the affair of the East-India Company, and of the bill for satisfying the debt due to orphans of London, made the greatest noise, on account of the high rank of those concerned in this scene of iniquity. The East-India Company had been struck at in several sessions: their patent was represented as an illegal monopoly, and another company proposed to be erected by parliament, or at least the trade laid open to all his majesty's subjects; which when the Company found the parliament inclined to concur in, they applied themselves to some leading men, whom they gratified with considerable sums to obtain a new charter, and an act of parliament to confirm it. The disinterested part of both houses being greatly surprised, to hear the very members who had been most zealous against the Company's patent, now declare themselves their warmest advocates, suspected some iniquitous mystery, and therefore resolved to dive to the bottom of it, and to vindicate, if possible, the honour of parliament. The first enquiry set on foot was concerning the orphans bill, which was supposed to have been procured by the like undue influence†. A committee was accordingly appointed to inspect into the books of the chamberlain of London, and of the East-India Company; and was also empowered to send for persons and papers. After a due examination, the committee reported, "That they found an order made by the committee of the common-council of the city, directing the chamberlain to pay sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, one thousand guineas; and another order for paying Paul Jodrel, esq. clerk of the house, one hundred guineas, for his pains and service in assisting the orphans bill to pass the parliament: that several other sums were entered into the chamberlain's books, paid to Mr. Barret the city-solicitor, to defray the charge of drawing the said bill, and making copies thereof; and of the petitions and orders relating to the same: among which payments were, five guineas paid to Mr. solicitor-general for his advice, five guineas to Mr. Harcourt, twenty guineas to Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the committee, for his pains and service, and sixty pounds to Mr. Jodrel; and they understood that the orphans had given bond to Mr. Smith and Mr. Charles Noyes to allow them twelve-pence in the pound when the bill passed: that the said Noyes and Smith produced to the committee of the common-council a bill of their charges, amounting to upwards of three thousand pounds monies disbursed‡." Upon these reports the commons resolved, "That sir John

Trevor their speaker receiving a gratuity of a thousand guineas, after passing the orphans bills, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor." Sir John Trevor, to his infinite disgrace, was himself obliged to put the question from the chair for his own expulsion. He did not think fit to offer any defence, but the next day absented himself, and sent the mace to the house, who thereupon chose Paul Foley, esq. their speaker in his stead; at the same time, Mr. Hungerford the other member was expelled the house.

The commons next proceeded to enquire into the means by which the East-India Company had obtained their late charter, and appointed a committee (of which Mr. Foley was chairman) to inspect the books of the said company, when, upon examination, the most flagrant instances of venality and corruption were quickly manifested. It appeared that the Company had issued for the single articles of secret service, no less than one hundred and seventy thousand pounds, and that sir Thomas Cook, one of the members of the house of commons, had been the chief manager of this infamous traffic. Cook, upon being examined, at first refused to answer; so that on the twenty-sixth of March the commons enacted, "That sir Thomas Cook, a member, having refused to give an account of the money of the East-India Company by him distributed, be committed to the Tower, and a bill be brought in to oblige him to give such account." But this was dropped, and a bill passed to indemnify him upon making a due discovery. Hereupon he delivered in writing, to a committee of both houses, an account of the disposal of large sums to several persons§: but his discovery not being deemed satisfactory, a bill passed both houses, which afterwards received the royal assent, for imprisoning sir Thomas Cook, sir Basil Firebrace, Charles Bates, esq. and James Craggs; and for restraining them from alienating their estates: and in consequence of further discoveries made, the commons, on the twenty-seventh of April, drew up articles of impeachment against the duke of Leeds, president of the council, "for contracting and agreeing with the merchants trading to the East-Indies, or their agents, for five thousand five hundred guineas, to procure a charter of confirmation and a charter of regulations, or by his agents and servants, with his privity and consent." The articles of impeachment being presented at the bar of the upper house, the duke pleaded Not Guilty, and the commons promised to make good the charge. The duke, however, sent his servant Robart, who had received the money for him, out of the kingdom; and his absence prevented the matter being ever brought to a trial: but the duke's character suffered an indelible stain from the discovery that had been already made.

On the second of May the commons resolved, "That the offer of any money, or other advantage, to any member of parliament, for promoting any matter whatsoever depending in parliament, was a high crime and misdemeanor, and tended

* Killigrew, Villiers, and Gee.

† The commissioners were, Mr. Paul Foley, sir Richard Onslow, Mr. John Pollexfen, sir John Thompson, Mr. Foot Onslow, Mr. Thomas Pelham, sir Samuel Bernardiston, the honourable Mr. Thomas Wharton, and Mr. Francis Gwynn.

‡ See State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 481, &c. where the reader may see a more full account of this matter; as also of the

East India company's affairs, from whence the above extracts are taken.

§ To Francis Tyssen, esq. 10,000 l. to Mr. Richard Acton, 1,200 l. to Nathaniel Molyneux, 338 l. to sir John Charden, 220 l. to P—— D——, esq. 350 l. to captain John Germain, 382 l. to colonel Fitzpatrick, 1,000 guineas, and 40,000 to sir Basil Firebrace. Ibid.

to the subversion of the constitution." By this time such discoveries were made, and such numbers of considerable persons appeared to be concerned in the grand scene of corruption, that a full detection was equally dreaded by both parties; so that his majesty, to put an end to the proceedings of the commons, who were about to impeach several other persons, came to the house of peers on the third of May, and sending for the commons, closed the session with the following speech:

"My lords and gentlemen, I am come to give you thanks for the supplies provided for carrying on the war in which we are engaged, and at the same time to conclude this session, which cannot be continued any longer without manifest prejudice to the ends for which these supplies are given, the season of the year making it so necessary for me to be abroad, that it were to be wished our business at home would have allowed me to have been there sooner.

"I will take care to place the administration of affairs during my absence, in such persons on whose care and fidelity I can entirely depend; and I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, but every one of you in your several stations will be assisting to them. This is what I require of you, and that you will be more than ordinarily vigilant in preserving the public peace." Then the lord-keeper, by his majesty's order, prorogued the parliament to the eighteenth of June *.

The same day the king appointed the following high personages to be lords-justices of England for the administration of the government during his absence, viz. Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury; sir John Somers, lord-keeper of the great-seal; Thomas earl of Pembroke, lord privy-seal; William duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of his majesty's household; Charles duke of Shrewsbury, principal secretary of state; Charles earl of Dorset, lord-chamberlain of the household; and Sidney lord Godolphin, first commissioner of the treasury. It is remarkable, that neither the princess of Denmark nor her husband were admitted into any share of the administration; a neglect which could not but produce great heart-burnings in the friends of that princess, who was now heir-apparent to the crown.

His majesty also about this time made the following promotions, viz. sir William Trumbal was appointed secretary of state, in the room of sir John Trenchard, lately deceased; Henry lord Capel was constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland; William de Nassau, lord of Zuylestein, was created baron of Enfield, viscount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford; and Ford lord Grey of Werk was created viscount Glendale and earl of Tankerville; and on the twelfth of May his majesty embarked at Gravesend for Holland, from whence he soon after went to the army in Flanders.

The campaign of 1695 was a glorious one to king William and the allies, whose army being superior to that of the French in the Netherlands, his majesty resolved to strike some memorable blow.

Accordingly, after having for some time amused marshal Villeroy (who commanded the French army in the room of Luxemburg, who died the preceding winter) by several feints, he at length invested the city of Namur on the third of July. This place, the capital fortress in the Netherlands, was strong by art and nature, before it fell into the hands of the enemy, since which it had received additional fortifications, so that it was looked upon as altogether impregnable. It was defended by a garrison of fifteen thousand chosen men, commanded by the count de Guiscard; and marshal Boufflers, who conducted a separate army from that of Villeroy, though subjected to the other's orders, found means to throw himself into the town with several regiments, and thereby increased the garrison to twenty or twenty-five thousand men. It would be tedious to enumerate all the particulars of this celebrated siege, one of the most important events of the war. We shall therefore relate only the principal circumstances.

It is however necessary to set before the reader the disposition of the French army and that of the allies, for his better understanding what follows. The enemy, conscious of their own inferiority, had thought proper to secure their late conquests, by a new line drawn between the Lys and the Schelde, and to make dispositions for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur; some of which they apprehended would be attacked by the allies. Mean while, the confederates formed two great armies in Flanders and Brabant: the first, composed of seventy-two battalions of foot, and eighty-two squadrons of horse and dragoons, was encamped at Aerseele, Canghem, and Wanterghem, between Theildt and Deynse, and commanded by the king in person, assisted by the old prince of Vaudemont, the best general in the allied army after the death of prince Waldeck. The other army, consisting of sixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty squadrons of horse, encamped at Zellrich and Ham, on the road from Brussels to Dendermonde, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, seconded by the duke of Holstein-Ploen, the earl of Athlone, and several other excellent generals. There was also a third little army, called the Body of the Maese, which lay encamped between Bref and Talais on the Me-haigne. This body consisted of eighteen battalions of Brandenburgers, and seven of Dutch, and thirty-two squadrons of horse; the whole commanded by the baron de Heyden, lieutenant-general of Brandenburg, and the count de Berlo, general of the Liege cavalry. On the other hand, the marshal de Villeroy had drawn his army together at Liege, between Condé, Tournay, and Aeth: marshal de Boufflers, with another body of about twelve thousand horse and foot, lay encamped about the Sambre; and monsieur Montal, with another small body, was posted between Ypres and the fort La Knocque.

King William having succeeded according to his wish, by drawing all the enemy's forces on one

* Few acts of any consequence were passed this session besides the money-acts, and an act against clipping and coining. It appears that about this time the silver coin of the kingdom was so much diminished by the villany of clippers, as to be reduced near half in value, to the great detriment of trade, and

embarrassment of the public revenue. Various expedients were proposed for remedying this grievance; but some of them were dangerous, and others impracticable. An act, however, passed, containing very strict penalties against clippers; but the remedy was not perfected till the next parliament.

side by his feigned marches, directed baron Heyden and the earl of Athlone to invest Namur, which was accordingly done. The king sent them a plan of the siege, which he had previously formed, and which the elector of Bavaria highly applauded, as a well-concerted project. On the eleventh of July the trenches were opened, and the next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury.

It was natural to expect, that a place of so much importance as Namur, so strong in its fortifications, and defended by such a numerous garrison commanded by a marshal of France, would dispute every foot of ground; and indeed it made a most bold and desperate defence for near two months. During the siege marshal Villeroy attempted to cut off prince Vaudemont, who commanded the army that covered the siege, consisting of fifty battalions of foot, and as many squadrons of horse, encamped at Aerseele. The French out-numbered the prince by more than two to one, and were very high surprising him in his trenches; but he effected a retreat to Ghent, in a manner hardly to be paralleled in antient or modern history. He first detached his baggage and artillery: these were soon followed by his infantry: lastly, he drew off his horse; and all this was performed with such secrecy and address, that the enemy had not the least suspicion of his design. Enraged to find himself thus baffled, Villeroy dispatched Montal to attack the prince's rear; but the Frenchmen met with so warm a reception, that they were glad to retire, after having killed a few of the prince's men, and suffered very considerably themselves. King William was so highly pleased with the prince's conduct, that he wrote him a letter with his own hand, wherein he acknowledged himself obliged to him; adding, "That he had given greater marks of a general consummate in the art of war, than if he had gained a victory."

Villeroy, disappointed in this attempt, afterwards endeavoured to surprize Nieuport, and was disappointed there also. He then, with better success, attacked the forts of Dixmuyde and Deynse, both which surrendered to him without striking a blow, though their garrisons consisted of near seven thousand men, among whom were two garrisons of English; and what rendered this misfortune the greater was, that the French detained these garrisons prisoners of war, refusing to ransom or exchange them according to cartel; insomuch that many of them, by the hardships they suffered, were forced into the French service, and sent quite across France into Catalonia. The next stratagem Villeroy made use of to draw off the allies from the siege of Namur, was the bombarding of Brussels, which was executed with such fury*, that within the space of forty-eight hours two thousand houses and upwards, in the heart of the town, were reduced to ashes; the stadthouse, the great church, and several others, demolished; and the very foundations of them thrown up by the bombs. The electress of Bavaria, who was then in the city, though removed out of danger from these ministers of destruction, was yet so terrified by their dreadful and incessant noise, that she miscarried; and it was

with the utmost difficulty that she escaped with life. This terrible destruction of a capital city, which by the cartel was to have been exempt from bombardments, was justified by the French, on account of the bombardments that the English had made upon the coast of France.

After the perpetrating of this unmanly revenge, Villeroy being considerably reinforced by all the troops that could be spared out of the garrisons, and the forces from the sea-coasts, marched directly towards Namur, with an army, as the French themselves gave out, of no less than eighty thousand men, and which came just time enough to be witness to the surrender of that important fortress. King William having taken up the camp which the French army had occupied when they covered the siege of that place, the marshal found there was no attacking him, and therefore returned towards the Meuse; so that the garrison now lost all hopes of being relieved. It had indeed made a most noble resistance, and never was military valour and skill more illustriously displayed than in the attack and defence of this place. The genius, or the superior courage of the allies, however, at length succeeded. Count Guiscard finding that the enemy, after having effected several successive lodgments of great importance, were preparing for a general assault, surrendered the town on the fourth of August, and on the sixth the French retired into the castle, against which twelve batteries were opened on the thirteenth. Boufflers made several bold attempts to break through the camp of the allies, but was always disappointed, by the prudent precautions of king William. At length the garrison being from near twenty thousand, now reduced to little better than six thousand, the marshal thought proper to surrender, and the capitulation was signed on the evening of the second of September. Villeroy, who lay encamped at Gemblours, was no sooner informed of the surrender of Namur than he passed the Sambre, near Charleroi, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garrison of Dinant with two thousand men, retreated with the rest of his army towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons.

On the fifth day of September the French garrison marched out of the castle, when king William caused marshal Boufflers to be arrested and detained prisoner, by way of reprisal for the detention of the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, contrary to the cartel established between the two nations. Hereupon the court of Versailles thought proper to give its parole of honour that the said garrisons should be restored, and the marshal was immediately set at liberty. The reduction of Namur, in the sight of an army of eighty thousand men, seemed to establish the military character of king William, and more than ever confirmed him in the confidence of the allies: the Dutch in particular testified their acknowledgements, by every possible mark of gratitude and respect. His majesty now entrusted the command of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo, the usual place of his recess. Soon after both armies went into winter-quarters. We are not to suppose that so capital a conquest as that of Namur, could be gained

* On the 14th and 15th of August.

without a considerable loss on the side of the victors: the allies left near twelve thousand men before the place. Among the slain were the count de Rivera, the baron de Heckeren, and several other officers of note. Among the wounded were the prince of Holstein-Norburgh, the prince of Hesse-Homburgh, and several inferior officers. The elector of Bavaria distinguished himself in a particular manner during the whole siege.

On the Rhine nothing was done this whole campaign; the army of the empire under prince Baden, and that of the French commanded by the marshal de Lorges, being so nearly equal, that neither of the two generals would venture upon a battle, but contented themselves with watching the motions of each other: nor did Italy this year furnish any military transactions deserving notice since the siege of Casal, which was yielded up to the duke of Savoy in fourteen days; to the surprize of all the world, as that place was esteemed the strongest perhaps in Europe: but it appeared afterwards that the duke and the French king were privately negotiating with each other; and it was conjectured that the latter made a voluntary sacrifice of this fortress to the duke, in order to engage his forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The French made but a very indifferent figure in Catalonia this year. Admiral Ruffel, who wintered at Cadiz, prevented them from forming the siege of Barcelona; upon which they retired to Palamos, which our admiral bombarded so furiously, that the greatest part of the town and castle were laid in ruins: after which he retired again to Cadiz; there he made the necessary dispositions for securing our trade in the Mediterranean from any interruption, by leaving a sufficient force to frustrate the designs of the enemy, and even to assist the Spaniards in case they had shewn any activity in their own concerns. Having settled these matters, and given proper instructions to sir David Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, who was to be left with a squadron of twenty-three ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-vessels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the rest of the fleet back to England; which design he happily accomplished in the beginning of the winter.

I shall now consider what passed at home, in respect to the design of humbling the French on the Ocean. The great men in the cabinet had determined to prosecute the methods of bombardment which had been set on foot the last year; and St. Malo's and Dunkirk were the places marked out to be demolished. The fleet intended for this service was in such forwardness, that the lord Berkeley of Stratton, who was to command it, sailed from Spithead on the twenty-third of June, and on the fourth of July came before St. Malo's. On the fifth the bombardment began about six in the morning, and was so vigorously pursued, that in about two hours time a great fire broke out in the east part of the town, and vast clouds of smoke were seen ascending in several places. About four in the afternoon another great fire broke out in the west part of the town. By seven in the evening the bomb-vessels had spent their whole cargo of nine thousand bombs and carcasses, and therefore the signal was given to put to sea. This enterprize against St. Malo's was executed by six English and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots,

fourteen flat-bottomed boats, and two brigantines. The loss we sustained on this occasion was sixty men, killed and wounded, by the enemy's fire from their batteries, and one bomb-vessel sunk. The bombardment lasted somewhat more than eleven hours, and laid the greatest part of the town in ruins.

After this affair was over, it was resolved to send a second squadron to Granville, a place of great trade, under the command of captain Bernbow, who on the eighth of July anchored before the place, and began the bombardment, which lasted from nine in the morning till six in the evening; and then the squadron sailed away, leaving the town all in flames. After this the fleet sailed to Portsmouth, in order to make the necessary preparations there for an attempt upon Dunkirk; the destruction of which port was eagerly desired both by the English and Dutch, whose trade had suffered prodigiously from the enemy's privateers that were fitted out from thence. Lord Berkeley putting to sea again with the fleet on the last day of July, came the next day before Dunkirk, which he battered for eight hours: but the French had in all places made such strong preparations for their defence, as rendered an attempt to land altogether impracticable. Two of the machines, called Infernals, were sent in by the admiral, but did little or no execution. His lordship therefore drew off the fleet, and proceeded to Calais, which he bombarded without interruption for nine hours, in which time six hundred shells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the Rife-Bank were entirely burnt, several houses destroyed, and many others very much damaged. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we suffered very little loss, only the captain of a ketch being killed by a cannon-ball.

Our trade however suffered severely this year from the enemy's privateers, who, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the government, and our uncontrolled dominion at sea, found means to slip out of their ports, and take a number of our merchant ships. The marquis of Caermarthen, son to the duke of Leeds, a young and inexperienced nobleman, being stationed with a squadron off the isles of Scilly, mistook a fleet of merchant-ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation into Milford-Haven, without taking any pains to be satisfied whether he was right or not in his conjecture. By this rash step, to give it no worse a name, the Barbadoes fleet, then on its return home, was left a defenceless prey to the French privateers, who took a great number of them, and also five East-India ships, valued at a million sterling. This occasioned a great clamour at home, especially on the part of the merchants of London, who complained loudly, that neither the admiralty nor the government took the care that was necessary for preserving our trade. A French man of war at the same time fell upon our factory on the coast of Guinea, took a small fort we had there, and destroyed it. These losses sensibly abated the joy the nation would otherwise have felt from the success of our arms on the continent.

In the course of this year a parliament was held in Scotland, which met the ninth of May; and three things were chiefly proposed to their consideration by the ministry of that kingdom, in virtue

of a letter sent from his majesty, just before his departure for Holland, to the marquis of Twedale, his high-commissioner: for not only the duke of Hamilton, but his brother the duke of Queensberry, died the last winter. The matters proposed were these: 1. Supplies for the ensuing year. 2. Moderation in church affairs. His majesty at the same time gave them his assurances of his maintaining presbytery. 3. The advancement of trade. As to the supplies, this parliament granted one hundred and forty thousand pounds for the maintenance of their forces by sea and land. They also passed an act in relation to their kirk, in which however there was not one word in favour of episcopacy, or any thing that looked like a toleration of the members of the church of England; but the act that made the most noise in England was that for settling a trade and colonies in the western plantations, it being proposed to carry on a trade from thence to the East Indies, by the assistance of some wealthy merchants and interlopers in London, which alarmed the East India company greatly, and was the occasion of a misunderstanding between the two nations, as will be related hereafter.

But this session of the Scottish parliament was chiefly remarkable for its strict enquiry into the affair of Glencoe (of which we have already given an account) when they entirely acquitted the king from any share of guilt in that barbarous massacre, by unanimously resolving, "That his majesty's instructions to sir Thomas Livingstone contained no warrant for the execution of the Macdonalds: that the said execution was a downright murder: that the Master of Stair's letters exceeded the king's instructions: that sir Thomas Livingstone had reason to give the orders he had given. They likewise ordered that lieutenant-colonel Hamilton should be instantly arrested, and brought to his trial for the murder of the Macdonalds: that Campbell of Glenlion, captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsey, ensign Lundy, and serjeant Barber, who had been concerned in the said massacre, should be likewise prosecuted; and that an impeachment should be lodged against the earl of Braidalbin, who had so grossly imposed upon his majesty, and abused his authority." Notwithstanding these resolutions, by which the king appears to be so solemnly acquitted, his ill-judged lenity, in inflicting no punishments on such inhuman delinquents, subjected him to much censure, which his enemies took care to improve with all their art, insomuch as to deprive him of the affection of the Scots.

A parliament being assembled in Ireland this summer by the new lieutenant, the lord Capel, they granted the king a supply of one hundred and sixty-three thousand pounds, to be raised by a poll-tax, and a further sum by additional duties of excise and on wine, foreign merchandize, &c. They also passed some acts for preventing the growth of popery, and the disarming of papists. Let us now resume the affairs of England.

King William arriving at Kensington from Holland, the tenth of October, issued a proclamation the next day for dissolving the parliament, and assembling another on the twenty-second of November; and it having been represented to his majesty how much it might conduce to his interest in the ensuing elections, to endeavour to

gain the affections of his people, by a more open and familiar deportment than he had hitherto observed, he thought fit to go to the races at Newmarket this season, where he was met and complimented by the vice-chancellor and heads of the university of Cambridge. From thence he made a tour through Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, and several other counties, visiting the nobility and persons of distinction, who vied with each other in the magnificence of their entertainments. In his progress he visited the city and university of Oxford, where he was received by the duke of Ormond, chancellor of that university, the vice-chancellor, and the rest of the members, in their academical habits; and an elegant entertainment was prepared in the Theatre, from the presumption that his majesty would honour them with his presence at dinner: but an anonymous letter having been conveyed to his majesty, in which the writer acquainted him that there was a design laid to poison him, he immediately set out for Windsor; nor could all the intreaties of the university prevail on him to stay: he did indeed condescend to assign something like a reason for his abrupt departure, by saying, "He only paid them this visit to manifest his affection for them: that he had before seen the curiosities of the university, and therefore did not propose the making any stay at this time."

On Friday the twenty-second of November the new parliament met, in pursuance of the summons; and the commons being directed to chuse a speaker, elected Paul Foley, esq. who was approved by his majesty the next day, when the king made a speech to both houses, to the following effect:

"He engaged in the present war, he said, by the advice of his first parliament; and the last had with great chearfulness assisted him in carrying it on, and he doubted not but the present one would as willingly support him in it by their supplies: that he could not but take notice on this occasion of the signal bravery of the English forces during the last campaign, which had reflected equal honour on themselves, and on the nation to which they belonged. He lamented, as a great misfortune, his having been obliged, from the beginning of his reign, to ask such large aids of his people; but, he observed, they were absolutely necessary, for the effectual prosecution of the war. He took notice that the funds had been deficient, and the condition of the civil list such, that he could not possibly subsist without their care. He told them, that compassion obliged him to mention the miserable condition of the French protestants who suffered for their religion, and the redress of the ill state of the coin, would prove a farther charge. He recommended to them the framing bills for the encouragement and increase of seamen, the advancement of trade, particularly that of the West-Indies, and that the army might be properly recruited, without giving the subject cause of complaint; and concluded with exhorting them to use dispatch, and to avoid heats and divisions."

Hereupon the two houses addressed his majesty separately, but to the same effect, congratulating him on his successes this campaign, and his safe return; assuring him they would support his government, and assist him in the prosecution of the war. The commons addressed his majesty to appoint a fast for the success of their deliberations; and accordingly

cordingly the eleventh of December was appointed for London, and the eighteenth for the rest of England. Great complaints being made to the house of the abuse of written protections which had been given by the members, all such protections were called in, and declared void in law: at the same time, however, it was declared, that their menial servants should enjoy their usual privileges, but no person should be taken into custody upon complaint of breach of privilege till this matter should be examined. This order was not to extend to any breach of privilege upon the person of a member.

On the fourth day of the session the bill was introduced for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, which was suddenly passed thro' both houses, tho' it had met with such opposition in former parliaments, on account of the clause added by the lords, "That all the peers should be summoned to attend at the trial of every peer and peeress:" which amendment was now agreed to by the lower house*.

The commons next proceeded to take into their consideration the supply for the year 1696, when, upon going through the accounts and estimates laid before them, they voted five millions twenty-four thousand eight hundred and fifty-three pounds for that service, viz. two millions and an half for the navy, and the rest for the army and ordnance, to be raised on the following funds, viz. 1. By a land-tax of four shillings in the pound. 2. By duties continued on wine, vinegar, tobacco, East India goods, and other merchandizes, from 1698 to 1701. 3. An additional duty upon all French goods, wines twenty-five pounds per ton, brandy thirty pounds per ton, vinegar fifteen shillings per ton; all other French goods twenty-five per cent. ad valorem, for the term of twenty-one years. 4. Duties upon low wines or spirits of the French extraction. 5. Duties continued upon salt, glass-ware, tobacco-pipes, &c. Pursuant to that part of the king's speech relating to the civil list, and to the distressed condition of the French protestants, the commons also settled a fund for raising 500,000 l. a-year for the former, and 15,000 l. a-year for the relief of the latter†.

The necessity of amending our money at this time occasioned several debates, which ended in a resolution to proceed to a new coinage, by calling the diminished silver-money into the mint by tale, whereby the people had good new silver coin returned them from the Mint. The next point to be determined was, whether the new coin, in its different denominations, should retain the original weight and purity of the old, or the established standard be raised in value. Mr. Lowndes, secretary of the Treasury, who was the chief advocate for the enhancing method, alleged in favour

of his scheme, That the raising the standard would prevent the exportation of our coin, as also the melting of it down; and that thereby people would be more induced to bring in their plate and bullion to the Mint. On the other side it was argued very justly, that the common consent of all nations had fixed silver at one and the same price, or very nearly: that the worth of it was relative: that the weight and fineness, or the quantity of pure silver, and not the bare denomination, were the only rules which governed not only foreign nations in their exchanges and other dealings with us, but also our own people in their home-trade; since six shillings and three-pence, for which it was proposed a crown-piece of the new currency should pass, would purchase no more of any commodity, nor go farther in paying bills of exchange, than five shillings of our unclipped present coin would purchase, because the latter contained as much pure silver as the former: that this was clear in the case of guineas, now at thirty shillings, all commodities being raised in price in proportion to the said price of guineas: that an ounce of silver was not even at present worth six shillings and three pence of our good coin, but only of the diminished or clipped money, since one ounce of silver could not be worth more than another ounce of the same fineness; and with five shillings and two-pence per ounce of the new milled money they could buy as much bullion as they pleased: that with respect to the before-named argument, that the raising the denomination would keep our silver at home, it is of no weight, since nothing can keep or bring in money but our getting the balance of trade in our favour: for if we take more goods from foreign parts than they take from us, the balance must be paid them in our money, or in bullion, which is all one: that with regard to our home concerns in particular, there are many objections against raising the standard. First, All poor labourers, soldiers, and sailors, would thereby be defrauded of part of their just wages, as would also creditors of part of their just debts, and the landlord of part of his rent, or else great confusion and dispute would arise about these matters. These arguments were most judiciously and clearly handled, and the truth of them demonstrated by the great Mr. Locke, in his excellent Treatise on Coin, which he published at this time, in answer to Mr. Lowndes's Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin.

In conclusion, the arguments of the philosopher were deemed more convincing than those of the projector; and the commons resolved that the established standard should be preserved, with regard to weight and fineness; and that the loss arising from calling in the old money, which was calculated at two millions sterling (though it afterwards

* By this act it is decreed, That persons indicted for high-treason, or misprision of treason, should be supplied with a copy of the indictment five days before the indictment, and indulged with two counsellors to plead in their defence: that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witnesses swearing to the same overt-act; or at least to different acts of the same treason: that in two or more treasons of divers kinds, alleged in the same bill of indictment, one witness to one, and another witness to another, should not be deemed two witnesses: that no person should be prosecuted for any such crime, unless the indictment was found within three years after the offence was committed; except in case of a design or attempt to assassinate or poison the king, which should not be

subject to this limitation: that persons indicted for treason, or misprision of treason, should be furnished with copies of the pannel of jurors, two days at least before their trial; and should have the same process to compel their witnesses to appear, which is usually granted to witnesses against them: that no evidence should be admitted of any overt-act not expressly laid in the indictment: and that this act shall not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majesty's coin, his great-seal, privy-seal, sign-manual, or signet. Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 3. Stat. 7 & 8 W. III.

† Id. iii. 22.

turned out to be near two millions and an half) should be borne by the public, and a fund settled for supplying the deficiency: accordingly, on the 31st of December the commons resolved to raise one million two hundred thousand pounds by a duty on houses or windows, for supplying the deficiency of the clipped money. A proclamation was also issued, at the instance of the house, for calling in the clipped money by degrees, which occasioned inexpressible confusion, the receivers refusing to take it for what it was coined, on pretence of its being clipped too near, or its being of bad alloy, &c. Whereupon the commons resolved, "That the recompence for supplying the deficiency of the clipped money should extend to all clipped money that was silver, though of a coarser alloy than the standard; and that the collectors and receivers of taxes should receive all such: that a reward of five per cent. should be given to such persons as brought in milled or unclipped money: that three-pence per ounce should be given for all wrought plate brought in to the Mint, above the value; and that commissioners should be appointed in every county to pay and distribute the milled and broad unclipped money, and the new coined money, and to receive the clipped money." These resolutions were formed into a bill, with a clause to prohibit the melting down and exportation of our coin and bullion, and to prohibit the use of plate in public houses: which article proved the best expedient to supply the mints with bullion, there being at this time scarce any public house in England that had not silver tankards, and other utensils of the same metal; which the owners chose rather to carry to the Mint and turn into ready money, than keep so much useless and dead silver at home. Means were also used for gradually reducing the price of guineas to near their just value in silver in foreign parts, the parliament with great judgment directing the manner of gradually lowering them, viz. from thirty shillings to twenty-nine shillings, twenty-eight shillings, twenty-five shillings, and lastly to twenty-two shillings, whereby very little loss accrued to individuals.

Thus in about a year's time, or a little more, our silver coin came forth from the Mint, the finest and most beautiful of any in Europe: and although many inconveniencies happened in trade till this recoinage was completed, yet in the end it astonished and confounded all the enemies of this kingdom both at home and abroad, and procured great credit to Mr. Montagu (afterwards lord Halifax) who then had the chief management of the Treasury.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Montagu first set on foot a new circulating paper-credit, by issuing bills from the Exchequer, at the same time contracting (as has ever since been done) for their being circulated for ready money on demand: and as many of these first exchequer-bills were for sums so low as five pounds and ten pounds, they were of singular use during the great scarcity of silver occasioned by the re-coinage, as they were taken at the Exchequer for all payments of the revenue; and as, when re-issued, they were then allowed seven pounds twelve shillings per cent. interest, they soon arose, from a small discount, to be bet-

ter than par. These have since been issued yearly; and the Bank of England has constantly, for many years past, been the contractor for their circulation at a certain premium; for which end the said Bank takes annual subscriptions for enabling it to circulate them. This famous re-coinage was performed at London, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, York, and Norwich*.

While the parliament thus manifested their attachment to the present government, they likewise resolved to support the liberties of the subject. The king had a particular regard for the earl of Portland (Mynheer Bentinck) who had been a faithful servant to him, and had accompanied him from Holland at his coming to take possession of the crown of these realms. To this nobleman he had lately made a grant of some lordships in the county of Denbigh, including part of the antient demesnes of the principality of Wales. The vassals and tenants of these lordships presented a petition to the parliament, remonstrating against the legality of the grant, and insisting on the right which they had always enjoyed, of holding solely of the prince of Wales. The commons took the affair into consideration; and finding the objections advanced by the petitioners to be well founded, addressed the king to recal his grant. His majesty was not a little piqued at this address, which seemed to reflect on his conduct. He promised however to recal his grant, and said he would find some other way of shewing his favour to the earl of Portland†.

In this remarkable year, the parliament, gentry, and merchants of Scotland, made a very great effort (perhaps the greatest that had ever been made by one European nation in the first attempt) for establishing a colony of their own people in America, and at the same time a company for trading to Africa and East India, which however proved in the end very fatal to Scotland. It was said to have been underhand set on foot, and encouraged by the interlopers in the English East India trade, who finding that both king and parliament inclined to favour the company, flattered themselves with hopes, that by encouraging the designs of the Scots, they might obtain their own particular ends.

Be that as it may, it is certain that the Scots had long lamented their being almost the only maritime country in Europe without the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas, which had no colony nor settlement out of Europe. This point had more especially occupied their thoughts since the Restoration; but the arbitrary measures of king Charles II. and his brother the late king James, prevented their carrying this national concern. Upon the accession of king William, they began to think more sincerely about mercantile schemes; and in 1693 their parliament passed an act "for encouraging of foreign trade," by empowering merchants to enter into commercial societies, more especially for trading to Asia, Africa, and America. And in this year, 1695, in the parliament of which we have already made mention, they obtained a royal charter, incorporating a company to trade to those parts.

It seems the king had, as usual, empowered his commissioner (then the marquis of Tweddale) to promise his assent to any bill for the encourage-

* Anderson. D'Avenant. Pr. House of Com. iii. Pr. House of Lords, ii. State Tracts, &c.

† Pr. House of Com. iii. 9. ment

ment of trade, provided it did not interfere with the commerce of England. The commissioner, not properly regarding this restriction, gave his assent to an act for establishing a company trading to the East or West Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, build cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives, vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for twenty-one years from all duties and impositions. This act was likewise confirmed by letters-patent under the great-seal, without any further warrant from the crown. It had been framed by Mr. William Paterson, the projector of the Bank of England and of the new Orphans Fund. He had lived some years in America, as well as in sundry other foreign parts, and had entered far into speculations relating to commerce and colonies. This gentleman had thought of a place called Darien, very near the Isthmus which joins North and South America, uninhabited by any European people, and where his countrymen the Scots might make a good settlement; as also another opposite to it on the south side of the Isthmus, near Panama, whereby he proposed that a trade might be carried on both to the East and West Indies.

No sooner was the company erected in virtue of the royal patent obtained, than Mr. Paterson and his friends in England had influence enough to get three hundred thousand pounds sterling subscribed in nine days time. Soon after three hundred thousand pounds more was subscribed in Scotland, the whole capital being at first designed to be but six hundred thousand pounds sterling: but fearing that the English subscribers would be soon obliged to withdraw their subscriptions, Mr. Paterson and his associates went to Amsterdam, where they at first met with good encouragement, till the Dutch magistrates, apprehending that this new company might do great prejudice both to their East and West India companies, entirely frustrated their subscriptions there. Their next attempt was at Hamburgh, where they were very cordially received, and the subscription was presently filled. Thus far the company's wishes succeeded, and they began with all expedition to build and purchase ships of great burthen, both at Amsterdam and Hamburgh, when suddenly this fine prospect was overclouded, by the alarm taken by both the English houses of parliament, who appointed a committee to enquire into the act which had lately passed in Scotland, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the East Indies. After a full and impartial examination of all the particulars relating to this act, the committee made its report, when the two houses presented an address to his majesty on the twenty-fifth of December, against the great advantages which he had consented to be granted to this company, "whereby (say they) a great part of the stock and shipping of England will be carried into Scotland, where there will be a free port for all East India commodities; and that consequently the several places of Europe, till now furnished from England, would be furnished much cheaper from thence. The said East India merchandize will be also run into England by the Scots, to the unspeak-

able prejudice of the trade and navigation of England, and of your majesty's customs. And that if the Scots be suffered to settle plantations in America, our commerce in tobacco, sugar, cotton, skins, masts, &c. will be utterly lost:" with much more to the same effect*. To this address the king returned for answer, "That he had been ill served in Scotland; but he hoped some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniencies which might arise from this act." Soon after his majesty turned out both the secretaries of state for Scotland and the marquis of Tweeddale, and great changes were made in the ministry of that kingdom: the lord Murray, son of the marquis of Athol, was made secretary of state.

The commons afterwards came to a resolution, on the twenty-sixth of January, 1696, "That the directors of the company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, administering and taking here in this kingdom an oath De Fideli, and under colour of a Scottish act of parliament styling themselves a company, and acting as such, and raising money in this kingdom for carrying on the said trade, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor; and that the lord Belhaven, William Paterson the projector, James Bateman, and the rest of the directors, who were resident in England, should be impeached:" but while the impeachments were drawing up, Roderic Mackenzie, who had been the chief informer against the company, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into custody; but he made his escape, and could never be retaken, though the king issued a proclamation for that purpose. The Scots however proceeded in their project of making settlements in the West Indies, and actually settled a colony a year or two afterwards at Darien. But of this affair I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter.

Towards the end of the year 1695, John Sobieski king of Poland, who, at the instance of his queen, a daughter of France, had hitherto refused to acknowledge king William's title to the crown of these realms, now consented to recognize him as king of Great Britain; as did also about the same time the republic of Venice. His majesty, soon after his accession to the throne, communicated the same to the senate in a very handsome letter, which they took no notice of, but recalled Sarotti, who resided as their secretary at London. About this time, however, they wrote an answer to it, and put it into the hands of signor Alexander Zeno, their ambassador at Vienna, to be by him delivered to lord Lexington, his majesty's envoy-extraordinary at the imperial court, who received it with marks of esteem and satisfaction; and then the senate proceeding to the choice of their ambassadors-extraordinary, the signors Lorenzo Soranzo and Gerolamo Venier were pitched upon, who made a very splendid public entry in the spring of the year 1696, and were received in a magnificent manner by the king, notwithstanding the compliment came so much after time.

The year 1696 opened with the discovery of a plot for assassinating king William and invading the kingdom, in order to restore the late king

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 9, 10.

James. The French king was by this time grown heartily weary of the war, after having in a manner ruined and depopulated his country. However, before he put a period to his military operations, he determined to make one grand effort to restore his good friend and ally James, in concert with the Jacobites here, whose spirits were greatly elated by the death of queen Mary; the decease of whom, they imagined, had considerably weakened the interest of her royal consort. The scheme of an invasion, and the design of taking off the king, were as early as the beginning of February this year publicly talked of in France; and that court had drawn down an army towards Dunkirk and Calais, so that nothing seemed wanting but the winds and weather to put them in action. On the eighteenth of February king James took post for Calais, when the troops, artillery, and stores, were ordered to be put on board the proper vessels, then lying ready, with the utmost diligence, while news of the success of the assassination was with great impatience expected from England, in order to set sail. The duke of Wirtemberg, on news of these preparations, and the reports current at that time, dispatched an aid de camp for England, to give king William notice of what was on foot. The prince of Vaudemont, who was then at Brussels with the elector of Bavaria, also dispatched expresses to the same purport. The duke of Wirtemberg's messenger came first to England, and acquainted his majesty that the duke had stopped all the ships in the harbour and canal of Ostend, as well as that of Brussels, in order to transport forces over for his service. The states of Holland made the like preparations at Sas Van Ghent: but notwithstanding all the expedition used by the duke of Wirtemberg, the king had some time before received certain intimation, not only of the invasion, but also of the conspiracy against his person. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery son to the marquis of Powis, sir John Fenwick, sir John Friend, captain Charnock, captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, appear to have been the principal persons concerned in this infamous design, which, from the chief and most bloody circumstance of it, obtained the name of The Assassination Plot. The duke of Berwick had come privately over to England in the beginning of February, in order to hasten the preparations of the conspirators, whom he assured of king James's being ready to make a descent with twenty-two thousand French forces; and distributed commissions, and gave directions for procuring men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. There were various rumours about the nature of these commissions; some said it was only to levy war against the prince of Orange, and all his adherents; and that king James was in no way privy to the murdering part of the scheme. We shall not take upon us to decide this point, but shall relate the most remarkable circumstances of this affair from the best authorities.

It appears then that the conspirators, who were several in number, besides those already mentioned, had held several meetings, in order to concert the proper measures for executing their hellish purpose. One sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a man of undaunted courage, close, cautious, and circumspect, but a furious bigot to the church of Rome, had come over in January with

a private commission from king James; in virtue of which the rest of the party here were implicitly to obey his orders. This man took upon himself the task of murdering the king, with the assistance of forty horsemen, each of the conspirators being to furnish their quota. Various methods were at first proposed for effecting this purpose; but at length it was resolved to attack his majesty on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted on a Saturday; and the place pitched upon was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green: and indeed one more likely to do their business could not have been found out; for his majesty very often returning late from the chace, usually crossed the water at Queen's-ferry with a few of his guards, without coming out of his coach; and as he landed on the Middlesex side of the water, the coach drove on without waiting for the rest of the guards, who could not cross till the boat returned to the Surry side again to bring them over; so that the king must have unavoidably fallen into the hands of his murderers, before the rest of his guards could have come up to his assistance.

Nor was the time and place more artfully contrived than the disposition of their men; for having secured several places in Brentford, Turnham-Green, and other houses thereabouts, to set up their horses till the king's return from hunting, one of the conspirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared in sight on the Surry side of the water, and then to give speedy notice to the rest, to be ready at their respective posts while the king was crossing over. For this end they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways, one from Turnham-Green, another from the lane that leads to the Thames, and a third from a road that goes round Brentford. One of these parties was to attack the king's guards in front, another in the rear, whilst ten or twelve of the most bloody and resolute were to assassinate his majesty, by firing their blunderbusses at him through the coach-windows. It was also agreed, that when the bloody purpose was accomplished, the conspirators should keep in a body till they had got beyond Hammer-smith, then to divide in small parties of three or four, and make the best of their way to London, and from thence to Dover, where the sudden landing of the French might secure them from the rage of the multitude, and the hand of justice. Horses were now the only necessities wanting; and sir George Barclay, complaining that the money he had brought over with him was so far exhausted that he could not out of the remainder provide so great a number as forty, they all agreed that he should find but half, and sir William Perkins, Porter, and Charnock, were to provide the rest.

Saturday the fifteenth of February was the day appointed to murder the king; and the leaders having quartered the assassins in several parts of the town to avoid suspicion, lay close and still, expecting notice from the scouts of the king's being gone to Richmond; but it happened, his majesty not being very well, did not go abroad that day; upon which the assassins were struck with dismay, fearing a discovery; but finding all quiet, they met and took further measures, appointing to be in readiness the Saturday following; but as they were setting out they had notice from Durant and Cham-

Chambers, two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in a foam, and that there was a muttering among the people that a horrid plot was discovered. This unexpected news put the conspirators into the utmost consternation, as really believing they were now detected, and accordingly, through a miraculous providence, it proved true; whereupon they dispersed, and gave over their design.

It seems that one Pendergrafs being made acquainted with the whole plot, a day before it was to have been put in execution, by captain Porter his intimate friend, and solicited to be one of their number, seemingly complied; but being struck with the blackness and barbarity of the act, he went to the earl of Portland on Friday the fourteenth of February, and discovered to him all the scheme, intreating to be introduced to the king. After a little time he waited on his majesty in his closet, when he fully made known all the particulars he knew of this horrid conspiracy; and after much pressing on the part of the king, who promised him he should not be produced as an evidence without his own consent, he gave in a list of the assassins. Pendergrafs's relation was confirmed the next day by one de la Rue, a Frenchman, one of the conspirators, who knew nothing of any discovery being made of the matter before.

The king having received a full account of the intended insurrection and invasion, with the design upon his person, a proclamation was forthwith issued for apprehending the conspirators. Barclay absconded, and could never be found; but most of the other conspirators were secured. Admiral Russel was immediately dispatched down to Chatham to hasten the fleet out to sea, and the rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, where all the men of war then in the sea-ports were ordered to sail and join the admiral, which was done with such amazing expedition, that in a few days time he had a fleet of at least fifty sail with him, with which he stood over to the French coast; and the enemy, confounded at his appearance, retired into their harbours with the utmost precipitation; while James, perceiving that his design was defeated, returned overwhelmed with despair to his court at St. Germain's, where he passed the rest of his days, living on Lewis's bounty, and a pension of seventy thousand francs, or about three thousand pounds per annum, which it is said he was mean-spirited enough to receive as a legacy of his daughter Mary, who had certainly been instrumental in dethroning him. He died at St. Germain's in 1700. Some Irish jesuits pretended to assert that miracles were performed at his tomb: they even carried the farce so far, as to pretend that his relics cured the bishop of Autun of a fistula.

"We have few examples in history, says M. de Voltaire (in his *Life of Lewis XIV.*) of a family for so long a time unfortunate. The first of the kings of Scotland, his ancestors, who bore the name of James, after having been detained for eighteen years a prisoner in England, was murdered, together with his queen*, by his own subjects. James II. the son of this prince, was killed in battle against the English, at nineteen years of age†. James III. after being imprisoned by his

own subjects, was slain by the rebels in fight. James IV. fell in a battle which he lost. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, after being driven from her throne, and forced to take refuge in England, where she languished eighteen years in prison, was at length condemned to die by English judges, and lost her head on a scaffold. Charles I. grandson to this Mary, and king of England and Scotland, was sold by the Scots, sentenced to death by the English, and executed publicly as a traitor. His son James was driven from three kingdoms, and, to crown the misfortunes of the family, even the birth of his son was disputed. This son, by the efforts he made to recover the throne of his fathers, brought many of his friends to an untimely end; [and of late days we have seen Charles-Edward, his eldest son, making the same attempts, and with the like or still more fatal consequences, both to himself and his adherents, and suffering calamities almost beyond the reach of credit]. If any thing can justify those who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it must be the continued series of misfortunes which have befallen the family of the Stuarts for upwards of three hundred years."

Several of the conspirators being now taken up, and full discoveries made of their designs, king William went to the house of peers on the twenty-fourth of February, and, in a speech to both houses, acquainted them with the conspiracy and intended invasion. Upon which they, in a very affectionate and loyal address, congratulated him on the escape of his royal person from the designs of his enemies, declaring their abhorrence of such villainous and traitorous attempts, and solemnly promising to stand by and assist his majesty, and defend his royal person against all his enemies, open and private; and if he should come by a violent death, to revenge it upon the papists. They likewise drew up an association to the same purpose, which was signed by all the members of the house, wherein they declare king William their rightful and lawful king, mutually engaged to stand by each other in his defence against king James, &c. &c. From the parliament the association was carried over the whole kingdom, and was signed by all sorts of people. The bishops drew up a particular form, much in the same spirit, which was subscribed by the greatest part of the clergy. The commons also brought in a bill for the sitting and continuing of the parliament, if the king should happen to die, till the next heir in succession should come to dissolve it: and that commissions should continue in force till the further pleasure of the successor was signified. A pardon was also offered to such as were knowing of the conspiracy, who would come in and make any farther discovery: and a bill likewise passed both houses, importing, that such as refused to take the oaths to his majesty, should be subject to the forfeitures and penalties of popish recusants: that severe penalties should be inflicted on those who, by words or writing, should affirm that king William was not the rightful and lawful sovereign of these realms; or that the late king James, or the pretended prince of Wales, or any other person than those named in the Act of Succession, had any right to the crown of these kingdoms: that no person who refused to

* His wife was wounded, but recovered.

† James II. was killed by accident at Roxburgh.

subscribe the association, should be capable of holding a seat in parliament, or any other office or post of trust, whether civil or military; and that the same penalties should be inflicted on those who came out of France as those who went thither*. The king was highly pleased with those marks of duty and affection from his parliament, and returned them thanks for the same. While those matters were passing, the duke of Wirtemberg brought over to England twenty battalions from the confederate army for the assistance of king William, but happily all danger was over before he arrived.

The king coming to the house on the seventh of March, gave the royal assent to a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, and empowering his majesty to apprehend and detain such persons as were conspiring against his government, with three other acts. And three or four days afterwards, viz. on the eleventh of March, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys, three of the conspirators, were brought from Newgate to their trials at the Old Bailey upon a special commission; when, having been indulged by the court with all the liberty they could desire to make their defence, they were, upon full and plain evidence, found guilty of high-treason, for conspiring the death of the king; and sentence passing on them, they were drawn to Tyburn on the eighteenth of March, and there hanged and quartered. Charnock and King daringly confessed the fact in the paper they delivered at the gallows, and Keys did not deny it.

On the twenty-third of March sir John Friend, a brewer in the Minories, was brought to his trial, being charged with levying horse to join the enemy upon their landing; and having consulted with divers other persons about it, he was in some forwardness towards the execution. Sir William Perkins, who was formerly one of the six clerks in Chancery, was also tried for high-treason in levying war, &c. it being proved, amongst other things, that a great quantity of arms for that purpose were found in a garden of his country-house, where he had caused them to be buried upon the discovery. For this they both received sentence, and were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered on the third of April. At the place of execution Mr. Collier, Mr. Snatt, and Mr. Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, gave them the absolution of the church, and then accompanied the ceremony with a solemn imposition of hands. The government, as may easily be imagined, was highly offended at this insult; nor was it suffered to pass unnoticed; Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were committed to Newgate, and an indictment was preferred against them in the King's-Bench on the eighth of April, but not proceeded upon.

On the twenty-first day of April, Rookwood, Lowick, and Cranborne, three of the other con-

spirators, were brought to the bar of the King's Bench, and were the first who had the benefit of the act passed in the last session for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, which allowed council, a copy of the indictment, and of the jury impannelled: but not all these assistances could avail them; the evidence against them was so plain and positive, that they were all three found guilty, and accordingly condemned as traitors. Mr. Peter Cook and captain Knightly were likewise brought to their trials: the first was convicted; the latter pleaded guilty: neither of them however suffered death; and soon after, most of the others being continued in confinement, the process ended. The evidences against the conspirators were, captain Porter, Mr. Harris, Blair, De la Rue, Bertram, Fisher, Goodman, Haywood, and Ewebank, all of them concerned in the design of an insurrection; some of them in the scheme of assassination. Pendergrafs likewise agreed to give testimony, notwithstanding the promise he had obtained from his majesty of not obliging him to it against his will. We must not forget that a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of five hundred pounds for apprehending the lord Montgomery and sir John Fenwick, suspected to be accomplices in the plot. The earl of Aylesbury had been already apprehended and committed to the Tower on the like suspicion.

The session of parliament was soon brought to a conclusion. A fund was created, upon which the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds was to be raised, which, in the opinion of the best judges, was neither just nor prudent. A new bank was proposed, called the Land Bank, because the securities were to be upon land: this was the main difference between it and the Bank of England. This scheme, supposed to have been contrived by Dr. Chamberlain, the famous man-midwife, was chiefly managed by Foley and Harley, and was generally thought to be a plan of the Tory party to ruin the Bank of England. The company of the latter petitioned against the bill, but without effect; for it passed through both houses, and at last received the royal assent: but this Bank came to nothing, nobody subscribing to it; and therefore I refer the reader to the Statutes, if he desires to see the plan on which it was attempted.

On the twenty-seventh of April the king came to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech, in which he thanked the houses for the generous concern they had shewn for his person, and the zealous attachment they had manifested to his government; as also for the large supplies they had granted him, and desired they would preserve the public peace, and assist the lords justices while he was abroad: and then, his majesty having given his royal assent to several acts, the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth of June †.

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 21, &c.

† Besides the laws already mentioned, an act was passed this session for voiding all elections, at which the elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure votes. From the present scandalous practice, which reflects equal dishonour upon the electors and elected, one would imagine that this law had been formally repealed. Another act was passed against unlawful and double returns. A third for the more easy recovery of small tythes. A fourth to prevent

marriages without licence or bans; imposing a fine of one hundred pounds upon the minister, and ten pounds upon the bridegroom. A fifth, enabling the inhabitants of Wales to dispose of all their personal estates as they should think fit. This law was intended to abolish an ancient custom which prevailed in that country, by which the widow and younger children claim a share of the effects, commonly called their reasonable part, though the effects had been otherwise disposed of by will or deed. See stat. 8. W. III.

The parliament being up, his majesty was pleased to appoint the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper Somers, and five other great officers of state, lords justices for governing the kingdom in his absence. The same day he created sir John Lowther, baronet, Baron Lowther and Viscount Lonsdale; and sir John Thompson, baronet, was created Baron Haverham. On the fifth of May the king embarked for Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the seventh, where I shall leave him till I relate some other occurrences that happened while the parliament was sitting.

Admiral Russel, as we have said, going upon the French coast, battered many of their ships and transports that lay in the harbours ready for invading this country; and the rest ran so close in shore, that finding it impossible to burn them, he determined to quit his station and return into Dover Road, leaving sir Cloudesley Shovel to watch the motions of the enemy. This squadron continued cruising off the French coast all the month of March, without attempting any thing; but towards the end of the month, being reinforced with several Dutch ships, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels, he received orders to undertake the bombardment of Calais; in pursuance of which he immediately came before that town, and made the necessary dispositions for executing his orders. On the third of April the bomb-vessels began firing about noon, and continued till the evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcasses fell either in the town or among the ships in that harbour, with such effect as to set many houses and vessels on fire, and did otherwise very great mischief: but as most of the bomb-vessels had their rigging destroyed and their mortars dismounted, the wind too blowing very hard from the shore, sir Cloudesley, having left a squadron to keep in the French men of war at Dunkirk, returned into the Downs, where he received orders to join the grand fleet at Spithead. In the mean while the fleet arrived from Cadiz under sir George Rooke, who had, upon occasion of the first discovery of the plot, orders sent him, for the better security of the nation, to return home; and he arrived safely at Spithead towards the latter end of April.

The confederates began this campaign with burning a vast magazine which the enemy had laid up for their army at Givet. Notwithstanding this rough beginning, the campaign in Flanders proved the most pacific of any that had happened during the war; and indeed the difficulties that both armies had to struggle with were such, that very little was to be expected. The French, by keeping such numerous armies on foot, had entirely exhausted their country; and it is certain that towards the close of the preceding year Lewis had seriously thought of making peace; nor is it probable that any thing would have retarded his overtures to that end but the prospect of the invasion of England succeeding: but this design failing, and there being now a very fair view of our being able to weather our other inconveniences, there was no room for nor occasion of delay. Lewis therefore sent M. de Callieres as his ambassador to the States-general, for settling such preliminaries as might be a sufficient basis for a treaty. The Dutch, with

the consent of king William, who was so distressed for want of money, that though at the head of an army greatly superior to the enemy, he found he could not avail himself of that advantage, listened to the proposal; and it was agreed to accept the mediation of the king of Sweden, which the baron Lillenroot his ambassador at the Hague had offered. However, before any treaty was set on foot, the duke of Savoy made a separate peace with France, without the privity of the allies.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was a prince of all others the most easily persuaded to break his engagements when his interest was concerned. Lewis XIV. knew this, and omitted no endeavours to detach the duke from the grand alliance: he had ordered the count de Tessé, afterwards marshal of France, an amiable and able man, of a genius formed for pleasing, which is the first qualification of a negociator, to begin a private treaty at Turin; and marshal Catinat, who was equally skilled in making peace and war, put the finishing hand to the affair. There did not want two such able men to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of what was to his advantage: they restored him his country, gave him a sum of money, and proposed a marriage between the young duke of Burgundy, son to the dauphin of France, and his daughter. Matters were soon agreed between them: the duke and Catinat concluded the treaty in the month of July at our Lady of Loretto, whether they went under pretence of a pilgrimage of devotion*.

The allies in general were highly enraged at this perfidious conduct of the duke: his ministers indeed attempted to excuse it, by alleging the necessity he lay under of preventing his own ruin, and that he could not in common prudence let slip a conjuncture which brought such singular and happy advantages to his family. Lord Galway, our general and minister at Turin, was very warm in his expostulations on this occasion; and, agreeable to William's instructions, after having condemned the duke's ingratitude, on account of the large subsidies paid him, and assuring him that the allies would not come into the neutrality, made him an offer of larger subsidies, to be paid monthly, if he would recede from the treaty: but the duke had chosen his side, and was not to be diverted from his new engagements: nay, he soon after exerted a stretch of policy, or rather perfidy, not to be paralleled in history; for it being one of the articles of his treaty with the court of France, that if the allies should refuse to depart the duke's dominions, they should be expelled by the joint arms of France and Savoy; and they refusing this condition, as also a neutrality for Italy that was offered them, the duke being appointed generalissimo of the French king, put himself at the head of Catinat's army of fifty thousand men, which had advanced into the plains of Turin, and entering the duchy of Milan, laid siege to Valencia; so that in one campaign he commanded two contending armies. Valencia was reduced to the utmost extremity, when it was saved by the king of Spain's agreeing to accept of a neutrality for Italy. Thus ended the war in Piedmont, after it had lasted six years.

On the seventeenth of June this year died John Sobieski, the martial king of Poland, of an apoplectic fit, in the seventieth year of his age, leaving that elective kingdom in much confusion, of which the French king thought to have made great advantage, by getting the prince of Conti, of the blood royal of France, chosen in the late king's room; and it cost Lewis vast sums to make a party for that purpose: but when all was done he was disappointed in his views, and Augustus elector of Saxony was placed on the throne of Poland, after having changed his religion.

The campaign in Catalonia and on the Rhine was as inconsiderable as that in Flanders: the advantage, if any, was on the side of the allies; but all the armies went into quarters about the beginning of October. Though our armies did so little by land, which indeed was chiefly owing to their want of pay, the generals being more taken up with providing a subsistence for their troops than in military enterprizes, yet our fleet was not altogether idle by sea; for besides the bombardment of Calais already mentioned, lord Berkeley, to whom the command of the fleet was given this summer, greatly insulted the French coasts, pillaging and burning a number of villages on the islands of Grouais, Houat, and Heydic. He also took a ship from Newfoundland, with twenty small vessels, and carried off about one thousand five hundred horses and black cattle. On the fifth of July he sent captain Beckman with a squadron of ten men of war and bomb-vessels, to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the Isle of Rhé, who performed his commission very exactly, throwing in the space of one night two thousand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcasses into the place, by which the best part of the town was burnt down, with all the warehouses and the goods contained in them, notwithstanding the place was very well fortified, and our ships had to sustain a very warm fire all the time. On the 7th the same squadron bombarded Olonne with the like success. After this, the admiral finding it not convenient to land on Belleisle, which had been projected, continued to alarm the French coast till towards the beginning of August, when he was under the necessity to return to Spithead to clean and revictual his ships.

These enterprizes, however inconsiderable the French writers affect to represent them, were certainly of great service, by keeping the maritime coasts of France under perpetual apprehension, in so much that the ministry of that kingdom were obliged to keep sixty thousand men continually in arms to oppose an invasion, which they expected from the English. In the mean while, rear-admiral Benbow was with a small squadron blocking up M. Du Bart, the French admiral, in Dunkirk; but that bold adventurer found means to escape in a fog; and sailing to the Baltic, fell in with a large fleet of Dutch merchant ships, under convoy of six or seven frigates. These he took, together with a great number of the trading vessels; but in the height of this victory the outward-bound Boston fleet appeared in sight, under an escort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked Du Bart, and forced him to burn four of the frigates and thirty-five merchantmen, and make the best

of his way into Dunkirk. Thus ended the naval operations of this year, during the whole course of which we rode incontestible masters of the sea, blocked up the best part of the French fleets in their harbours, insulted their coasts, and protected our trade better than it had been known for many years past*.

As the distress of the army abroad was very great for want of their pay, occasioned by the calling in and recoinage of the money, so was there a sad confusion in England, especially among the labourers and meaner sort of people, who could get little or no money for their work, and indeed few could employ any workmen: whereupon an order of council was issued in July this summer, that the justices of peace should frequently meet in their divisions, to consider of the most effectual means to relieve and subsist the poor people till money became more plentiful; and another order was issued, commanding the attorney-general to prosecute all those who entered into confederacies not to employ any persons in the woollen and other manufactures during this scarcity of money. These difficulties it was that in a manner compelled king William to hearken to terms of peace, which he would otherwise scarcely have done.

While the king was abroad a parliament was held in Scotland, and another in Ireland; the former was opened on the eighth of September by the lord Murray, secretary of state, lately created earl of Tullibardine, and appointed king's commissioner. The Scots seemed to vie with the English in expressing their abhorrence of the late intended invasion and conspiracy: the parliament unanimously signed an association similar to that of England: they granted a supply of one million four hundred and forty thousand pounds for maintaining their forces by sea and land; and passed an act for securing their religion, lives, and liberties, in case his majesty should come to an untimely death; and they obliged all persons enjoying public posts or offices to sign the association; after which they were prorogued†.

Lord Capel, lord-deputy of Ireland, dying on the thirtieth of May this year, the council, in pursuance of an act made in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. elected the lord-chancellor Porter to be lord-justice and chief governor of that kingdom till his majesty's further pleasure should be known. The Irish parliament met at Dublin on the twenty-seventh of June, when the commons expelled Mr. Sanderson, the only member of their house who had not signed the Association. By this time sir Charles Porter, lord-chancellor, and the earls of Montrath and Drogheda, were by the king's letter appointed lords-justices of Ireland; and the parliament having passed a bill transmitted from England, called, "An act for confirming several outlawries and attainders, as also for vesting in his majesty the estates of those who were dead in rebellion there or in foreign parts;" and being fearful this act might prove prejudicial to the protestants, they presented an address to the lords-justices, "beseeching their excellencies to transmit to England certain heads of a bill which they had prepared, and therewith presented to their excellencies, for saving the estates, rights, titles, and pos-

* Burchet's Memoirs. Colliher. Campbel.

† Burnet.

essions of protestants, from being prejudiced by the said act; and they unanimously, earnestly, and humbly intreated their excellencies to recommend the same so effectually to his majesty, that it might be returned to them in order to be passed into a law."

Their excellencies hereupon were pleased to return the following answer: "That they believed the whole kingdom was satisfied that the king designed nothing more than the good of his protestant subjects, the orders he had been pleased to give them being express to that effect; and they had reason to hope it had been observed how exactly they had followed those orders: that they should always continue so to do, and in that case particularly should be very careful to represent to his majesty the preservation of the interests of the protestants, to the end that no one of them might suffer by that law, which they did believe so advantageous to the protestant interest in general." The lords justices and the parliament agreeing thus well, and the latter having by way of excise and other means raised the money expected from them, and having also passed an act for banishing all papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy, out of the kingdom; another to confirm the articles of Limeric; and a third to prevent protestants intermarrying with papists; they were by the lords justices prorogued. In the mean while, sir Charles Porter was seized with a fit of the apoplexy, which carried him off instantly*.

The winter season now advancing, put a conclusion to all military and naval operations for this year; and king William leaving Holland, arrived in England on the fourth of October to meet his parliament, which after several prorogations met on the twentieth of the same month, when his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne to the following purport:

He told them, "That he thought it a great happiness that this year had passed without any disadvantage abroad, or disorder at home, considering the great disappointments in the funds†, and the difficulties that had arisen in receiving the money: that the business they had before them would be attended with great difficulties, as they were not only to provide for the next year's service, but to make good the vast deficiencies of the last. He observed, that overtures of peace had indeed been made him, but he said he was certain they would not agree with him: that the only way to procure an honourable peace was to treat sword in hand; for this purpose he said, the supplies for this year must at least be equal to those for the last. Besides which, he pressed them to maintain the honour of parliament, by making good the funds they had granted. He again put them in mind of the civil list and the French protestants, of making some further provision, for remedying "the difficulties relating to the coin, and for the recovery of the national credit‡."

In answer to this speech the commons presented an address to his majesty, wherein they assured him, "that, although this was the eighth year they had assisted him with large supplies to carry on this just and necessary war, they should not be amused nor diverted from their firm resolutions of obtaining by war a safe and honourable peace; and concluded with declaring, that they would continue to support his majesty against all enemies, both at home and abroad†."

After these expressions of loyalty they began to deliberate upon the three important points which the king had recommended to their consideration in his speech, and which indeed seemed to demand the most immediate and serious attention; these were, the farther remedying the bad state of the coin, the providing supplies for the ensuing year, and the restoring the public credit.

With regard to the coin, they brought in a bill repealing the act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas, and allowing the importation and coining of gold in the mint‡; for as the currency of guineas was now reduced to nearly their real value, the reason for importing them no longer subsisted, and the act which had passed for that purpose was of consequence become unnecessary.

They next proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, and voted five millions for the sea and land-service, besides a supply for the civil list, and new funds for making good the deficiencies and securing the public debts, amounting to ten or twelve millions¶.

The last and the most difficult point was to restore the public credit, which was at this time in a miserable condition, owing to the great scarcity of money, insomuch that government tallies and debentures were at forty, fifty, and sixty per cent. discount, and even bank-bills at twenty per cent. discount. And as the sellers of the government securities and bank-notes became very numerous, they were in a manner hawked about the Exchange, where several persons who were possessed of money, which they had hoarded up as it was delivered from the mint, raised vast fortunes by buying them up. This, it is said, gave rise to the infamous practice of Stock-jobbing, many buying that had no money to purchase, and selling stock they were not possessed of: a thousand stories were framed to raise or lower this kind of stock, in order to purchase or sell to advantage; which traffick continued till an effectual stop was put to it by an act of the last session.

Such was the diligence of this parliament, that, notwithstanding the complicated difficulties they had to encounter, they contrived a scheme for discharging the debts of the government by a continuation of certain duties upon births, marriages, windows, the subsidy on tonnage and poundage, and various other articles, for ten years; and all the branches constituted a general fund, since known by the name of the General Mortgage. As

* Life of Will. III. State of Ireland. Cook's Court of England.

† All the funds for this year proved defective; and the land-bank failed, without having produced any other effect than that of injuring the credit of the national bank by its opposition. The loss of the nation upon the recoinage amounted to two millions two hundred thousand pounds: and though

the mint was constantly employed, so as to furnish about eighty thousand pounds a week, yet was not this sufficient to supply the circulation, especially as those who received the new money either kept it up, or disposed of it at an unreasonable advantage.

‡ Proceed. House of Comm. iii. 25.

§ Id. 27.

¶ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

the Bank had been found of singular service to the government, in order to raise the credit of it, they agreed to increase the capital stock another million, by new subscriptions, and to continue their term to the year 1710; and those new subscriptions were allowed to be made in tallies and bank-notes; yet, as there were good funds now settled for paying them off, the monied men, who could bear stock, ran into it, by which means bank-bills and notes in a short time rose to par again. But nothing supplied the want of cash at this time better than the parliament's authorizing the treasury to issue out near three millions in Exchequer-bills, which being allowed in taxes, and circulated by the Bank for a moderate premium, contributed greatly to restore things to their ancient state. In fine, never were more vigorous measures taken to support the credit of government; though it must be confessed, the weight of the enormous impositions laid upon the subject to create the several funds for this purpose, is severely felt at this day.

These affairs being thus happily settled, the attention of the commons was transferred to the case of sir John Fenwick, who had been concerned in the late conspiracy: this affair was of such a nature that it deserves to be related in a particular manner. This gentleman had been concealed in London from the time of the discovery of the plot till the beginning of June this year, when he endeavoured to make his escape over to France, but was taken at Romney, on the coast of Kent, before he could get on shipboard. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady, the daughter of the earl of Carlisle, which fell into the government's hands, and contained such matter as plainly evidenced him guilty: for he appeared thereby so far sensible of his crime and danger, that he could propose no other way for the present to save himself, but by getting a jury packed that would be obstinate and not bring him in guilty; or by making friends to the king for a pardon, or reprieve at least, to gain time. Being brought to town and committed to Newgate, after consulting with his friends, and it being concluded that none of the said methods would avail him, there was another expedient pitched upon, which had a more apparent prospect of success; this was, to set up a counter-plot, by accusing a number of the king's best friends of having been guilty of conspiring against him: it was thought this would get his trial (which was to have been brought on at common-law), deferred till the king's return to England, especially as some promises had been made him, if he would discover his accomplices.

Sir John accordingly entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and amused the ministry from time to time with one plausible story or other, and at length delivered in a long paper of information, wherein he charged the duke of Shrewsbury, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Bath, admiral Ruffel, the lord Godolphin, and commissary Crawford, with holding a correspondence with king James: this gave him an opportunity of having his trial put off for some time. In the mean time his friends had another game to play, which was to seduce the evidences who swore the treason against him; these were captain Porter and Mr. Goodman, and he was so fortunate as to succeed with Goodman, who went over to France; but Porter had been a witness against so many of

the conspirators, that he did not think he should be safe in France, and having a pension of three hundred pounds a year from king William, he determined to discover those who had attempted to buy him off, tho' they offered him a thousand pounds a year, upon his retiring, and a large sum of money in hand: he also contrived the matter so, that when a payment of six hundred pounds was made him by one captain Donalow and one Clancy, in behalf of sir John, he had some of the king's messengers in the next room, who rushed in and seized the two agents, the latter of whom was afterwards convicted of tampering with the king's evidence, condemned to pay a fine of five thousand marks, and to stand three times in the pillory, which sentence was executed upon him. However, as one witness only remained, sir John began to think himself out of danger: the lords-justices did not think proper to proceed to his trial, but deferred the prosecution of him till his majesty came over, when they proposed to bring the matter before the parliament.

Accordingly, when the session began, notwithstanding the multiplicity of important affairs in which that assembly were engaged, the great men who had been charged by sir John Fenwick with corresponding with king James, being determined to clear their reputations and make the informer feel the weight of their resentment, found means to introduce the affair into the house. Admiral Ruffel, who was one of the persons accused, on the sixth of November brought the several papers containing the informations of sir John Fenwick into the house of commons, and moved that they might be read, that he might have an opportunity of justifying himself. The papers being read, Fenwick was ordered to be brought before the house; who, finding that he gave no satisfactory answers to the questions then put to him, nor could support his charge against the several noble peers and members of the house whom he had accused in his information, the house voted his informations false and scandalous, and ordered a bill to be brought in to attain sir John Fenwick of high treason; at the second reading of which, on the thirteenth of November, the prisoner, at his own request, was heard by his counsel against the bill. The king's counsel, the serjeants Gould and Lovell, opened the evidence they had for proving the suggestions of the bill; they were answered by sir Thomas Powis and sir Bartholomew Shower, the prisoner's counsel, who alleged, that if the others would only call in evidence the suggestions of the bill, they were ready to answer to that; but if they meant to prove sir John guilty of the conspiracy by living witnesses, they were not prepared for that, as they did not know whether they should have the liberty of producing any. And being thereupon ordered to withdraw, the house debated the same a long time; and, after much contestation, it was at last resolved, "That the counsel, in managing evidence against sir John Fenwick, be allowed to produce evidence touching the allegations of the bill, and of the treasons for which he was indicted."

The house resuming the consideration of this matter on the sixteenth of November, the king's counsel produced their evidence, captain Porter, who gave an ample relation of what he knew concerning lady Fenwick's having practised with him

about

about his evidence; though it was objected by sir John's counsel, that what a wife said or did, could be no evidence against her husband. Then the king's counsel produced the records of Clancy's conviction, and so proceeded to Goodman's examination, taken under the hand of Mr. secretary Vernon, which they desired might be read; but this was opposed by the prisoner's counsel, and the house entered into a hot debate about it; but at length it was carried, that the information should be read, and that afterwards some of the grand-jury should give an account upon what evidence they found the bill of indictment against sir John Fenwick. This was also objected to by the counsel, as an extraordinary step. The record of the conviction of Mr. Peter Cook, son to sir Miles Cook, at whose trial Goodman had deposed against sir John Fenwick, was also read, which was objected to, as illegal, by the prisoner's counsel, who, it must be confessed, appear to have said as much in behalf of their client, as the nature of the case would admit. It was agreed, that the counsel for the prisoner might, if they had any witnesses to examine on his behalf, do it that night; but they having nothing but a record to produce, accepted of the time offered them till the next day, to make their observations on the evidence for the king; and then they and the prisoner were ordered to withdraw. The next day, sir John still declining to deal more clearly and candidly in respect to his accusations of several persons of quality, and his counsel having offered all they could in his behalf, it was resolved by the house, that Mr. secretary Vernon should give in his evidence relating to the various artifices sir John, or persons by his direction, had made use of to put off his trial, and that in his and the counsel's presence on both sides.

Here the counsel were discharged from their farther attendance at that time, and the order for reading the bill a second time being read, and the same afterwards opened by the speaker, and no member rising to speak, he asked whether he should put the question for committing it? This brought on very long and warm debates on both sides, about the extraordinary method of proceeding, the power and justice of parliament compared with other inferior courts of judicature, with several precedents of former bills of attainder, pro and con, with a number of other arguments, all reducible to this single question, whether sir John Fenwick, who was confessedly guilty, should be condemned to the punishment which his crime deserved, though he was protected by the forms of law, two witnesses not being to be found against him; an advantage, however, which he had not been able to obtain without having recourse to bribery and corruption? The Whigs supported the affirmative, the Tories contended for the negative; but, upon the whole, the result was, that the bill should be committed. The bill was read for the third time on the twenty-fifth of November, when the contest upon the debate ran as high as ever, the members being no less divided in their opinions than before; but the question being at length put for passing the bill, the house divided upon it, about eleven at night, when it was carried in the affirmative, by one hundred and eighty-nine voices against one hundred and fifty-six. It was then sent up to the lords for their concurrence, where it met with a great opposition, and the debates were the warmest and the

longest of any that had ever been known; the bill, however, passed by a majority of seven voices only, there being sixty-eight for it, and sixty-one against it.

The lords who were for the negative, among whom were several of the king's servants and counsellors, entered their protest, which they grounded on the following reasons:

"I. Because bills of attainder against persons in prison, and who are therefore liable to be tried by common law, are of a dangerous consequence to the lives of the subjects, and may tend to the subversion of the laws of the kingdom.

"II. Because the evidence of grand-jury men, of what was sworn before them against sir John Fenwick, as also the evidence of the petty-jury men, were admitted here, both which are against the rules of the law; besides that they disagreed in their testimony.

"III. Because the information of Goodman in writing was received, which by law was not admitted; and the prisoner, for want of appearing face to face (as is by law required), could not have the advantage of cross-examining him: and it did not appear by evidence, that sir John Fenwick, or any person employed by him, had persuaded Goodman to withdraw himself; and it would be of very dangerous consequence, that any person so accused should be condemned, for by this means a witness who should be found insufficient to convict a man, shall have more power to hurt a man by his absence, than if he were produced *vivâ voce* against him.

"IV. Because if Goodman had appeared against him, he was infamous in the whole course of his life, and could not be a good witness, especially in cases of blood.

"V. Because in this case there was but one evidence, Porter, and he a very doubtful one.

"VI. Lastly, because sir John Fenwick was so inconsiderable a man, as to the endangering the peace of government, that there was no necessity of proceeding against him in so extraordinary a manner."

The bill of attainder soon after had the royal assent; as at the same time another had to attain such as were concerned in the assassination plot, that had fled from justice, and for continuing several others of the conspirators in custody. Sir John Fenwick was complimented with the axe, in consideration of his rank and of his alliance with the family of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill, on the twenty-eighth of March following, with seeming composure and resignation. He owned his loyalty to king James, and prayed for his restoration; but declared himself perfectly innocent of the assassination of king William, which he justly termed a most villainous project.

After Fenwick's business was over, the parliament proceeded to enact several laws for regulating the domestic œconomy of the nation, and, among others, passed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. It seems that, ever since the Reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been sanctuaries during the prevalence of the popish religion, afforded asylum to debtors, and were become receptacles of desperate persons, who set all law at defiance. One of these places, called White Friars, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence

lence and outrage; but the law was so vigorously put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the district, which was soon filled with more creditable inhabitants. The Mint, in Southwark, another of those infamous places, was likewise cleared of its dissolute tenants in the same manner.

Towards the beginning of this session, the commons entered into an enquiry concerning some late miscarriages of the fleet, when sir George Rooke was ordered to attend the house, to give an account why the Toulon squadron was suffered to get unmolested into Brest. That admiral attended accordingly, and produced copies both of his journal and of the orders he had received from the admiralty; which being examined, it was ordered that sir Cloudesley Shovel should lay before the house, copies of all such orders as he had received in relation to the joining sir George Rooke: which being done, and much time being spent in both houses about this affair, it did not appear that either of the admirals had failed in their duty, or were deserving that censure their enemies attempted to bring upon them †.

During this session, captain Thomas Vaughan, commander of the Royal Clancarty, was tried, convicted, and executed, as a traitor, for having accepted and acted under commission from the French king.

The Eddystone rock, lying off the port of Plymouth, having been experienced to be very dangerous to navigation, several ships having been cast away thereon, the corporation of the Trinity-house being applied to, they, in this year 1696, began a light-house thereon, and completed it in three years time, great numbers of masters and owners of English ships agreeing, in consideration thereof, to pay one penny per ton outwards, and the like inwards; and it proved of very great benefit to shipping passing that way, till, in the great and dreadful storm in 1703, it was blown down and destroyed. It was again directed to be rebuilt, by an act of parliament in the fourth year of queen Anne, and the like duty on tonnage of ships granted for its support to the Trinity-house. Yet it has lately been once more demolished, by fire; and is again restored by the like means to its former utility, to the great benefit of not only the British trade and navigation, but of the numerous shipping of other nations passing that way.

Upon the repeated complaints of the merchants of England, of their great sufferings by the French men of war and privateers, and of the little regard or care that had for many years past been taken of trade and commerce, king William, desirous to redress these grievances, did in this year erect a new and standing council for commerce and plantations, in their most comprehensive sense, commonly styled the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations: one of the first appointed to this board was the famous John Locke, esq. before-mentioned. This board (which still subsists) consists of a first lord-commissioner, who is usually a peer of the realm, and of seven other commissioners, with a salary of one thousand pounds per annum

each. To this board proposals are made, by merchants and others, for the ease, improvement, and encouragement of our commerce, navigation, plantations, manufactures, fisheries, &c. for redressing all grievances and burdens on trade, which are there argued between one party and another, and all mostly heard by council: British consuls appointed to reside in foreign parts, for the benefit and protection of our commerce, receive their instructions from this board, with whom they are obliged to hold a constant correspondence; as are also the governors of our American plantations: and reports are made to the commissioners, from time to time, how Britain may be best supplied with naval stores from our said colonies; what new productions may be raised, or old ones improved, in America. Enquiries also come before this board for regaining of lost branches of trade, as well as to enlarge those we are possessed of, or set new ones on foot; with many other matters too tedious to relate, of which the commissioners are to make their reports, and give their opinions thereon, to the king and privy-council. From all which it appears, that this board of trade is a most excellent institution.

In this session an act passed for the increase and encouragement of seamen, establishing a register for thirty thousand sailors, to be in readiness at all times, as the preamble sets forth, for supplying the royal navy, in consideration of a yearly premium or bounty of forty shillings each. It enacts, That none but such registered seamen shall be capable of preferment to any commission or warrant-offices in the royal navy: they shall have a double share or dividend for all prizes, more than non-registered seamen of equal rank; with other privileges as in that act set forth: and particularly, they were to have the *sole* right, when maimed or superannuated, of being admitted into the newly established hospital for seamen at Greenwich; or, if killed in the service, their widows and children were to have the same admission †. The law for registering seamen was unhappily repealed by an act of the ninth year of queen Anne; and although sundry schemes have since been set on foot for the reviving such a register, yet so many objections have been started, that no law has as yet been framed for securing a body of seamen in readiness, in case of any sudden emergency, without having recourse to the cruel and unconstitutional practice of pressing.

By another act of this session our plantations were farther regulated, and the former acts of navigation improved ‡. By this act, no goods shall be imported or exported to or from any of the British colonies or plantations, in Asia, Africa, or America, but in ships built in England, Ireland, or the plantations, and navigated by three-fourths mariners of the said places, on pain of forfeiture of ship and goods: nor shall it be lawful to land in Scotland or Ireland any merchandize of the growth or product of the plantations, unless they have been first landed in England, and paid the duties there: and in order to subject the great charter colonies in America more closely to the kingdom of England, it was by this same act provided, that n

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 21. Tindal. Lives of Admirals.

† See Stat. 7 & 8 W. III. c. 21. Six-pence per month was

also deducted out of every seaman's wages for the support of Greenwich-hospital.

‡ Ibid, cap. 22.

charter proprietors of land on the continent of America shall sell or dispose of the same to any but natural-born subjects, without his majesty's licence in council for that purpose.

On the twelfth of December this year his majesty was pleased to nominate the earl of Pembroke lord privy-seal, the viscount Villiers, and sir Joseph Williamson, knight, lately admitted into the privy-council for that purpose, to be his majesty's plenipotentiaries, to treat with those of the French king, touching a general peace; the preliminaries of which had been settled between M. de Callieres and the States-general. The earl of Galway and Mr. Methuen were also constituted lords justices of Ireland, and the latter lord-chancellor of that kingdom, in the room of sir Charles Porter, deceased. The earl of Manchester was also appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the state of Venice. In February 1697 the earl of Aylesbury, who had been committed on account of the conspiracy, was released upon bail; but this privilege was denied to lord Montgomery, who had been imprisoned in Newgate on the same account. Much about the same died lord Berkeley of Stratton, who had signalized himself as a sea commander.

The act above-mentioned, and some others of less note, being ready for the royal assent, his majesty came to the house of peers on the sixteenth of April (1697) and signed them; after which he closed this long session with a speech, in which he thanked his parliament for the large supplies they had granted him; congratulated them on the success of their endeavours for restoring public credit; acquainted them with his intention of going over to the continent; and begged they would carry down into their respective counties the same loyal principles which they had so conspicuously displayed in parliament.

The earl of Dorset having resigned the office of lord-chamberlain of the household, his majesty was pleased to bestow it upon the earl of Sunderland, who was at the same time sworn of the privy-council, and was now looked upon as the greatest favourite of all the English ministers. Sir John Somers was also constituted lord-chancellor of England, and at the same time created baron of Evesham, in the county of Worcester. Arnold Van Keppel was created earl of Albemarle. On the twenty-second of April the king appointed the following noblemen lords justices during his absence; namely, the archbishop of Canterbury; the lord-chancellor Somers; the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-seal; the duke of Devonshire, lord-steward; the duke of Shrewsbury, secretary of state; the earl of Sunderland, lord-chamberlain; the earl of Dorset; the earl of Romney; and admiral Edward Russel, for whom a patent was preparing to create him Baron Russel of Shingey, viscount Barfleur in Normandy, and earl of Orford, which was accordingly done the beginning of the following month. William having made these promotions, embarked on the twenty-sixth of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negotiations for a general peace, the preliminaries of which had been already concluded at the Hague, under the mediation of Charles XI. king of Sweden, and were signed on the fourteenth of February, in the presence of Mr. Lillienroot the Swedish plenipotentiary, by Callieres the French ambassador, and by the ministers of all the allies, except the am-

bassador of Spain, who demanded as *a sine qua non*, that France should agree to restore all the places mentioned in a long list which that minister produced to the assembly. The preliminaries as agreed to were as follow:

I. The French agreed that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of the ensuing negotiation.

II. That Strasburgh should be restored to the emperor, in the same condition as the French took it.

III. That Luxemburg should be restored to the Spaniards in the condition it was now [but here the French made the allies an offer of an equivalent for the said places.]

IV. That Mons and Charleroi should be surrendered as they were.

V. That all places taken by the French in Catalonia since the peace of Nimeguen, should be restored as they were.

VI. That the city and castle of Dinant should be ceded to the bishop of Liege.

VII. That all re-unions since the treaty of Nimeguen should be made void.

VIII. That Lorraine should be restored, according to the condition of that treaty. It was moreover agreed, that in case the conditions made in respect to that country should not please, that article should be referred to the general treaty, and that it should be the first point treated on in the negotiation.

Here it was also agreed more particularly, that upon the conclusion of the peace Lewis XIV. should acknowledge the prince of Orange for king of Great Britain, without any restriction, condition, or reservation; but as to the pretensions of other princes, whether in the confederacy or not, they were to be referred to the general negotiation.

Besides these, there were other preliminaries, founded on the demands of the several German ministers, which are not of consequence enough to claim particular notice. The preliminaries being thus settled, it next remained to fix upon a place for holding the general congress. The emperor proposed that it should be held at Aix la Chapelle or Francfort, or some other town in Germany: the other allies were more disposed to negotiate in Holland. At length the French king suggested, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to king William, called Newburgh-house, situated between the Hague and Delft, close by the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. The plenipotentiaries of England were, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Villiers, and sir Joseph Williamson; and France sent the famous president Harlay and M. de Crecy to the assistance of Callieres.

The several powers engaged in the war were actuated by very different motives in their desires for a peace. The English and Dutch had no other view than to restrain the power of France within proper bounds, to establish a good barrier for the Netherlands, and to procure an acknowledgement of king William's title. Lewis was desirous of a peace, on account of the miserable condition to which his kingdom was reduced; but he had yet another view, which he carefully concealed from the knowledge of the allies, and which was concerted with the deepest policy.

His grand design was to prevent the certain succession of the vast Spanish monarchy from devolving upon the other branch of the house of Austria, on the death of the king of Spain, who was now in a very declining state: and he even entertained hopes that the house of Bourbon might at last come in for a share in the dismemberment, and perhaps one day succeed to the whole. The formal renunciations made by his wife and mother seemed no other than trivial agreements, which ought to give way to a change of circumstances. In this view, to aggrandize the house of France, it was necessary to shew some moderation towards Europe, not to incense so many powers, who were still full of suspicions. The peace, he knew, would give him leisure to form new alliances, to settle the disorder in his finances, gain over those whom he had occasion for, and to form new bodies of militia in his kingdom: in a word, he found it requisite to give up something, in hopes of obtaining much more.

These were the private motives of the French court in the peace of Ryswick, which in the event actually procured the throne of Spain for the grandson of Lewis XIV. The emperor had an eye upon the same crown, and this had determined him to support the grand alliance. In pursuance of the resolutions of the plenipotentiaries, the conferences were opened on the ninth of May, N. S. (April 29, O. S.) at Ryswick; but the negotiations had like to have been interrupted by the death of Charles XI. king of Sweden, who had been received as mediator. He was succeeded by his son the famous Charles XII. then a minor: however, the late king having appointed the queen and five senators the administrators of the government during his son's minority, they resolved to continue the mediation, and sent full powers to M. Lillienroot for that purpose.

King William may justly be said to have been the great manager of this treaty, in respect to all the allies, especially if we consider that the Dutch plenipotentiaries acted nothing but in concert with him. This treaty was undoubtedly a matter of great concern to the court of St. Germain: the partizans of king James in England seemed all along confident that Lewis would never acknowledge the prince of Orange for king of England, and even ridiculed all notions of a peace founded on such a demand: yet it is certain that the French boggled the least of any thing at that. This James himself was soon made sensible of; and finding that he could not have a minister received from him at the treaty, he published a manifesto, setting forth the injustice done him, and protesting against all that was or should be done at the congress, in violation of his rights, as null and void. Besides this manifesto, he invited all the foreign ministers to a conference, and delivered to each a paper written in Latin to the same purport as his manifesto, and at the same time delivered himself to them to the following effect: "That if the calamitous state of his affairs had been less known to the world, and his case not so just, he had not even then, any more than before, broke silence, but would patiently have suffered all sorts of misfortunes, rather than have been instrumental in

disturbing the peace then in agitation: that he was sensible the circumstances of the times, and much more that of his own fate, would not permit any one to engage in his quarrel; that therefore, without seeking any assistance or consolation, he was willing to submit to all his sufferings, as a punishment for his sins, in hopes that through the divine goodness he might one time or other enjoy the fruits of his patience. Nevertheless, added he, as I hold myself obliged by the laws of religion and nature to maintain, as far as I am able, my own interests and the rights of my son, I have in this instrument (delivering the Latin papers to the several ministers) expressed the sentiments I have always entertained, and always shall do as long as I live*."

Mean while the French, to bring down the demands of Spain, besieged and took Aeth in Flanders this year; king William, who had since recovered of a severe indisposition, not thinking proper to hazard his men for the relief of a place which, if taken, must necessarily be restored by the peace: nevertheless he effectually secured Brussels, which marshal Boufflers had determined to invest. In the month of June the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French forces in Catalonia, invested Barcelona both by sea and land, which, after having been gallantly defended for the space of nine weeks by the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt the governor, was at last surrendered, in consequence of an express order from the court of Madrid.

The Spaniards also suffered considerable losses in America this year, where monsieur de Pointis, a French commodore, with a small fleet equipped at the charge of a private company, had taken and plundered the town of Carthagena, and returned to France with a rich booty. Upon the whole, it appears that the king of England and the states-general, who had in a manner borne the whole burden of the war, connived at these conquests, to bring Spain the more readily to accept the offers of France; especially knowing, as I have observed before, that these places must be restored by the peace. This however was spinning the web of policy rather too fine; for the successes of the French at home and abroad were such as might have made Lewis master of the conditions of a peace, had he not been happily disappointed in another project of his, I mean that of placing the prince of Conti on the throne of Poland, vacant by the death of the famous John Sobieski.

This was the only regal crown then elective in the world. Natives and foreigners had equally a right to pretend to it; but to retain it required either a distinguished share of merit properly supported by intrigues to engage the suffrages, or else money enough to buy the kingdom, which is almost always put up at auction.

The candidates for the Polish crown were at first young Sobieski, son of the late king; the duke of Lorraine; prince Lewis of Baden; and Don Olivio de Odescalchi, the pope's nephew: but the abbe, afterwards cardinal, de Polignac had the art to engage the greater part of the suffrages in favour of the prince of Conti, known by the gallant actions he had performed at Steinkirk and Nerwende, or Landen: whereupon the other candi-

* Coke's Detection of the Court of England, vol. iii. p. 55, 56.

dates finding themselves unable to oppose the superior influence of the French court, transferred their interest to Augustus elector of Saxony, who soon advanced with a considerable army to the frontiers of Poland. Lewis-Francis, prince of Conti, was however elected king by the majority of the nation, and proclaimed on the seventeenth of June, N. S. by the primate. Augustus was elected two hours after by another party, inferior in numbers: but Augustus was a sovereign prince, and powerful, and had a body of troops in readiness to support his interest: he had also privately secured the good offices of the imperial court, had engaged to change his religion, and to distribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, and to confirm all their privileges. The prince of Conti was absent, destitute of men, money, and power, and had nothing on his side but his name, and the intrigues of Polignac. Lewis XIV. contrary to his usual manner of proceeding, acted on this occasion with that lukewarm policy which begins an affair only to drop it again. The prince of Conti was sent over with only a small squadron of ships, and a few bills of exchange, with which he arrived in the road of Dantzic, in his way to Poland; but they would not even receive the prince at Dantzic, and his bills of exchange were protested. The intrigues of the pope and the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already secured the crown on his rival's head; and Conti returned with the empty glory of having been chosen king, while the court of France had the mortification of having shewn all Europe that she was not sufficiently powerful to make a petty northern prince*.

This disgrace which befel the prince of Conti, and the establishment of Augustus on the throne of Poland, was a great mortification to the French ministers at the congress of Ryswick, and made them more inclinable than ever to come to an accommodation. On the twentieth day of July the French ambassadors produced their project of a peace, in order to shorten the negotiation, which had hitherto proceeded very slowly, by reason of the numerous and complicated pretensions of the several powers; declaring at the same time, that if their project should not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound for the conditions she now offered: but Caunitz, the emperor's plenipotentiary, declared he would pay no regard to this limitation, unless France would previously engage to restore all the places and dominions she had wrested from the empire since the peace of Munster, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediator (M. Lillienroot) an ultimatum, importing, That he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Strasburg with its appurtenances: that he insisted upon the restoration of Lorraine to the prince of that name, and demanded that the church and chapter of Liege should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, That the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated: that therefore the king of France would reserve Strasburg, and unite it with its dependencies to his

crown for ever: that in other respects he would adhere to the project, and would restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but at the same time insisted that the terms must be accepted by the twentieth of September, otherwise he would think himself at liberty to recede. The Imperialists were much surprized at the short time prefixed by France for their answer. This was still the more mortifying to them, as they began now to be superior to the French on the Rhine; and the proceedings of the allies made them jealous lest the latter should sign a separate peace, and leave them out, especially as they saw that the Spaniards had now abated of their former obstinacy, and were ready to concur with England and Holland in putting a final hand to the negotiation. This occasioned some warm remonstrances on the part of the imperial plenipotentiary; but all that he could obtain was, that the term for adjusting the peace between France and the emperor should be prolonged to the first of November, and in the mean time an armistice be punctually observed. It was however resolved that the treaty between France, England, Spain, and Holland, should be signed on the twentieth of September, even though the emperor and empire should not concur†.

All this time we heard little or nothing of our plenipotentiaries; nor was it known whether they had done any thing at all till the very latter part of the negotiation; and the silence of the rest of the allies concerning the treaty had greatly amazed the French plenipotentiaries: but it seems the conclusion of the peace was to be owing to the same person who had been the cause of the war, king William: for while the negotiations at Ryswick were going on so slowly, it was so managed that the earl of Portland and Boufflers, when the confederate army was encamped near Brussels, and the French not far from thence, had four or five several meetings by order of their masters, in sight of the two armies. These interviews occasioned various speculations, and by the jealousies it raised in the minds of the several parties in the grand alliance, greatly conduced to the dispatch of the treaty. On the second of August the earl of Portland and marshal Boufflers signed a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjusted. Next day king William quitted the camp of the allies, and retired to his house at Loo, sensible that he had taken such measures for a pacification as could not be disappointed.

It is said that the earl of Portland, in one of the conferences between him and Boufflers, insisted that king James and his family might be sent out of France, which the marshal would not yield to, but promised, in his master's name, that he would not disturb William in the possession of his crown. Lewis had before that imparted to king James the necessity he found himself under of coming to an accommodation with king William, but at the same time promised to allow him an annual pension of six hundred thousand livres, which James accepted with thanks; but added, that in any future treaties he would not consent that any proposals for his maintenance should be made or accepted, which might be an argument of his submission; and that he was resolved at least to transmit,

* P. Dan. Volt.

† Tindal. Smollet. Oldmixon.

uninjured, the succession of the title to his son, in hopes a series of more happy events might restore his fallen fortunes. Besides this subject of the field negotiation between the earl and the marshal, it was supposed by some of the deeper politicians, that the first foundation of the famous Partition-treaty was now laid; and it is not improbable but something of that kind was then proposed and considered.

At length the twentieth of September came, when either a happy peace or a long and bloody war was like to determine the fate of Europe. That day the English, Dutch, and Spanish plenipotentiaries, after a long conference with those of France, in which they adjusted all matters of difference remaining between any of them, mutually signed the peace a little before midnight, and then complimented each other upon the finishing so important a negotiation.

Caunitz and the other ministers of the empire were in the hall all or most part of that time; but they did not give their consent in what was done, nor contribute the least in bringing this matter to a period. On the contrary, they required M. Lillienroot, the mediator, to enter protests in the name of their respective masters and sovereign princes of the empire, "That this was a second time a separate peace had been made with France (meaning that of Nimeguen for one) in which the emperor and the empire had been excluded." On this occasion Don Bernardo de Quiros, and the other plenipotentiaries, excused themselves, by saying that they had for a considerable time been made acquainted with their sovereign's pleasure, and had received orders to make no farther delay, but to subscribe the treaty; and that if they had so done without suffering themselves to have been over-persuaded by the imperial ministers, it would have prevented the loss of the city of Barcelona, which was the consequence of their having deferred their assent."

The emperor was highly chagrined at the conduct of the allies; and his disgust was nothing alleviated by receiving advice, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, of a victory which his general prince Eugene of Savoy had obtained over the Turks at Zenta in Hungary, where the grand seignior commanded his army in person. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh of September, the grand vizier, the aga of the janisaries, twenty-seven bashaws, and about thirty thousand men, were killed or drowned in the river Thiesse; six thousand men were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, provision, and ammunition, the grand seignior himself escaping with the utmost difficulty. Had the news of this important victory arrived some few weeks sooner, it might possibly have rendered the French more moderate in their demands on the empire; but having now taken off three of the most powerful states in the confederacy against them, they suffered it not to have the least influence on their conduct with regard to the others. The emperor therefore, fearing that he should be left alone to encounter the whole power of France, thought proper at length to submit to the terms which had been agreed on at the congress, and accordingly signed on the thirtieth day of October; and his example was followed by all the princes of the empire. It now remains to give the substance of the

several treaties concluded at this famous congress of Ryswick.

The most material articles of the treaty between GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE were as follow:

By the third (the two first being only words of form) all offences, injuries, and damages on either side, were to be forgotten.

By the fourth, the French king engaged that he would not, on any pretence, disturb or disquiet the king of Great Britain in the possession of his crown or government, nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person.

By the fifth, a free commerce was to be restored between the subjects of the two nations.

The seventh provides for the mutual restoration of all countries, islands, forts and colonies, which either the French or English possessed before the war.

By the eighth, commissaries were appointed to meet at London and settle the pretensions of each crown to Hudson's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and re-taken by the English in the course of the war; and to regulate the limits of places to be restored, as well as the exchanges to be made.

By the tenth, all ships and merchandizes taken on either side, twelve days after the publication of the peace, in the British and North seas, as far as Cape St. Vincent, within ten weeks beyond the said Cape and on this side the Equator, shall remain in the possession of the captors.

By the twelfth, six months are allowed to the subjects on either side to withdraw their effects, in case of a rupture between the two courts.

By the thirteenth, the principality of Orange, and all other lands belonging to the king of Great Britain as prince of Orange, were to be restored him with the mesne profits.

By the fifteenth, the treaty between the French king and the duke of Savoy, in 1696, is confirmed.

By the sixteenth, all powers were to be comprehended in this treaty which should be named within six months after the ratification thereof, and particularly the king of Sweden the mediator.

And by a separate article, the emperor was allowed to the first of November to accept the conditions agreed on for him between the two kings of England and France.

At the very instant that the French plenipotentiaries changed the name of prince of Orange, by which they usually designated king William, to that of king of Great Britain, the politicians of those times began to make some remarks on the fourth article; in which the French king barely allows king William the stile of king of Great Britain, without acknowledging his right, or stipulating not to support king James by name, or bringing him under any obligation to compel him to quit his dominions, as queen Anne obliged him to do in relation to the pretender at the peace of Utrecht: and indeed it was looked upon as a great defect in the treaty of Ryswick, that the succession of the princess Anne and her issue was not inserted. But the most melancholy part of this treaty was, that nothing was obtained in favour of the French protestants, tho' king William had obliged himself, by the grand alliance, not to make peace with France till the protestants of that kingdom had all their grants and

and possessions restored them, with an entire liberty of conscience, nor till the estates of that kingdom might enjoy their antient and lawful privileges, with a great deal more to the same purpose. Lewis however on this occasion peremptorily refused to be laid under any restraint, or have any terms dictated to him in respect to his conduct towards his own subjects; and William, it is to be supposed, did not think this a sufficient reason for continuing the war, so that the French protestants were not so much as mentioned in the articles of peace, but abandoned to the fury of their incensed monarch. This negligence or acquiescence of William, by whichever name it may be called, does not seem to agree perfectly well with the title he was so fond of assuming on all occasions, that of the Protector of the Protestant Interest.

In the treaty between France and Holland it was agreed,

That all cities, lands, forts, islands, and places which had been taken on either side during the war, were to be restored, and particularly the fort of Pondicherry in the East Indies, was to be restored to the States.

But the greatest advantage the Dutch got by this peace was, the concluding a treaty of commerce with France very much in their favour*, while nothing of this kind was stipulated in behalf of England, only in general, that there should be a free trade on both sides.

Spain was in a particular manner benefited by this pacification; for by the treaty between that crown and France, Lewis engaged to restore the following places, viz. Gironne, Roses, Belver and Barcelona in Catalonia, Luxemburg, Charleroi, Mons, Courtray, Aeth, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories, taken by his arms in the provinces of Luxemburg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty two towns and villages claimed by the French. These were to be left to the decision of commissioners; or in case they could not agree, to the arbitration of the States-general.

By the treaty between the emperor and empire and France, which was signed on the thirtieth of October, N. S. it was agreed,

That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis and foundation of this treaty, both in sacred and civil matters, unless where it was expressly covenanted to the contrary.

That the French king should restore to the emperor and empire, and the members thereof, whatever places had been taken, as well during the war by way of force, as by the name of unions and reunions, which were situated without Alsace, only the Roman catholic religion should remain in those places thus restored in the state it then was.

That France should yield up to the emperor and

empire Fort Kiel, Friburg, Sturfort, Old Brisac, and Philipsburg.

That Dinant should be restored to the bishopric of Liege, and that the castles of Trierbach, Ebrenburg, Kiruburg, and the fortresses of Montroyal, works on which the great Vauban had exhausted his art, and the French king his treasury, should be demolished, and restored to their respective proprietors. And on the other hand it was agreed,

That the imperial town of Strasburg, the capital of Alsatia, and the dependencies on the left side of the Rhine, should be yielded up and united to France; so that the Rhine was looked upon as the boundary between the empire of France for some time†.

In certain preparatory articles settled between England and France, king William promised to pay a yearly pension to Mary d'Este, king James's queen, of fifty thousand pounds, or such sum as should be established for that purpose by act of parliament: now the English plenipotentiaries having declared this in the presence of those of Holland, the same was entered into the register of the ambassador-mediator, who delivered a copy of it to the ministers of France. It should seem however that these latter fell short in their politics on this occasion; for they should have required a more clear explanation of the matter, and that a time should be fixed for making the first payment. The British minister on this occasion insisted that the queen should give him a receipt on the behalf of his master, by the name and title of William III. king of Great Britain, which she absolutely refused, and so received no part of her dowry, at least during the continuance of this reign.

Europe was surprized, says M. de Voltaire, and the French filled with indignation, to see Lewis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Crecy, and Callieres, who negotiated and signed this treaty, durst not show themselves either at court or in the city; they were loaded with reproaches and derision, as if they had taken any step they had not been ordered by the king and the ministry. Certain it is, that by this treaty the French monarch found himself obliged to relinquish all his ambitious projects, and a stop was put, at least for some time, to the further progress of his arms. Had Lewis indeed had no latent design in thus yielding up so many important places which he had conquered, the world would have had reason to say he acted moderately: but his real view in this seeming moderation was to disarm and disunite the allies, that so he might the more easily seize on the Spanish monarchy, upon the death of its old and feeble king Charles II. now daily expected, tho' it did not happen till three years later.

King William having by the peace of Ryswick firmly established himself on the English throne, and accomplished his aim of putting a stop to the encroachments of the French monarch, returned

* This treaty of commerce was concluded for twenty years. It is thereby stipulated, that the Dutch subjects shall enjoy the same privileges, franchises, &c. in France as Lewis's own subjects did; and that they might freely carry to Marseilles, &c. the merchandize of the Levant, as well in their own ships as in French bottoms, without being liable to the twenty per cent on the Levant commerce, saving only in cases where the French themselves were liable to pay it. The Dutch also

might hereby import pickled herrings, without being liable to re-packing. France also hereby remitted to the Dutch the fifty sols per ton on foreigners ships, excepting only when Dutch ships carry French goods coast-ways, from one port of France to another.

† Memoirs of the Treaty of Ryswick, vol. iv. Tindal. Salmon, Voltaire.

to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidst the general acclamations of the people, who now again beheld him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they must have been infallibly beggared. Just before his majesty's return home, the lords justices had issued a proclamation for apprehending such of his majesty's British subjects as should return from France without leave; as also another proclamation for apprehending the duke of Berwick, sir George Barclay, and others attainted of high-treason, and supposed to be then lurking in England; for it was expected that king James's friends would have taken some desperate resolution on the conclusion of the peace; but nothing of this nature appeared.

The parliament meeting on the third of December, was opened with a speech from the throne, wherein his majesty observed, "That the war he had entered into by the advice of his people, was by their assistance brought to the end which he had ever proposed, a safe and honourable peace: that he was sorry however to acquaint them, that his subjects could not at first find that relief by the peace they might expect, the funds having fallen short, and there remaining so great a debt to the navy and army, besides what was wanting to support the civil list. He said, he made not the least doubt that his parliament would make such a provision for him during his life, as might be for his honour and that of his government. He observed, that our naval force was increased almost double since his accession, and could not be supported without a proportionable increase of money; and he believed they would agree with him in allowing that the chief strength of England must ever consist in a powerful navy. He gave it as his opinion, that considering the state of affairs on the continent, the kingdom could not be safe without a land-force. He promised to rectify such abuses as had crept into any part of the administration during the war, and effectually to discourage prophaneness and immorality. He expressed himself delighted with the proofs his subjects had given him of their loyalty and attachment to his person; and concluded, that as he had at the hazard of his life rescued the religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger, so he should place the chief glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them entire to posterity."

To this speech the two houses returned an address by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an assurance "that they would be ever ready to assist and support his majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties; and by putting an end to the war, fully compleated the work of their deliverance *." Notwithstanding these appearances of good humour, the majority of the parliament, and indeed the whole nation, were equally alarmed at that part of the king's speech which discovered a project for maintaining a standing army: but before I go upon the proceedings of the parliament, which sat the longest, and was the most busy of

any that had assembled for some years, and that I may not break in upon its transactions, I shall here give a brief account of our naval affairs during this year, 1697.

And first, I am to take notice of the expedition of vice-admiral Neville to the West Indies, who was sent thither on the first intelligence of Mr. Pointis' being sailed for that part of the world with a strong squadron. It was supposed that the true design of this armament, which was kept a profound secret by the French court, was against Jamaica, which alarmed us the more, because, considering the small force we had in that quarter, if the French had really attempted this island, there was but too great a probability of their succeeding. Their intent however appeared afterwards to have been against the Spanish settlements in that part of the globe. To parry this blow wherever it was intended, orders were given to assemble a squadron at Portsmouth, under the command of rear-admiral Meeze; and other orders were at the same time dispatched to Mr. Neville, who commanded our fleet in the Mediterranean; which orders he was directed to open in a certain latitude, by which he was instructed to join admiral Meeze at the island of Madeira, which he accordingly did on the seventeenth of April, and they bore away together for Antigua, where they arrived the third of May. Here they received advice that M. de Pointis was sailed from Hispaniola on the twenty-first of March, N. S. with twenty-six ships small and great. It was then resolved in a council of war to proceed forthwith to Jamaica. Before they reached their destined port, they met with a sloop, the master whereof informed them there was a report of the French squadron's being before Carthagen. Whereupon it was resolved to steer for that place, in hopes of finding the French either embarrassed in the siege, or in embarking the plunder. Had this resolve been put in execution immediately, we must have surprized monsieur Pointis, and destroyed his whole force; but it appears from admiral Neville's Journal, that he was under an absolute necessity of putting into Jamaica for a fresh supply of provisions and water, where he was detained so long by the winds and other cross accidents, that Pointis had time to do his business at Carthagen, and sail away. But though our fleet missed him there, yet on the twenty-seventh of May, being half seas over from Jamaica, the admiral saw the fleur de Pointis' squadron at no great distance; upon which he endeavoured all he could to engage, but could not come near enough. Five days the vice-admiral continued the pursuit, in which five ships (among which his own and rear-admiral Meeze's were included) sprung their masts; and their sails were so torn, that it was found impossible to continue the chase with any hopes of success †.

Hereupon the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to Carthagen, in order to see if the galleons were safe, and how far he could be useful to the Spaniards. Here he had advice that the galleons were at the Havannah: he therefore pro-

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 73, 74.

† A fly-boat belonging to the French fleet was indeed taken by one of our ships, and there was found on board her as much

plate as amounted to two hundred thousand pounds: a pretty good sample of the immense treasures that were on board the rest! Lives of Admirals. Burchet. Lediard.

ceeded for Jamaica, after having destroyed several sail of the Buccaneers*, who had assisted the French in their depredations upon the Spaniards. While the admiral lay at Jamaica, the governor, who at that time was sir William Beeston, proposed to him the destruction of that nest of pirates at Petit-Guavas†; with which Mr. Neville instantly complied, and detached rear-admiral Meeze with nine ships from the fleet on the twenty-second of June for this purpose; who on the twenty-ninth surprised Petit-Guavas before it was light, and immediately gave orders for burning it, which was done with so much precipitation, that notwithstanding there was abundance of gold and silver in the place, yet very little was saved or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off prisoners a good number of negroes to Jamaica, was a great and seasonable service to the English colonies.

Vice-admiral Neville then proceeded to the Havannah, in order to take the galleons under his escort, which was the principal part of his instructions: but the general of the galleons excused putting his ships under our protection, pretending his orders would not warrant it; but, in reality, being fearful of trusting so rich a fleet, worth above fifty millions, in the vice-admiral's power: the same motive induced the governor of the Havannah to refuse admitting the admiral to enter the harbour with his squadron. This kind of treatment, from those whom he had come principally to serve, broke the vice-admiral's spirits very much: and this, added to the consciousness of the little service he had been able to do his country with so strong a squadron, threw him into a fit of sickness, which carried him off at Virginia, where he arrived on the seventh of August. Rear-admiral Meeze being also dead before our fleet reached the Havannah, the chief command devolved upon captain Robert Dilkes as senior captain, who brought the fleet home to England about the latter end of October this year, but in a very bad condition.

The English were highly enraged at being disappointed in the great hopes that had been entertained of this expedition; and their anger was farther raised by other cross accidents which happened about the same time in the same quarter of the world. It seems that Pointis, after escaping vice-admiral Neville, fell in on the coast of Newfoundland with another English squadron, commanded by commodore (afterwards sir John and admiral) Norris: but this officer, who proposed to attack him, was prevented from executing his resolution by the decision of a council of war. In his return Pointis was encountered by six English ships commanded by captain Harlow; but after maintaining a running fight during a whole day, he at length secured himself in the harbour of Brest, with the treasure he had taken at Carthage, amounting, by the best accounts, to upwards of twenty mil-

lions of livres, or near one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The blame of these miscarriages was laid upon the conduct of the admirals, and the orders of the admiralty: these were chiefly directed by admiral Russel (lately made earl of Orford) who presided at that board, and who, though neither deficient in courage nor integrity, was supposed to have been betrayed by those in whom he too much confided. Thus much is certain, that all our naval historians agree in asserting, that the officers of the fleet were divided by the most violent factions and animosities, which had as fatal an effect, with regard to the interests of the nation, as the blackest treachery and corruption.

This is the sum of what passed in the West Indies this year. I now come to the naval transactions in Europe, where we shall not find many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majesty having before his going to Holland in the spring of this year, declared Edward Russel esq. admiral of the fleet, one of the lords justices in his absence, and soon after created him earl of Orford; he thereupon quitted his command of the fleet to take his seat at the head of the admiralty board, when the command in chief devolved on sir George Rooke, who in the beginning of June went down to Portsmouth to take upon him that office; and soon after being joined by vice-admiral Mitchel and rear-admiral Bembow, he put to sea with forty-four sail of the line, and continued cruising for a few weeks, when he was obliged to put into port again for provisions.

Previous to this, however, rear-admiral Benbow had been sent out with a separate squadron, consisting of seven third-rates, and two fire-ships, with strict instructions to use all his endeavours to protect our trade, and annoy the enemy; but he was able to perform nothing remarkable, and was therefore recalled, and ordered to join sir George Rooke as above. After the grand fleet had put in to revictual, admiral Benbow was sent to reinforce, and take command of a squadron which had for some time been cruising off Dunkirk, under the command of commodore Beaumont, to intercept M. du Bart, the French admiral, who was expected to sail from thence with a fleet that was to carry over the prince of Conti, whom the French attempted to make king of Poland. The French ships at Dunkirk were in all about eleven, from fifty to twenty-six guns. About the latter end of July Mr. Benbow was joined by rear-admiral Vandergoes with 11 Dutch ships; so that his fleet then consisted of about thirty sail large and small. The English admiral proposed to station one squadron to the northward of Dunkirk, and the other in or about Ostend-road, that if Du Bart attempted to pass out either at the east or north channel, they might the better discover him; but the Dutch commander representing that his ships were foul,

* As Jamaica was hitherto principally inhabited by the military men (and their offspring) who had possessed it ever since it was taken in the year 1656; those people, as generally disliking agriculture, betook themselves to cruising at sea against the Spaniards on the American seas, even after peace had been concluded between England and Spain in America; and allured by the wealth acquired thereby, they continued that illegal practice throughout all the reign of king Charles II. to this time, and got the name of the Buccaneers of Jamaica, some of whose bold exploits against the Spanish towns and

ports in Mexico, &c. would pass for mere romances, had they not been too much known by both nations.

† Petit-Guavas, a port town in a large bay on the west side of Hispaniola in the American Ocean, taken by the French Buccaneers in 1654. For about ten leagues, and as far as Cape St. Nicholas on the north-west, the sea is always calm from three in the morning till noon, tornadoes excepted, when there springs up a breeze, holding till next morning. It lies 211 miles west of St. Domingo, and is subject to France. Lat. 18 deg. 16 min. north. Long. 76 deg. 10 min. west.

and in no condition to pursue the French fleet, should he even get sight of it, this disposition was laid aside. Du Bart having hawled his ships into the basin, where they were thoroughly cleaned, waited only for the next spring-tide to make a push out. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of August, he left Dunkirk with five sail, having the prince of Conti on board. Admiral Bembow immediately pursued him, but to no purpose, our ships as well as the Dutch being miserably foul: he therefore returned to his station, and in his way got sight of eight other ships that had sailed from the same port, which he pursued likewise, but with the same ill success; and this was the last action of the war, for on the twentieth of September following peace was concluded between England, Spain, Holland, and France*.

I shall close this account of our naval affairs with a short reflection on the consequences of this long war to the naval power and commerce of England. Mr. Burchet has clearly shewn us that the French suffered much more in their maritime power than we; and consequently, if we consider the great facility with which we were able to repair such losses as we sustained at sea, and the great difficulties the French lay under in this respect, however pompously their writers may dress up their accounts, it will be clear they were in no way able to struggle against the Dutch and us in a maritime war. King William, in his speech to both houses of parliament, of which we have just given an abstract, asserted that our naval force was near double to what it

was at his accession; and upon carefully comparing the lists of the royal navy, and other authentic writers on this subject, the truth of this very clearly appears; while, on the other hand, the French never attempted to build any new ships in the room of those that were taken or destroyed during the progress of the war. The reader will find in the note an account of the loss sustained on each side, while we were disputing the empire of the sea†: from whence, and what we have remarked above, he will readily perceive that, as a maritime power, we were gainers by the war; but with respect to our trade, it is past all doubt that we suffered infinitely more than the enemy: our traffic was excessively disturbed; our merchants were many of them ruined, which occasioned an absolute distrust of and distaste against those who had the direction of naval affairs, a loud clamour against the war, and an universal desire of peace at any rate‡. Let us now proceed to a review of the parliamentary affairs of this year; and as an introduction, it may not be amiss to present the reader with a sketch of the ministry, as it stood at this juncture.

Bentinck earl of Portland had long possessed the chief place in the king's affections, but of late his interest with his royal master had been considerably weakened by the intervention of the earl of Sunderland, who had by every act of complacency and adulation insinuated himself into William's esteem. Tho' this nobleman could not but know by experience the insuperable dislike the people of

* Burchet, p. 569, 570. Lives of Admirals.

† Loss sustained by the French in their navy during the war, from the year 1688, to 1697.

Number of ships.	Force.	Total of guns.
2 of	104 guns	208
1 of	90	90
2 of	80	160
3 of	76	228
1 of	74	74
1 of	70	70
1 of	68	68
2 of	60	120
4 of	56	224
1 of	50	50
1 of	48	48
1 of	42	42
1 of	40	40
5 of	32	160
5 of	30	150
5 of	28	140
1 of	26	26
3 of	24	72
3 of	20	60
6 of	18	108
1 of	16	16
2 of	12	24
6 of	10	60
1 of	6	6
Total	59	Total 2,224

The loss sustained by the English in their navy during the same period of time.

Number of ships.	Force.	Total of guns.
1 of	70	70
1 of	54	54
2 of	48	96
1 of	46	46
3 of	42	126
3 of	36	108
6 of	32	192
2 of	30	60
4 of	24	96
2 of	18	36
2 of	16	32
2 of	12	24
11 of	10	110
5 of	8	40
1 of	6	6
4 of	4	16
Total	50	Total 1,112

By which it appears that the number of guns on board the French ships, which were either taken or destroyed, more than the English, were one thousand one hundred and thirty-two: at the same time it is to be observed, that most of them were much superior in their weight of metal. Burchet. Campbell. Lediard.

And here we shall, as a matter of curiosity, present our readers with an authentic view of the vast increase of the royal navy of England, from the year 1607 to the year 1695, as given us by bishop Gibson, in the second edition of his Continuation of Camden's Britannia.

Different states of the royal navy	In Camden's time, anno 1607.	In the year 1695.
I. Number of ships and vessels, from 50 tons and upwards	only 40 ships	now above 200 ships:
II. General tonnage of the whole	under 23,600 tons	now above 112,400 tons.
III. Number of men required for manning the same	not quite 7,800 men	now above 45,000 men.
IV. The medium of its annual charge during the last five years of	peace war under 15,500 l. under 96,400 l.	above 400,000 l. above 1,620,000 l.

‡ Kennet. Burnet. Present State of Europe.

England

England entertained to a standing army; yet he no sooner found that the king was desirous of keeping up such a force, from an apprehension that a reduction of it would lessen his importance both at home and abroad, diminish the dependence upon his government, and tear from him those foreigners in whose attachments he chiefly confided: Sunderland, I say, no sooner discovered these sentiments in the king, than he laboured to encourage him with hopes of success; and as we are never upon our guard against those who flatter our passions or inclinations, king William soon made this minister his chief confident. He had also a female favourite, one Mrs. Villiers, on whom he had conferred several marks of his consideration: these two are said to have joined their interests to supplant Portland. Chance concurred with their design: the king had lately taken more than common notice of one M. Van Kepple, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had first served him as a page, and afterwards acted as a private secretary. The earl of Portland growing troublesome, from his jealousy of these competitors, the king resolved to send him into honourable exile, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; and Trumbal, the earl's confident and friend, was dismissed from the office of secretary, which was bestowed upon Vernon, who had acted as under-secretary to the duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman rivalled Sunderland at the council-board, and was supported by lord-chancellor Somers; Russell the new earl of Orford, first lord of the admiralty; and Charles Montagu, chancellor of the Exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a discerning statesman, and an adroit courtier: he equalled the famous chancellor More in the sweetness and affability of his disposition; and the great Bacon in the depth of his learning. Orford was honest, but indelicate: he meant well, but his understanding was shallow; and he was by nature very headstrong and obstinate. Montagu had distinguished himself as the most able financier of his time: he was an encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors: as a statesman, he was bold, dogmatical, and aspiring.

The terrors of a military force had produced such a spirit of discontent in the nation, that when the commons came to consider that part of the king's speech which related to the maintenance of a standing army, several of the leading members warmly exclaimed against a practice to which the people had conceived an inveterate aversion, and the recommendation of which from the throne had not a little alarmed their fears. The spirit shewn on this occasion by the opposers of the court was such, that its friends and adherents were driven to a great dilemma. The matter was debated with much warmth, and many learned arguments were adduced on both sides in support of and against such a measure; the substance of which cannot fail to be entertaining to the curious reader.

It was alleged by those in the opposition, that a standing army being founded upon slavish principles, was by its very nature and constitution inconsistent with the spirit of a free government: that being absolutely subject to the will of a single person, whose orders it was capital to disobey; it might, if that person thought proper, be employed to the most dangerous and destructive purposes; to the subversion of that liberty which it was in-

tended to protect; and the ruin of those by whom it was maintained: that supposing it could not carry these pernicious designs by open force, yet it would necessarily accomplish the same in the end, by over-awing elections, and prescribing to the legislature; and thus in a slow and insensible manner establish a tyranny, before the nation could be sufficiently on its guard to counteract such efforts, or secure its own safety: that allowing these inconveniencies to exist only in a chimerical apprehension; yet as the bulk of such an army is and would be generally composed of people indigent in their circumstances, and licentious in their morals, they would stop at nothing to gratify their appetites or resentments, and be ever the ready tools of a bad prince, who might think it his interest to make use of them for the oppressing or humbling his subjects. It was urged besides, that an army could at best be considered, in time of peace, but as an useless and unnecessary burden, and those who composed it as drones living on the labours of the more industrious and useful part of the nation; and this was more particularly the case in Great Britain, who, surrounded as she was by a boisterous ocean, secured by a numerous fleet, and blessed with a stout and hardy race of natives, stood not in need of the assistance or protection of hireling mercenaries to defend herself against the attempts of any enemy, foreign or domestic.

These arguments, cogent as they were, passed not unanswered: several individuals, and amongst those some who were the genuine friends of their country, espoused the opposite maxims: they said, that granting all the objections to a standing army to be founded on truth, and that it was really pregnant with all the mischiefs charged upon it; yet in the present situation of things it appeared to be a necessary evil: that would every state in Europe disband its forces on the conclusion of a peace, such a step must certainly conduce greatly to the ease and happiness of the respective subjects, and of Christendom in general: but while, on the contrary, every kingdom maintained a standing force of mercenaries, and that in particular the very nation who, by interest and inclination, were the inveterate enemies of England, kept on foot the greatest army of any state in Europe, it would be the utmost stretch of folly and madness to strip ourselves of every means of defence, and stand naked and exposed to every attempt that ambition or ill faith might think proper to make against us. In answer to the sufficiency of our numerous and formidable fleet for protecting us against all insults, it was observed, that a thousand unforeseen accidents might render this bulwark useless. The same wind, it was said, that wafted over to our shores an hostile fleet, might detain our ships in their harbours, as was actually the case when his present majesty arrived in this kingdom, when the east wind that brought over the Dutch fleet kept ours in the river till the Dutch fleet passed them; and when they got out a storm stopped and shattered them so, that without being able to come to any action, they were laid up. It is easy to infer what would have been the fatal consequences, if the king had then come to destroy our liberties, instead of rescuing them from a destroyer: and would any man, it was asked, hazard the nation upon such a contingency? especially knowing that England is an open country, full of plenty, every
6 where

where able to subfist an army; our towns and cities all open; our rivers all fordable; and no paffes nor strong places to ftop an enemy, fhould they effect a defcent. In answer to the affertion that a ftanding army would be always fubject to the arbitrary will and command of the fovereign, who might at pleafure ufe it for the deftruction of his people's liberties; the late Revolution was again urged as a ftriking and memorable example againft fuch a fuppoftion. James, at the time his rival meditated a defcent on England, was at the head of an army of thirty thoufand well-difciplined troops; a force certainly fufficient to have driven out the prince of Orange, and have eftablifhed that tyranny which the reigning prince intended to erect, had they been actuated by a blind and implicit obedience to the royal will: but the event proved how differently they thought and acted; the infant that lawlefs prince attempted to employ them to fubvert the liberties and religion of their fellow-fubjects, they one and all rejected the propofal with an honeft indignation, and laid down their arms, a few catholics only excepted, repairing moft of them to the ftandard of the prince, who came to efpoufe the caufe of liberty againft the attempts of defpotifm. It was urged, moreover, that it was very improbable that the army fhould be rendered perpetual and independent while it remained on its prefent footing, being ftill fubject to the annual infpection of the parliament; and whenever that afsembly fhould fee caufe to fufpect the defigns of the prince, or the difpofitions of the military, they had it in their power to diminifh their number, or entirely difband them. In conclufion it was alleged, that nothing could be more abfurd than to expofe ourfelves to certain ruin, from a fuppoftion that what now preserves us from it, may at fome time hereafter have ill effects on our liberty: nor are thofe effects to be apprehended as confiderable, fo long as England remains true to itfelf; and whenever the nation has loft that fense of liberty by which it has been fo long preferved, it will foon make fetters for itfelf, though it fhould find none at hand ready*.

This difpute likewise gave occafion to feveral pamphlets which were published on the fubject, and in which the authors difplayed a propriety of language, a force and energy of ftile, and a ftrength of reasoning; rarely to be met with in the writings of our prefent politicians. The queftion, it muft be allowed, is of a very delicate and intricate nature: happily, however, it is now rendered in a great meafure ufelefs, by the revival of an old and excellent institution, the eftablifhment of a regular and well difciplined militia, who having acquired the dexterity of profefled foldiers, and animated by every concurring motive of intereft, fentiment, and affection, will, under the guidance of Providence, be found capable, with the concurrence of our fleet, effectually to protect this kingdom from the danger of an invafion. The oppofers of a ftanding army were at that time for forming fuch a body of native forces; but this fcheme would have defeated the purpofe of the government, which was more afraid of domeftic foes than foreign ene-

mies, and induftrioufly avoided every plan of this nature which could contribute to render the party of the people more formidable: but though the Englifh at that time had no regular militia, they had conceived fuch an intolerable jealousy of a ftanding army, that though the miniftry ufed all their addrefs in perfuading the houfe to agree in part to the king's request, the commons paffed a vote, about a week after they met, "That all the forces raifed fince the year 1680 fhould be difbanded, and the forces be reduced to ten thoufand men†." Purfuant to this refolution, they granted a fupply for difbanding the army, and ordered the fum of two hundred and fifty thoufand pounds to be given as a gratuity to fuch officers and foldiers as were or fhould be difbanded, in the following proportions, viz. to every foot-foldier and non-commissioned officer, fourteen days fubfiftence, and fix days full pay to each private trooper and non-commissioned officer: provision was alfo made for half pay to commiffion-officers, being Englifhmen; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, that the difbanded foldiers might exercife their refpective trades in any town or corporation in the kingdom.

During the debates about a ftanding army in parliament, the earl of Sunderland had been particularly active both within and without doors, in fhewing the neceffity of keeping up a constant military force, by which he had drawn upon himfelf a great load of odium; and the Tories, who had now got the popular fide of the queftion, refolved to make a handle of this conduct to remove him from about court. They began by openly representing him as a perfon to whom they afcribed moft of the arbitrary meafures taken in the late reign, and fufpected of having counfelled the like in this, and particularly the keeping up a ftanding army. The earl, apprehenfive of a further attack from this party, and fearing he fhould be weakly fupported by the Whigs, who were moft of them jealous of his growing in favour with the king, refolved to avoid the danger with which he thought himfelf threatened, by a timely retreat: accordingly, on the twenty-fixth of December he refigned the office of lord-chamberlain, not only againft the intreaties of his friends, but even the king's earneft defire that he would continue about him.

To raife the fums for difbanding the army, paying their arrears, and making good all deficiencies, amongft other aids, a tax of three fhillings in the pound was laid upon land, which was to be affeffed in every county, in proportion to the rates it was affeffed at in the year 1692, when it brought in the moft, there having been fuch commiffioners appointed that year as the crown was pleafed to pitch upon, who, in the counties in the neighbourhood of London, taxed the people to the rack-rent, while the northern and western counties were fcarce rated half the value of their eftates; and thus it has been ever fince, and is likely to continue while the remote boroughs are too numerous for the reft of the kingdom. An additional duty was laid upon coal, culm, and falt; a duty was impofed upon all coals imported from Scotland, or from

* Chandler's Debates. State Tracts. Proceedings of the Houfe of Commons, iii. 74, 75.

† Proceedings of the Houfe of Commons, iii. 76, 77. At

the peace of Ryfwick, the horfe, dragoons, and foot, on the Englifh eftablifhment (including the Dutch troops) were about thirty thoufand.

any part beyond sea. The toll-tax was continued for one year longer; and the duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate, spices, pedlars and hawkers, for three years; the duties upon stamped paper, parchment, vellum, and those upon imported alammodes and lustrings, were doubled; the time was enlarged for purchasing and granting annuities; and a bill passed for raising a sum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities, at the rate of eight per cent. redeemable by parliament.

His majesty having expressed himself extremely displeased at the proceedings of the commons for disbanding the army, they, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services, to be paid his majesty for life, which was to be raised out of the duties arising from tonnage and poundage, or on merchandize imported and exported, former parliaments having granted it him from time to time only for a short term of years.

The king coming to the house on the fourteenth of January, 1698, gave the royal assent to an act for calling in the hammered silver money to be re-coined; to an act to prevent corresponding with king James and his adherents; and to an act for continuing the imprisonment of one Counter and others, then confined in Newgate, on suspicion of being accomplices in the Assassination Plot. The same day the commons voted three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for maintaining guards and garrisons for the year 1698, and a supply of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds for paying off and cancelling the exchequer-bills that had been issued. Then they took into consideration the subsidies due to foreign powers in the English pay, and other sums due to the contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred ninety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-two thousand pounds; that of the ordnance to two hundred four thousand one hundred and fifty-seven thousand pounds. The transport debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, did not fall short of four hundred sixty thousand four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed forty-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds for quartering and cloathing the army which had been raised by an act of parliament in the year 1677, and disbanded by another in the year 1679. In order to lighten this great burden, provision was made for granting the proprietors an interest for their money till their debts should be paid.

But notwithstanding this vast load of debts, it was found that the officers concerned in the revenue had increased them, by robbing the public various ways, particularly by false indorsements on Exchequer notes, whereby they gained seven pounds twelve shillings per cent. which was allowed indeed upon the second issuing of Exchequer-bills, but not upon the first, till these honest gentlemen found means clandestinely to procure such indorsements to defraud the people. Among those plunderers of the nation were Mr. Charles Duncombe, receiver-general of the excise; Mr. John

Knight, treasurer of the customs; Bartholomew Burton, of the Excise-office; and Reginald Marriot, one of the deputy-tellers of the Exchequer; which last, to get his pardon, compounded to accuse the rest: whereupon Duncombe and Knight, who were members of the commons, were expelled the house, and committed to the Tower: Burton was sent to Newgate. A bill was brought into the house of commons for fining Duncombe about half his estate, valued at four hundred thousand pounds, and passed that house; but being sent up to the lords, the votes happening to be equal, the duke of Leeds gave his casting vote against the bill, which was accordingly laid aside: the lords also set Duncombe at liberty; but the commons resenting this, remanded him, and he remained in the Tower till the end of the session. The bill against Knight and Burton had the same fate; whereupon the prosecution was dropped, and they all escaped with their ill-gotten wealth, it being generally supposed they made their peace with part of the spoils they had gained from the nation. There were many in the commons at this time who had conceived a dislike against Mr. Charles Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on account of the affair of the re-coinage, and his having been a strenuous advocate for a standing army; and his majesty having made him a grant in the name of one Railton, this was brought upon the carpet, and it was moved in the house that he should withdraw; but that passing in the negative, it was resolved by a great majority, "That it was the opinion of the house that the honourable Charles Montagu, chancellor of the Exchequer, doth deserve his majesty's favour *;" a vote that must render his name famous to all posterity.

The commons now observing that the enemies of Christianity were never more audacious than at this time, in ridiculing the mysteries of the christian religion, both in their conversation and the blasphemous pamphlets they published; and, in a word, that prophaneness and immorality daily gained ground amongst us, presented an address to his majesty, beseeching him to give strict orders to all his judges, justices, and magistrates, to put the laws in execution against blasphemy, atheism, and other acts of immorality, and to discourage them in his officers and courtiers †. The king, who in his own conduct was particularly strict and regular, was pleased with this address, and readily promised to comply with their request. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation "for preventing and punishing immorality and prophaneness, and for suppressing certain impious books."

In the midst of the deluge of immorality which overspread the nation at this time, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan "for propagating the gospel in foreign parts." Missionaries, catechisms, liturgies, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. This laudable design was supported by voluntary contribution; and a bill having been brought into the house of commons for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the reformed

* Proceed. House of Comm. iii. 81. Feb 16.

† Ibid. Feb. 17.

religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward Islands.

At the same time king William encouraged the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers in certain places of public worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday. The members of this society engaged to inform the magistrates of all the vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer, to constitute a fund of charity. This institution had been first set on foot by Dr. Beveridge and Dr. Horneck, in the reign of James II. who fearing it might tend to prevent the growth of that religion which he unhappily professed, industriously checked and discouraged it; so that it remained for a long time in a very weak and declining state: but being now honoured and protected by the sovereign, it soon acquired a more solid establishment, and for some time exercised its influence with a very considerable effect.

The king coming to the house the seventh of March, gave the royal assent to several acts relating to the civil polity, when the commons addressed his majesty, that he would be pleased to cause a list to be printed of the persons names to whom licence had been granted, pursuant to the late act, against corresponding with king James or his adherents: to which his majesty returned a gracious answer; and on the second of April came again to the house, when, besides private acts, he gave the royal assent to the two following public ones; 1. An act for granting his majesty the sum of one million four hundred eighty-four thousand fifteen hundred pounds, for disbanding the land forces, and paying off the seamen. 2. An act for supplying some defects in the laws made for the relief of the poor.

On the twenty-first of May a complaint was made to the commons of a printed book, entitled, *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England* stated; written by one Mr. Molyneux of Dublin, a gentleman of great parts and learning. In this book the author had endeavoured to prove that Ireland was independent of England, or the authority of its parliament. Such tenets as these were too dangerous to be passed over unnoticed: accordingly, a committee was appointed to enquire into the nature and tendency of this performance. Upon the report of the committee, it was unanimously resolved, "That the book entitled, &c. was of dangerous consequence, as tending to lessen the dependence that Ireland has and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; and that an act "for the better securing of his majesty's person and government," transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, by which an English act of parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, and alterations made therein obligatory on the courts of justice and great-seal of England, had given occasion to the writing and publishing the dangerous assertions contained in the said book." After which the commons in a body addressed the king, beseeching him "to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachment for the future,

as well as the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing and discountenancing those who had been guilty of such pernicious attempts." This address his majesty received very graciously, and was pleased to assure the commons that he would comply with their request. About the same time also the commons addressed the king on the subject of some complaints that had been made to the house, that the woollen manufacture was carried on in Ireland, to the great prejudice of that staple commodity in England. To which address his majesty returned for answer, "That he should do all that in him lay to promote the trade of England, and to discourage the woollen, and encourage the linen, manufacture in Ireland." Orders were accordingly transmitted to the lords justices, who recommended the matter to the Irish parliament; and the members promised to use their utmost endeavours to effect a reformation in this article; and from hence may be dated the great increase and improvement of the Irish linen manufacture, which has turned out so advantageous to that country.

In this session the lustring company obtained an act of parliament, wherein the preamble sets forth, "That the said company have, with great labour and charge, brought that manufacture to perfection; but that by the fraudulent importation of foreign alamodes and lustrings, the company have not enjoyed the benefit intended them by the royal charter, but have wasted their time and stock in contending with many difficulties and obstructions which they had met with: and it now appearing that the said manufacture cannot be so well conducted and secured to England by any other means than by the establishing of an exclusive company for the same; it was therefore now enacted, first, That the said company be a perpetual corporation, with the usual powers, &c. of a body-politic, as in their charter. Secondly, That they shall enjoy the sole use, exercise, and benefit of making, dressing, and lustrating of plain black alamodes, renforcez, and lustrings, in England and Wales, for fourteen years to come *." All which however could not support this monopoly when the fashion changed, new fabrications driving out the former general wear of those silks, so that the company had run out their stock, and was quite broke up, even before the expiration of their said exclusive term, which therefore was not renewed.

We cannot pass over two good statutes for the benefit of inland commerce made in this same session: the one is "for determining differences by arbitration, whereby merchants, traders, and others desiring to end any controversy (for which there is no other remedy but by personal action or suit in equity) by arbitration, may agree their submission of their suit to the award of any person or persons, which should be made a rule of any court of record: by which agreement, so made and inserted in their submission, the parties shall be finally concluded by such arbitration." The other is "for the better payment of bills of exchange;" by which it is enacted, "That all bills of exchange drawn in England for five pounds or upwards to any other place in England, and payable at a certain number of days, weeks, or months after date, shall from and after presentation and acceptance

* See Statutes 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 43.

(which

(which acceptance shall be by the under-writing the same under the party's hand so accepting) and after the expiration of three days after the said bill shall become due, the party to whom the said bill is made payable, his servant, agent, or assigns, may and shall cause the said bill to be protested by a notary public, or any other substantial person of the city, town, or place, in the presence of two or more creditable witnesses (refusal or neglect being first made of the payment) which protest shall be made and written under a fair written copy of the said bill, signifying, "That I A. B. on the — day of — at the usual place of abode of the said C. D. have demanded payment of the bill, of which this is a copy, which the said C. D. did not pay: wherefore I the said A. B. do hereby protest the said bill, dated at — this day of —:" which protest shall, within fourteen days after, be sent, or otherwise due notice shall be given thereof to the party from whom the bill was received; and who, upon producing such protest, shall repay the said bill, together with interest and charges: and on default of such protest (for which only C. D. shall be paid) on due notice, the person so failing shall be liable to all costs, damages, and interest accruing thereby, provided that if any such bill be lost or miscarried within the time limited for payment, the drawer shall be obliged to give another bill, the person to whom it is sent giving security (if demanded) to the drawer, to indemnify him in case the lost bill shall be found again."

Private and fallacious lotteries were at this time become so general, not only in London, but in most other great cities and towns in England, whereby the lower people, and the servants and children of good families were defrauded, that an act was passed for suppressing them; and a penalty of 500 l. was laid on the proprietors of such lotteries, and of twenty pounds on every adventurer in them: notwithstanding which, the like disposition of fraud on the one part, and of gaming on the other, continued still greatly to prevail.

The parliament likewise this session applied themselves with great diligence to discover and punish a set of offenders, who carried on a fraudulent and secret commerce with France, by which they had for divers years past surreptitiously brought in great quantities of French silks. The first occasion of this discovery was a pass from the admiral of France for an English ship, that served at once for the owling and smuggling trades; which pass, at the breaking out of the late conspiracy, was intercepted at the Post-office, since which time it had lain unnoticed in the hands of the secretary of state: but this paper coming by some accident to the sight of Mr. Hilary Reneu, an eminent French protestant merchant, who was the chief manager and promoter of the lustring company, he reported the matter to the house of commons, who having caused the persons and books of these smugglers to be seized, a full discovery was made of their pernicious trade; upon which eight of them were very severely fined, and ordered to be imprisoned in Newgate till such time

as they should pay the money; and Mr. Reneu, as a reward for his part in the discovery, was gratified with a bill, which passed the two houses and received the royal assent, for naturalizing him and his family without paying any charges for the same.

But the affair of the greatest consequence in the commercial way which came under the cognizance of the commons this session, and with which we shall close our account of parliamentary affairs, was the election of a new East India company.

The many complaints which had been made against the English East India company's proceedings, together with the great losses of ships and cargoes during the war with France, which had prevented its making any dividends for sundry preceding years, had by this time occasioned a general dislike in the people against that company. This broke out more plainly during this session, when the house of commons again took the state of the company's trade into their serious consideration, although it had three years before appeared to be so delicate an affair, that it had been by the parliament referred to the king and council, and by the latter sent back to parliament again, who after all did nothing material in the main complaints relating to it. The company therefore now thought it prudent to make some proposals that might engage the government in their interest: accordingly they offered to advance seven hundred thousand pounds for the public service at four per cent. interest, provided the exclusive trade to India might be legally settled on them.

The ministry seemed inclined to accept this offer, when a certain number of merchants, headed by sir John Ward, sir Francis Eyles, sir Gilbert Heathcote, and Mr. Samuel Shephard, and countenanced by Mr. Montagu, chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to the house of commons to advance two millions at eight per cent. interest, provided they might have the said *sole* exclusive trade to India settled on them. They likewise proposed that these subscribers should not be obliged to trade in a joint stock, but that if any number of members desired to be incorporated, a charter should be granted them for that purpose. This last named proposal was deemed the most eligible; and accordingly a bill was brought into parliament in favour of the new adventurers, which quickly passed the commons; but when it was sent up to the lords, the old company (for such we must now begin to call them) followed it thither, where they were heard by their counsel, sir Thomas Powis and sir Bartholomew Shower, who pleaded their exclusive charters, which, amongst other great privileges, stiled them lords proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena. They alleged, "That the company had actually acquired, at their own sole expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Persia and elsewhere, to the amount of about forty-four thousand pounds per annum, arising from customs and licences for a number of different matters set forth in the pleadings*: that they had also erected forts

* Such as selling of wines, for fishings, for farms of tobacco and betel, for quit-rents, for house-rents and garden-rents to the natives, passes for country ships, tonnage, anchorage, salvage, &c. also a large extent of lands in several places. This

account of the various emoluments of that company in India is materially instructing, as it is not only nearly the same as the like emoluments of the present company in India, but is moreover explanatory of the nature of those emoluments.

and settlements, and had procured territories in the island of Sumatra, and on the coast of Malabar, without which the pepper-trade must have been actually lost to England: that they had also a strong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and also many factories, buildings, and settlements in divers other parts, having moreover purchased of the Indian princes, at high rates, many privileges and immunities; all which they were encouraged to do, out of a firm belief that their said right and inheritance would on all occasions be objects of the nation's care: that since this bill was brought in, the company agreed to submit their present stock to a valuation of fifty per cent. viz. twenty per cent. for their *dead* stock (that is, their forts, factories, and lands) and thirty per cent. for their *quick* stock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate; and upon these terms the company likewise offered to raise subscriptions for two millions."

To all this the counsel for the new subscribers replied, "That the old company in reciting their charters had forgot to mention the provisos therein, That the respective kings of England who granted them, reserved a discretionary power to make them void on three years warning: that the king could not grant the trade, exclusive of all others, *solely* by his charter, as being directly contrary to positive laws; neither had his present majesty in fact granted any such exclusive right: that several recoveries had been made at law against the company for prosecuting such pretended right: that his majesty's message to the commons in 1692 plainly signified that the concurrence of parliament was requisite for making a complete and useful settlement of this trade [Here they expatiated on the indirect methods of bribery, &c. carried on by the company's managers to obtain their last new charter and regulations, as we have before related.] that it never was esteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the great seal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patents annulled by parliament, when it appeared that such grants were either unprofitable, or contrary to the common rights of the subject; neither did any kings think themselves bound in honour or conscience to refuse passing an act of parliament for the annulling of such grants: that moreover kings having been often deceived in such grants, they have even been frequently annulled by the ordinary course of law."

It was on the other hand again farther replied and urged, in behalf of the old company, "That the properties of many families, widows, and orphans, were greatly affected by the bill now depending, which they said made no provision for a determined stock; insomuch that it may hereafter happen that the trade may be lost to the nation for want of a sufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing by thirty years experience, that it requires at least six hundred thousand pounds per annum to carry on this trade in its full extent: that by this bill the new subscribers are permitted to trade during the three years to Michaelmas 1701, as well as the company, which is directly contrary to the charter, and will create great confusion, and render the said three years allowed the old company of no benefit, because they are still bound to export to the value of one hundred thousand pounds

annually in our own manufactures, although the new subscribers are under no such obligation. The old company are likewise obliged to pay taxes to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new subscribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade, without either: that since the last subscription in the year 1693, the company have lost either by accidents, or by the calamities of war, twelve great ships, which with their cargoes would have sold for near a million and an half sterling; and yet, notwithstanding such losses, they have paid in customs since that period two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds, besides eighty-five thousand in taxes: that moreover they had supplied his majesty in Holland, on a pressing occasion, with six thousand barrels of gun-powder; and had likewise, at a time of great extremity, subscribed eighty thousand pounds for circulating Exchequer-bills, at the instance of the treasury; and that, in fine, many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the stock of the present company, who must be utterly ruined if this bill take effect."

The foregoing pleadings contain so many articles relating to the history and conduct of the old East India company, and to the nature and legality of exclusive charters not supported by parliamentary authority, that I could not pass them over unnoticed. I shall now only subjoin what was on this occasion farther alleged against the old company, viz. "That the new subscribers to that company's stock in 1693 were deluded into it by a charter then obtained by indirect means, as by the hopes of an act of parliament to confirm it, by the old proprietors having valued their stock at seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, whereby they shared three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds of the new subscribers money amongst themselves; and as they had warning sufficient, by the transactions before the king and council, nobody was answerable for their loss but themselves."

These and such like reasons weighing with the lords, and some of the leaders of the old company being suspected of disaffection to the state, or perhaps principally because the new subscribers were the favourites of the ministry, the lords concurred with the commons in passing the bill, which afterwards received the royal assent; the substance whereof, as far as relates to this subject, is as follows:

"That every subscriber should have liberty to trade annually, to the amount of his respective subscription, or might transfer such liberty to any other person: that his majesty should be empowered to incorporate such of the subscribers as were desirous of trading in a body: that the powers and privileges of the East India company should be settled by parliament: that the subscribers should enjoy the eight pounds per cent. and the exclusive right of trading to the East Indies for the term of ten years, or till such time as it should be redeemed by parliament: that every person subscribing to the amount of five hundred pounds should have a vote; and that no person, let his subscription be ever so large, should have more than one: that all ships laden in the East Indies should be obliged to unload in England: that no person who should be a member of any corporation trading to the East Indies should engage in any other trade that

(which acceptance shall be by the under-writing the same under the party's hand so accepting) and after the expiration of three days after the said bill shall become due, the party to whom the said bill is made payable, his servant, agent, or assigns, may and shall cause the said bill to be protested by a notary public, or any other substantial person of the city, town, or place, in the presence of two or more creditable witnesses (refusal or neglect being first made of the payment) which protest shall be made and written under a fair written copy of the said bill, signifying, "That I A. B. on the — day of — at the usual place of abode of the said C. D. have demanded payment of the bill, of which this is a copy, which the said C. D. did not pay: wherefore I the said A. B. do hereby protest the said bill, dated at — this day of —:" which protest shall, within fourteen days after, be sent, or otherwise due notice shall be given thereof to the party from whom the bill was received; and who, upon producing such protest, shall repay the said bill, together with interest and charges: and on default of such protest (for which only C. D. shall be paid) on due notice, the person so failing shall be liable to all costs, damages, and interest accruing thereby, provided that if any such bill be lost or miscarried within the time limited for payment, the drawer shall be obliged to give another bill, the person to whom it is sent giving security (if demanded) to the drawer, to indemnify him in case the lost bill shall be found again."

Private and fallacious lotteries were at this time become so general, not only in London, but in most other great cities and towns in England, whereby the lower people, and the servants and children of good families were defrauded, that an act was passed for suppressing them; and a penalty of 500 l. was laid on the proprietors of such lotteries, and of twenty pounds on every adventurer in them: notwithstanding which, the like disposition of fraud on the one part, and of gaming on the other, continued still greatly to prevail.

The parliament likewise this session applied themselves with great diligence to discover and punish a set of offenders, who carried on a fraudulent and secret commerce with France, by which they had for divers years past surreptitiously brought in great quantities of French silks. The first occasion of this discovery was a pass from the admiral of France for an English ship, that served at once for the owling and smuggling trades; which pass, at the breaking out of the late conspiracy, was intercepted at the Post-office, since which time it had lain unnoticed in the hands of the secretary of state: but this paper coming by some accident to the sight of Mr. Hilary Reneu, an eminent French protestant merchant, who was the chief manager and promoter of the lustring company, he reported the matter to the house of commons, who having caused the persons and books of these smugglers to be seized, a full discovery was made of their pernicious trade; upon which eight of them were very severely fined, and ordered to be imprisoned in Newgate till such time

as they should pay the money; and Mr. Reneu, as a reward for his part in the discovery, was gratified with a bill, which passed the two houses and received the royal assent, for naturalizing him and his family without paying any charges for the same.

But the affair of the greatest consequence in the commercial way which came under the cognizance of the commons this session, and with which we shall close our account of parliamentary affairs, was the election of a new East India company.

The many complaints which had been made against the English East India company's proceedings, together with the great losses of ships and cargoes during the war with France, which had prevented its making any dividends for sundry preceding years, had by this time occasioned a general dislike in the people against that company. This broke out more plainly during this session, when the house of commons again took the state of the company's trade into their serious consideration, although it had three years before appeared to be so delicate an affair, that it had been by the parliament referred to the king and council, and by the latter sent back to parliament again, who after all did nothing material in the main complaints relating to it. The company therefore now thought it prudent to make some proposals that might engage the government in their interest: accordingly they offered to advance seven hundred thousand pounds for the public service at four per cent. interest, provided the exclusive trade to India might be legally settled on them.

The ministry seemed inclined to accept this offer, when a certain number of merchants, headed by sir John Ward, sir Francis Eyles, sir Gilbert Heathcote, and Mr. Samuel Shephard, and countenanced by Mr. Montagu, chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to the house of commons to advance two millions at eight per cent. interest, provided they might have the said *sole* exclusive trade to India settled on them. They likewise proposed that these subscribers should not be obliged to trade in a joint stock, but that if any number of members desired to be incorporated, a charter should be granted them for that purpose. This last named proposal was deemed the most eligible; and accordingly a bill was brought into parliament in favour of the new adventurers, which quickly passed the commons; but when it was sent up to the lords, the old company (for such we must now begin to call them) followed it thither, where they were heard by their counsel, sir Thomas Powis and sir Bartholomew Shower, who pleaded their exclusive charters, which, amongst other great privileges, stiled them lords proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena. They alleged, "That the company had actually acquired, at their own sole expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Persia and elsewhere, to the amount of about forty-four thousand pounds per annum, arising from customs and licences for a number of different matters set forth in the pleadings*: that they had also erected forts

* Such as selling of wines, for fishings, for farms of tobacco and betel, for quit-rents, for house-rents and garden-rents to the natives, passes for country ships, tonnage, anchorage, salvage, &c. also a large extent of lands in several places. This

account of the various emoluments of that company in India is materially instructing, as it is not only nearly the same as the like emoluments of the present company in India, but is moreover explanatory of the nature of those emoluments.

in all branches, sailed from Holland to Archangel in Russia, and thence were distributed into all the different places where their services were necessary. We must not forget that he found in England some mathematicians, which he in vain sought for amongst the Dutch. Fergufon, a Scotchman, an excellent geometrician, entered into his service, and was the first person who brought arithmetic into use in the public offices in Russia, where before that time they made use only of the Tartarian method of reckoning with balls strung upon a wire. Captain Perry, an expert engineer, was likewise retained by him; and although that gentleman was discontented at not being rewarded in a manner he thought due to his services, yet he acknowledges that Peter had an amazing genius, and was indefatigable in his application: he tells us that he soon made himself a proficient in astronomy; and as to the practical part of ship-building, he says, that from the casting of cannon to the spinning of ropes, there was not any one branch of trade belonging to the construction or fitting out of a ship that he did not minutely observe, and even put his hand to, whenever he came into the places where these trades were carried on*.

In fine, though that prince is esteemed by some a savage tyrant, yet if all allowances are made for his education, and the arbitrary construction of his government, he will be looked upon with veneration by posterity, having in a manner dispelled the darkness that covered that vast tract of land under his dominion, and given his subjects a taste at least of the improvements that had been made by the rest of mankind. - Not content with encouraging the mechanic arts only, he promoted the increase of other knowledge amongst his people, by laying the foundations of schools, colleges, and academies, and by building and furnishing of public libraries: in short, in the compass of a few years he brought the rude and uncivilized Russians to make a total alteration in their very habits and way of life; and, perhaps, without the arbitrary dominion he exercised, and the rough measures he took to bind and force a people who had the greatest aversion to every thing that was polite, he could never have effected that mighty change in the short time of his own single life; and if he had not, they would have returned to their original barbarism: but we see them, on the contrary, improving every day. Peter, after leaving England, proposed to make the tour of the other polite courts of Europe; but receiving advice from his dominions that his sister was stirring up intrigues against his government, he returned suddenly to Moscow (the then capital of his empire) and with great severity, though (we repeat it) perhaps not greater than the nature of his government made necessary, put a considerable number of the conspirators to the most cruel deaths. But to return from this digression, which I thought owing to the memory of so extraordinary a man as czar Peter.

On the third of February died Ernest-Augustus, duke elector of Hanover, and bishop of Osnabrug, at Herenhausen. He was born November 10, 1629, being the third son of George duke of Luxemburg and Anne-Leonora, daughter of the land-

grave Lewis of Hesse d'Armstadt. He was married in 1659 to the princess palatine Sophia, daughter to James I. of England, by whom he had several children. He was succeeded by his son George-Lewis, afterwards king of Great Britain. The house of Hanover began now to be held in much consideration, as it appeared to be next in succession to the English throne after the present royal family, according to the act passed in the beginning of this reign, whereby no Roman catholic could inherit the crown of England.

In the beginning of this year the earl of Portland set out on his embassy to France, and made his public entry on the twenty-seventh of February with such extraordinary splendor as had never been seen in that court since the duke of Buckingham's embassy, when he came to demand the princess Henrietta of France for Charles I. It is agreed on all hands that few ambassadors ever behaved with greater prudence, honour, and magnificence, than lord Portland, or was ever so much caressed and respected, not only by the king, but all the princes of France. Some time after his public audience he went to Versailles, where he was lodged in the hotel de Bouillon. Here he had a long conversation with Lewis XIV. in which it has been thought that the project for a partition of the Spanish monarchy was opened by the French king.

After the conclusion of the late treaty of peace, wherein his concerns were wholly overlooked, king James seemed to be absolutely abandoned, and passed his time very indifferently at St. Germain. We are told that the earl of Portland being at a review of the household troops in the Plain of Arches, where the king and the princes of the blood were present, king James also came thither, and with him his son the titular prince of Wales. This last, by his father's direction, endeavoured to join conversation with lord Woodstock, Portland's son, who was ordered by his father to avoid him, as the earl himself did all those belonging to the court of St. Germain. At the same review James himself did all he could to engage the lord Cavendish, and the other English noblemen there present, to take notice of him, but in vain. This apparent slight could not but be a sensible mortification to James, who felt it still farther increased, by hearing that lord Portland insisted upon his being removed from the French king's presence, which however Lewis would by no means consent to, nor to grant any indulgence to the French protestants, now under a fresh persecution; and in whose behalf the English ambassador, at the express order of his court, warmly interceded: in short, it was observed that no ambassador was ever more honoured or less successful than the earl of Portland, who after a stay of four months returned home, without having effected one single point of his embassy, which cost the king near an hundred thousand pounds. Lord Portland had the additional mortification to find, that during his absence Mr. Keppel, now created earl of Albemarle, had entirely supplanted him in the king's favour, whereupon he resigned his employment in disgust; nor could the king ever after prevail on him to resume any office in the household. His majesty however still retained a great esteem for lord Portland, and

* Voltaire's Hist. of the Russian Empire, under Peter the Great, vol. I. chap. ix.

employed him in the management of most foreign affairs, for which he was very capable. On the other hand, it is acknowledged that nobleman carried it so well towards the English, that many of the principal nobility held him in great esteem, even after king William's death.

This winter proved fatal to that ancient and commodious palace of Whitehall, which was burnt down by accident on the fourth of January in the evening, nothing of it remaining next morning but the Banqueting-house.

The lord viscount Villiers, lately made earl of Jersey, being appointed ambassador to the court of France, in the room of the earl of Portland, on the fourteenth of April, marshal Tallard, the French ambassador, soon after arrived here, and made his public entry into London on the sixteenth of May. On the eighteenth of June the earl of Marlborough was declared governor to the duke of Gloucester, and Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, preceptor to his highness, who was then entering into the tenth year of his age.

By this time a ferment had been raised in Scotland, by the opposition and discouragements their new East India company had sustained. In pursuance of the act of their own parliament for the setting up this company, they had begun to take in subscriptions; but as it was not easy to find money enough in Scotland for the carrying on so expensive a design, the company's agents endeavoured to procure subscriptions abroad, particularly at London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, in which they certainly acted under the sanction both of the royal and legislative authority: but as the carrying this scheme into execution gave great umbrage both to the Dutch and English East India companies, they took, as was very natural for them to do, the best measures they could to hinder the success of such applications. This however had some untoward consequences, since these companies could effect nothing but by the interposition of their respective governments; and by this means king William's name, as king of England and stadtholder of Holland, was made use of to thwart those designs, which actually had his sanction as king of Scotland; and in the summer of the preceding year, while his majesty was in Holland, a sharp memorial, subscribed by Mr. Cresset the English envoy, and sir Paul Rycart, our resident in the city of Hamburg, was presented to that city against their engaging to furnish the Scots with the subscriptions they had applied for: to which the Hamburgers returned for answer, "That they thought it very strange that the king of Great Britain should offer to hinder them, who were a free people, to trade with whom they pleased; but were still more amazed that he should endeavour to prevent their joining with the Scots, who were his own subjects, and to whom he had given such large privileges by so solemn an act of parliament." This, as may easily be supposed, embarrassed king William prodigiously, and forced him to act in a manner little suitable to the dignity of his character: for the Scottish company having obtained a copy of the above memorial, presented a long address to the king upon it, who returned for answer, "That he would give orders to his envoy at the court of Lunen-

burgh, and his resident at Hamburg, not to make use of his majesty's name or authority for obstructing their company in the prosecution of their trade with the inhabitants of that city." This answer however served only to palliate things for that time, and instead of healing the breach, widened it.

For a parliament being assembled in Scotland the nineteenth of July this year by the earl of Marchmont, as king's commissioner, the company presented a remonstrance, containing a detail of their grievances. The parliament having taken their case into consideration, resolved to support them in their just rights, and resented the opposition made to their trade in so high a degree, as to vote, "That the honour and independency of the nation, as well as the credit and authority of parliament, was struck at through their sides." They even came to some threatening resolutions; whereupon the high commissioner adjourned them from time to time, which rendered the nation still more incensed. Nevertheless they proceeded under all these discouragements, and would have maintained it perhaps, if king William had not prohibited the island of Jamaica, and all other English settlements in America, to have any intercourse or correspondence with the Scots at Darien, or to furnish them with provisions of any kind: but I shall have occasion to treat further of this matter the following year*. We are to enter now into the consideration of an important concern, and such as has had since no small influence on the general affairs of Europe; I mean the negotiation of the first treaty of partition.

Count Tallard, afterwards famous for his defeat at Blenheim, and imprisonment in England, was the projector of this famous treaty, which laid the foundation of his future fortunes. After the peace of Ryfwick, the thoughts of Lewis XIV. were all turned upon securing the succession of the Spanish monarchy on the death of Charles II. which was daily expected; as those of king William were employed to prevent any such succession from taking place. William had no forces; but Lewis kept up the same number as in time of war, that he might seize what he claimed upon the first occasion. It was no wonder therefore that the British monarch was prevailed upon to listen to a proposal for dividing those dominions. His majesty having declared in council, on the sixteenth of July, that he intended to go over to Holland, and appointed lords justices to govern in his absence, embarked at Margate the twentieth of the same month, and arrived at the Hague two days after. Count Tallard, the French ambassador, had orders from his court to attend the king abroad, as if the French were jealous that William was about carrying on some negotiations contrary to their interest: but this, as it afterwards appeared, was only a blind; for after his majesty arrived in Holland, the earl of Portland by his orders wrote a letter to Mr. secretary Vernon, to be by him communicated to the lord Somers; wherein it was mentioned, "That count Tallard having declared to his majesty that an accommodation might be found out in relation to the Spanish succession, his majesty had thereupon founded the king of France concerning the

* Kennet. Burnet. Life of William III. and other historians.

terms on which such an agreement might be brought about, and that the conditions imparted to him were to the following effect: that the electoral prince of Bavaria should have the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, and Low Countries, and all that depended on the Spanish dominions, except Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the province of Guipuscoa on this side the Pyrennees, Fontarabia, and St. Sebastian, Ferrol, and the places in Tuscany, of which Spain stood then possessed, in consideration of which France was absolutely to renounce the right it pretended to the succession, and Milan was to be given to the archduke Charles, second son to the emperor.

His majesty at the same time wrote a letter to lord Somers, signed with his own hand, desiring his advice with regard to the propositions touching the Spanish succession, and commanding his lordship to send over full powers under the great seal of England with blanks for the names of commissioners to be filled up occasionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with count Tallard. At the same time his majesty was pleased to order that none but his lordship and Mr. secretary Vernon, and those to whom my lord Somers and the secretary should think proper to communicate the same, were to have any knowledge of the matter. Lord Somers immediately returned the earl of Portland's letter to Mr. Vernon, and desired him to communicate the contents of it to the earl of Oxford and Mr. Charles Montagu, two of the then lords justices, and also to such others as they and Mr. Vernon should think fit, who, in regard to the king's command to have the affair kept secret, imparted it to the duke of Shrewsbury only. Some time after Mr. Montagu and Mr. Vernon went down to Tunbridge, where lord Somers then resided for his health, to confer with his lordship concerning this important matter; and the chancellor wrote an answer to the king, as the issue of their joint deliberation: by which it appeared that his lordship was far from approving of the partition-treaty, though he was afterwards impeached in parliament for having advised it: but before this letter, which was dated the twenty-eighth of August, reached Holland, the first treaty of partition was signed by the earl of Portland and sir Joseph Williamson. By this treaty it was agreed,

I. That the peace of Ryswick should be confirmed.

II. That in consideration of the ill state of the king of Spain's health, and for preserving the public peace, in case the said prince should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spanish monarchy, situated on the coast of Tuscany or the adjacent islands, comprehended under the name of Santo Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Portolongo, Piombino, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and Sebastian, and especially the Port Passage; and likewise all places on the French side of the Pyrennees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alava, or Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships and galleys, and other appurtenances belong-

ing to the galleys, should be given to the dauphin, in consideration of his right.

III. That the crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places both within and without Europe, should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, of whom his father the elector was to be a guardian and administrator till he came of age.

IV. That the duchy of Milan should be restored and allotted to the archduke Charles, the emperor's second son.

This treaty was to be communicated to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria by the king of England and the States-general; and if either should refuse to agree to this partition, his proportion should remain in sequestration till the dispute should be accommodated; and in case the electoral prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the elector was to succeed him in those dominions, and his heirs after him; and if the archduke should reject the duchy of Milan, it should be sequestered and governed by the prince of Vaudemont, and after his death by his son prince Charles*.

The destiny of a part of Europe, and the one half of America, thus settled, Lewis promised by this treaty of partition to renounce the entire succession to the Spanish dominions: the dauphin signed the same promise. France thought to make an addition to her territories. England and Holland had in view to insure the peace of Europe, by preventing the great Spanish monarchy from devolving to the Bourbon family: but all these politics were vain. The dying king being informed in what manner his dominions had been torn in pieces during his life-time, was filled with indignation. It was generally expected that upon hearing this news he would declare either the emperor or one of his sons his successor, as a reward for the former not having intermeddled in this shameful partition, and that he would make such a will as the house of Austria should dictate to him. He did indeed make a will, but it was in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria, whom he destined sole heir to his dominions. The Spanish nation, who dreaded nothing so much as the dismembering its monarchy, applauded the disposition its king had made, which seemed calculated to secure a peace. This hope however proved as vain as the treaty of partition, the prince of Bavaria, who was but an infant, dying at Brussels in the beginning of the following year.

The partition-treaty did not so entirely ingross the attention of William as to make him unmindful of the interests of the rest of Europe; and he exerted his utmost endeavours to terminate the war of Hungary, which had raged between the emperor and other powers and the Turks for fifteen years without intermission. About the middle of August lord Paget and Mr. Colliers, ambassadors from England and Holland, arrived in the Turkish camp near Belgrade; and a congress being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlowitz was signed, in which the Turks submitted to the laws imposed by the conquerors. The emperor had Transylvania; the Venetians had the Morea; the Muscovites, Asoph; and the Poles, Caminieck.

All Christendom was now happy and tranquil; the sound of war was no longer heard either in Asia or Africa; and the whole world was at peace during the two last years of the seventeenth century: a blessing, alas! of too short a duration; for the public calamities were soon awakened again. The peace of the North was disturbed in the year 1700 by two men, the most extraordinary the world ever produced, Peter emperor of Russia, and Charles XII. king of Sweden; and that of the South by the death of the king of Spain: but of these events in their place.

During his majesty's absence the elections for the new parliament were carried on in England with all the appearance of freedom, the ministry giving themselves very little trouble to influence the votes. Nevertheless, the returns were generally in favour of persons of Revolution-principles; but even this parliament, which the court thought they should find so much to their satisfaction, did not come entirely into their measures, as by their proceedings will appear. The parliament standing prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of November, a proclamation had been issued by the lords justices for its meeting on that day: but his majesty having been detained by contrary winds and tempestuous weather much longer than was expected, did not arrive in England till the third of December, and the parliament met on the ninth, when, going to the house, he opened the session with a speech, in which he recommended to them the keeping up such a force as might preserve that weight and influence they had at present on affairs abroad, and their making a further progress in discharging the debt the nation had contracted by the war; and concluded with recommending the three popular articles, the making provision for the poor, the advancement of trade, and the discouraging vice and prophaneness: but it is observable he made not the least mention to the two houses of the partition-treaty he had so lately concluded abroad, and which made so much noise afterwards. This was industriously concealed both from the privy-council and the parliament.

King William, in all probability, suspected the French king's sincerity in accepting so small a share of the Spanish monarchy for the dauphin, and therefore held it extremely proper to keep a body of troops in readiness, to compel the execution of the late treaty, in case of the king of Spain's death: but it seems the parliament, not being acquainted with this negotiation, did not apprehend there was any manner of reason to have so great an army on foot in time of peace: besides, the king had greatly offended them by a step he took just before his going over to Holland. He had left sealed orders with his ministry, directing that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. The new parliament was so irritated at this arbitrary act of the king's, that they resolved to thwart him in all his demands. Accordingly, with-

out staying so much as to take his speech into consideration, they came to the following resolution: "That all the land-forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men (and all those consisting of his majesty's natural born subjects) be forthwith paid off and disbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, exceeding twelve thousand men (and those his majesty's natural born subjects, to be kept and maintained in the said kingdom of Ireland) be likewise forthwith disbanded and paid off." They then ordered a bill to be brought in upon this resolution, which was eagerly pursued and carried through both houses; and by it the French protestant regiments, and even the king's favourite Dutch guards, were to be removed out of the British dominions*.

No words can paint the indignation of William at this conduct in his parliament; he was so sensibly affected with this instance of his subjects jealousy of him, that he actually formed a resolution of abandoning the government, and had even composed a speech, which he intended to have made on the occasion; he was, however, diverted from this rash scheme, and was at last persuaded, how much soever it might go against the grain, to give his assent to the bill for reducing the army: accordingly, on the first day of February, 1699, he came to the house of peers, and, instead of the before-mentioned speech, he delivered himself in the following terms: "I am come to pass the bill for disbanding the forces, as soon as I knew that it was ready for my assent. Though the reduction of the army to such an inconsiderable number may, in our present circumstances, be attended with the most fatal consequences; and though I might justly complain of the harsh treatment I have received, in being deprived of those guards who accompanied me into this kingdom, and have constantly attended me in all my fortunes; yet, as I am convinced that nothing can be more prejudicial to our common interest, than to suffer any jealousy or misunderstanding to arise between me and my people, I am firmly determined to comply with your request.

"Nevertheless, after having thus assigned my reasons for passing this bill, I must likewise, in discharge of the trust you have reposed in me, declare, that, in my opinion, the nation is left too naked and defenceless: it is your duty, therefore, to take this matter into your consideration, and immediately to provide such a strength as may be deemed necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of that peace which we have so lately obtained."

The commons, thinking they had now sufficiently humbled the king, judged proper to give him some instance of duty and affection on their side; and on the fourth of February presented an address of thanks, testifying "how sensible they were of the difficulties and labours he had undergone and sustained, and the hazards he had run in rescuing their religion and liberties, and giving peace to Christendom: they thanked him for his good-will and affection to his people, and the undeniable

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 92. During the debates in the house of commons on this bill, lord Cutts speaking very contemptuously of the militia (which body some urged were, or at least might be made, a sufficient guard for the kingdom alone) among other things said, that he would undertake with ten thousand regular troops to drive all the mi-

litia in the kingdom before him. To which another member replied, If ten thousand regular troops would be too hard for all our militia, ten thousand would be sufficient to enslave us; and for that very reason he would give his vote but for seven thousand; in which both houses concurred. See Parliamentary Debates, vol. iii.

proof he had given of his readiness to comply with their desires in parliament; assuring him that he should never have reason to think the commons undutiful or unkind to him, but that they would always support his person and government." The lords also concurred in a like address, promising to assist and defend his majesty with their lives and fortunes against all his enemies, both at home and abroad. To both which addresses the king returned this answer: "that he took their address very kindly; that he was fully sensible of their duty and affection, and did not doubt but they would always act in the manner they had expressed on the occasion."

Hereupon his majesty gave orders for disbanding the army in England, and reducing them to seven thousand men, which were to be kept on foot under the name of guards and garrisons: however, not being able to bear with the thought of parting with his Dutch guards, who had constantly accompanied him in all his military enterprizes, he tried once more to mollify the hearts of the commons, and, on the eighteenth of March, sent the lord Ranelagh with the following message to the house, all written with his own hand:

"W. R.

"His majesty is pleased to let the house know, that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that he intends to send them away immediately; unless, out of consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way to continue them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly."

The commons, however, were altogether inflexible; the king was fain to acquiesce, and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. It must be confessed, that on this occasion the house of commons seems to have been guided by a prejudice against the person of the king and the foreigners in his service; and such an opposition in an affair of very little consequence (that of retaining the Dutch guards only I mean), favoured more of clownish obstinacy than of patriotism: the fact seems to be, that there were numbers who had been instrumental in bringing about the Revolution from the hopes of deriving great personal advantages therefrom, either by being admitted to a share in the ministry, or having their avarice gratified by lucrative posts; but finding themselves not rewarded equal to their sanguine expectations, they had commenced secret enemies to the king and his government. William easily discovered the true motives of their conduct, and took no pains to disguise his sentiments: "Had I as many places to bestow (said he one day to lord Sunderland) as there are members in the house of commons, I should not know what it was to have my will disputed."

Harmony being thus restored, at least to outward appearance, between the king and his parliament, the latter proceeded to pass many good acts; they voted fifteen thousand men, and a proportionable number of ships of war, for the security of the kingdom; and granted one million four hundred

and eighty-four thousand and fifty-five pounds for the service of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions and offices: and as some violent Whigs began to charge the parliament with being Jacobitically inclined, because they would not consent to the keeping up a greater standing army, the commons, to confute this calumny, addressed his majesty to issue his proclamation for removing all papists, and others who disowned his majesty's government, from the cities of London and Westminster, and to put the laws in execution against them.

A fleet was sent, the latter end of last year, under the command of vice-admiral Aylmer, into the Mediterranean, with orders to secure the galleons, in case the French should attempt to seize them, on the death of the king of Spain; but for this the admiral certainly came too late, it being the thirteenth of September before he sailed from Portsmouth; and though his conduct was liable to no imputation in this respect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of admiralty for not fitting this fleet out sooner; and this, among other things, made up part of a charge against the management of the navy, by the house of commons, in an address they presented to the king, on the twenty-seventh of March this year (1699), wherein they represented, "That it is inconsistent with the service of the navy, for the same person to be one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, and treasurer of the navy:" at the same time pointing at Russel, earl of Orford. To which the king returned a soft answer, which yet was satisfactory enough to this charge: it ran in these words, "Gentlemen, I will consider of your address. It is my desire, that all sorts of mismanagements and irregularities should be prevented or redressed; you may be assured that I will take the best care I can in relation to the navy, the right management whereof is of great concern to the kingdom*."

The earl of Orford, who was at that time at the head of the navy, and who, as all our writers agree, governed pretty absolutely, on a supposition that bringing over to the court a body of men, who had been formerly looked upon as stubborn malecontents, would justify every measure that he should think necessary for so salutary a purpose, saw at what the commons were driving, and therefore very prudently resolved to abate the edge of their resentment, by laying down his employments, which he did accordingly: and thereupon a new commission of admiralty passed, in which the earl of Bridgewater, the lord Haversham, sir Robert Rich, sir George Rooke, and sir David Mitchel, were constituted lords commissioners.

On the fourth of May his majesty came to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to the bill for paying the army, providing for the navy, and other occasions; as also to several other acts, the principal of which were, an act to encourage the trade to Newfoundland†: the act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts; and for the encouragement

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. iii. p. 102.

† Sundry regulations were made concerning the Newfoundland trade and fishery, such as, "Its being made perfectly free for all subjects alike to trade thither, and to fish on its banks. That the first ship arriving at any of the harbours or creeks of Newfoundland, shall be deemed admiral there for that season;

the second ship so arriving, shall be vice-admiral; and the third rear-admiral; which three admirals shall have power to decide controversies concerning places or stations in harbours, stages, cook-rooms, &c. there: moreover, every by-boat keeper shall carry two fresh men with him in every six, viz. one that hath made but one voyage, and one that never

ment of the woollen manufactures of the kingdom of England†; an act for making Billingsgate a free market for sale of fish; an act to enable posthumous children to take estates, as if born in their fathers lifetime. His majesty then closed the session with a speech to both houses, wherein he tells them they had sat so many months, that the season of the year, as well as their own particular affairs, made it reasonable they should have a recess: he took it for granted they had finished all the bills they thought necessary, and he had given his assent to all they had presented him; if any thing else was wanting to their safety, the security of the public credit, discharge of the national debt, the advancement of trade, suppressing of vice, and employing the poor, which were all the things he proposed to them at their meeting, he did not doubt but effectual care would be taken of them next winter; and he wished no inconvenience might happen in the mean time: then the parliament was prorogued to the first of June, and afterwards by further prorogations to November following.

During this session of parliament, Henry d'Auverquerque, eldest son to Henry de Nassau d'Auverquerque, master of the horse to king William, was created earl of Grantham. On the twenty-eighth of March, 1699, Edward, earl of Warwick, was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, before the house of peers, for the murder of Richard Coote, esq. and was found guilty of manslaughter; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month, lord Mohun was tried for the murder of the same gentleman, and acquitted. The peers seemed to be of opinion that lord Warwick was most in fault (the affair being a drunken quarrel), by finding him guilty of manslaughter; and when he claimed the privilege of his peerage (as a commoner does the benefit of his clergy) he was advised not to offend again, because he could have the privilege of peerage but once.

The duke of Shrewsbury, secretary of state, finding his health decline, resigned that post, in order to travel into Italy, and was succeeded, on the fourteenth of May, by the earl of Jersey; and on the eighteenth of the same month the king declared Thomas, earl of Pembroke, lord-president of the council, and John, lord viscount Lonsdale, lord privy-seal. On the twenty first his majesty nominated lords-justices for the management of public affairs in his absence, and embarking the day after, at Margate, he landed at Orange Polder, in Holland; on the third of June, from whence he went to his favourite palace at Loo. It does not appear that his majesty transacted any great business during his stay in Holland, unless the drawing up memorials, asserting his claim to the principality of Neuchâtel, in Switzerland, to which the prince of Conti, and some others, pretended a prior right.

The Scottish company, notwithstanding the many discouragements and repulses which they had suffered in their attempts towards settling their foreign trade, were still determined to carry their scheme into execution; and accordingly this year they sent out five stout ships, and twelve hundred men, with all kinds of implements for war and commerce, in order to effect a settlement on the isthmus of Darien, which is a very narrow tract of country, uniting the two great continents of North and South America, and consequently very advantageously situated for trade. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and as the new colony sent thither, was to purchase their lands from the native proprietors (the Indians), they apprehended that no dispute would be raised against their establishment, from whence they promised themselves an immense treasure: and it must be owned, that, supposing all Europe but themselves to be fast asleep, the very advantageous situation of their colony, by which they would be enabled to supply Peru and Mexico with whatever they wanted from Europe, and in return supply Europe with the riches and product of those two opulent empires, seemed to promise, sooner or later, the accomplishment of most of the great things they had in view.

Having arrived safe at their intended port of Golden Island, on the coast of Darien, after having treated, on board their ships, with the natives, their men, at the request and with the consent of these latter, landed on the fourth of November, 1698, and immediately set about erecting a fort, which they called Fort St. Andrew, on a point of land about a league from Golden Island, where they found a safe capacious harbour; they also began to build a new town there, to be named New Edinburgh, as they did the whole country of Darien New Caledonia.

Great were the rejoicings made in Scotland on account of this landing; never considering that it would be the evident interest of all the commercial nations of Europe to frustrate their promising plan; for, besides the then general interest of England, considered by all men to be in immediate danger from this scheme, king Charles II. of Spain was then our ally, and the marquis de Canales, his ambassador at London, presented a very sharp memorial to king William, on the third of May this year, against the Darien settlement, which he termed "an insult of the Scots, in attempting to settle themselves in the very heart of the Spanish dominions in America, and what his master looked upon as a breach of the alliance between the two crowns." The Dutch likewise were extremely uneasy and jealous of this Scottish settlement, as tending to spoil their contraband trade from Curaçoa, &c. to the Spanish and American coasts; and might in time also prove very detrimental to their East In-

was at sea before: [this was obviously designed for the increase of our sailors.] And every inhabitant shall employ two such fresh men for every boat kept by them. Also every master of a fishing ship shall carry with him one that never was at sea before for every five men he shall carry. And for the preservation of timber on the island of Newfoundland, no person shall rind any of the trees, nor shall set on fire any of the woods," &c.

† "I. No wool, nor manufactories of wool, were to be exported from Ireland to any part of the world, but to England, and this only to the following ports; viz. Biddeford,

Barnstaple, Minchhead, Bridgewater, Bristol, Milford Haven, Chelster, and Liverpoole, from the Irish ports alone of Dublin, Waterford, Youghall, Kingsale, Corke, and Drogheda; under forfeiture of ships and cargoes, and also of five hundred pounds penalty.

"II. The like forfeitures are hereby inflicted on such as shall export in ships, or carry by horses, into any other place or colony out of the king's dominions, any wool or woollen manufactories of the English Plantations in America."

This is the first mention in our Statute Book of woollen manufactories in our American plantations.

dia company: lastly, the French were no less jealous of this company, on the score of their West India commerce, which at that time began to be considerable; and Lewis very modestly offered to supply the court of Madrid with a fleet to dislodge the interlopers, though at this very time the French themselves were just beginning to establish a colony in the bay of Mexico, at the mouth of the great river Mississippi, always esteemed a part of the Spanish Florida; and were likewise extending their late possession of the west end of Hispaniola, a part also of the Spanish territory.

Thus was king William teized and pressed on every side for the suppression of this new company, and was therefore necessitated to comply with the urgent desires of his own subjects of England, of the Dutch (whose stadtholder he was), and of his other allies, to send instructions to the governors of all our American colonies, forbidding them, under the severest penalties, to hold any correspondence with the Scottish planters, or assist them in any shape with arms, ammunition, or provision. This was a dreadful blow to the infant colony, who had hitherto received supplies both from Jamaica and New York, and had depended upon the continuance thereof, till their own from Scotland should arrive; of which now despairing, and the Spaniards advancing against them, they were glad to accept of a capitulation, and finally to abandon the enterprize, towards the end of this summer: it is generally asserted, that, out of so many stout men who went thither, scarce one hundred ever got back to Scotland. The condition also of the numerous subscribers to this scheme was truly wretched and deplorable; many of them had sustained an irrecoverable loss, and some of them were even reduced to absolute poverty. All these calamities greatly inflamed the Scottish parliament and people against their neighbours of England*.

Mean while king William enjoyed his favourite diversions of shooting and hunting at Loo, where he was visited by the old duke of Zell, with whom he had long maintained an intimate correspondence. During his residence in this place, the earl of Portland, the grand pensionary of Holland, and the French ambassador, count Tallard, had frequent conferences upon the subject of the Spanish succession; but the event shewed, that William, with all his politics, was made the dupe of the French court in this affair; Lewis having nothing more in view, than to amuse our king with a treaty, in which he should seem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe, until he should be able to accomplish his purpose of securing that succession in his own family. With this view he ordered the marquis d'Harcourt, his ambassador at Madrid, to exert his utmost endeavours in gaining the consent of his Spanish majesty; or, in case he should fail in his attempt, he should endeavour to hinder the succession passing to any of the emperor's children, pursuant to the will of Philip IV. At the same time the French king caused sixty thousand of his best troops to advance towards Catalonia; whilst a great number of ships and gallies

cruized along the coast, and entered the Spanish harbours.

The queen of Spain having discovered the designs of France, used her utmost endeavours to disappoint them, and secure the succession for the archduke Charles, second son of the reigning emperor Leopold, to whom she was nearly related. With this view, she, in concert with count Har-rach, the Imperial ambassador, new-modelled the council; bestowed the government of Milan on prince Vaudemont; appointed the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, viceroy of Catalonia; and conveyed the sick king to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was unwholesome; but in reality with a view of depriving the French minister of any opportunity of conversing with his majesty. Harcourt was too well versed in the arts of courts not to perceive the whole drift of this journey: he quickly followed to Toledo, under pretence of having a memorial to deliver into his catholic majesty's own hands; but the queen caused him to be acquainted, that the king had left the care of all foreign affairs to the cardinal of Corduba, at Madrid, to whom he might communicate his memorial; the king being being come to Toledo only to recover his health, and not to trouble himself about business.

Harcourt, thus baffled, set himself to form a party in the Spanish council: he represented that Philip IV. had exerted his power too far, in disposing of the crown; that the dauphin of France was next in blood†; and the duke of Anjou, his second son, who was young, and might be moulded as they pleased, would be the properest person to succeed; that, should they be averse to this proposal, the king his master would rather acknowledge the electoral prince of Bavaria, than consent to the Spanish crown's devolving to the house of Austria, already too powerful by its late conquest in Hungary. This able negotiator farther observed, that should Charles II. prefer the grandson of Lewis, this would not be an invalidation of the solemn renunciations to the crown of Spain, made by the mother and wife of the French monarch; because these had been made only to prevent the elder son of their descendants from uniting the two kingdoms together under one rule; and here it was not an elder son that was chosen: it was at the same time doing justice to the right of blood, and preserving the Spanish monarchy from a partition. By these and the like representations, added to his prodigious magnificence, his great dexterity at treating, and perfect knowledge in the art of pleasing, by which the marquis d'Harcourt had won all hearts, and changed into esteem and benevolence that antipathy which the Spanish nation had nourished against the French, he gained over to his side a great number of the Spanish ministers, and among others cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, and the count of Monterey, who had great influence in the councils of that nation‡.

All Europe being now at peace, king William found no business of state to detain him on the continent, and therefore returned to England this year, about the middle of October, in order to

* See Kennet, Burnet, State Tracts, and particularly a little treatise, entitled, An Enquiry into the Causes of the Mischance of the Scots Colony of Darien, 8vo, 1700.

† Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold were in the same degree of consanguinity; they were both grand-sons to Philip III. and had each married a daughter of Philip IV. therefore

the dauphin and Joseph, king of the Romans, eldest son to the emperor, were doubly in the same degree; but the right of primogeniture was in the house of France, the king and the dauphin being sons of the elder daughters.

‡ Volt. Hist of Europe. Tindal. Lamberti.

hold a parliament, and receive fresh supplies. The parliament meeting on the sixteenth of November, the king, in his speech to both houses, observed, "That his calling them together so early was owing to the absolute necessity of making some farther provision for the security of the kingdom by sea and land; and particularly recommended the repairing the royal navy, and fortifying our harbours: he put them in mind also of making good the deficiencies of the funds, discharging the national debt, and providing supplies for the following year: he hoped (he said) that the nation was already convinced of the good effects of the peace, by the manifest increase of their trade, which he should use his utmost endeavours to promote and encourage; nevertheless, he thought it might receive a farther advantage, by passing a bill for punishing the unlawful and clandestine running of goods; and by employing the poor, who were now become a burthen to the nation: he declared himself to be fully assured of the love and affection of his people, which he should endeavour to preserve, by maintaining their rights and liberties, supporting the established religion, dispensing justice with clemency and impartiality, by countenancing virtue and discouraging vice, and by declining no difficulties nor dangers to promote their welfare and prosperity." He then concluded in these words: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the public good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people."

The whole of this speech is truly worthy the mouth of a great and good prince; but so unaccountably peevish was the parliament, so bent upon mortifying their sovereign in every imaginable instance, that they shewed themselves dissatisfied with his speech, and affected to construe that advice of "acting with confidence in each other," into an implication of a distrust or want of confidence in them: instead, therefore, of an address of thanks, the commons, on the fourth of December, presented a sort of remonstrance, in which they tell his majesty, "That being highly sensible nothing was more necessary for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, the quieting the minds of the people, and the disappointing the designs of their enemies, than a mutual and entire confidence between his majesty and his parliament, they esteemed it their greatest misfortune, that, after having so amply provided for the security of his majesty and his government, any jealousy or distrust had been raised of their duty and affection: at the same time they begged leave to represent, that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between his majesty and his parliament, that he would be pleased to shew marks of his high displeasure towards such persons as should presume to misrepresent their proceedings to his majesty; and they should, on their part, discourage all false rumours and reports reflecting on his majesty and his government, whereby any misunderstanding might be created between him and his subjects §." To this the king replied, "that no persons had ever yet dared to misrepresent the proceedings of either

house; and if they had, they would immediately have felt the highest marks of his displeasure: and he took very kindly the assurance they gave him of discouraging all false rumours and reports reflecting upon him and his government *."

A patriotic jealousy and timely opposition to the first encroachments of arbitrary power, exerted upon proper occasions, cannot be too much applauded: but the misfortune is, that it has sometimes been assumed and exercised without any real cause, and has often been employed by artful and designing men as a cloak to conceal their own selfish and interested purposes. The present case affords an instance of this kind, and it were to be wished that the English history were not too replete with such examples. As they had found means to put the most odious interpretation upon a very harmless expression of the king in his speech, so the commons shewed themselves not at all inclined to be appeased by the smooth explanation and kind promises he offered them in his answer to their address: they determined to distress him, by prosecuting his ministers; and an affair happened about this time which furnished them with an excellent pretext for effecting their purpose.

There had been for many years loud and very just complaints of piracies in the West Indies, which for the sake of the profit made by purchasing their ill-gotten goods, had met with too much encouragement from the inhabitants of several of our plantations. This induced king William, in the year 1695, to appoint the earl of Bellamont, an Irish nobleman, and a person of great worth and honour, governor of New-York and of New-England. The earl, previous to his setting out to take upon him this office, thought it necessary to enquire into the most proper methods for extinguishing these abuses, and represented the matter to one colonel Livingstone, a gentleman of considerable property in New-York, as what nearly concerned the honour of that plantation. This induced the colonel to mention to his lordship one captain William Kidd, who was lately arrived from New York in a sloop of his own, as a brave bold fellow, who knew most of the pirates haunts, and might therefore be employed against them with great probability of success. The earl readily approved the scheme; and knowing how much the king had at heart the suppressing these piracies, he mentioned it to his majesty, who applauded the design, and recommended it to the board of admiralty: but the public affairs being then in a perplexed situation, and great difficulties found in manning the fleet, the board, though they signified their approbation of the thing, thought fit to lay it aside for that time †.

Lord Bellamont, disappointed in this quarter, proposed that if his majesty would give his authority, a ship might be fitted out by private adventurers, which would sufficiently answer the intended purpose. The king relished this proposal so well, and thought it of so great consequence to the public good, that he himself became a subscriber, and granted his letters-patent to Kidd, and those who might join in fitting him out for the expedition, for the sharing of all profits, prizes, &c. after the reservation of a tenth part to the crown.

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 106.

* Ibid.

† Oldmixon. Burnet.

The scheme hereupon was immediately carried into execution: the lord chancellor, the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, sir Edward Harrison, and colonel Livingstone already mentioned, engaged in the project. Six thousand pounds were subscribed in a few days; and a ship of sufficient force being equipped, the command of her was given to captain Kidd, whose commission was drawn in the common form, viz. "To take and seize pirates, and bring them to justice," without any special clause or proviso whatsoever. And more clearly to demonstrate that there was nothing secret or mysterious in this expedition, as the discontented part of the parliament affected afterwards to believe, we need only observe, from the most authentic histories of this affair, and even from the trial of Kidd himself, that he had no instructions, either public or private, only the earl of Bellamont gave him sailing orders, in which he was directed to act according to the letter of his commission.

But it happened that this man, instead of apprehending the pirates, engaged himself in the like scandalous practice. After having cruized about for some time, he at last came to Boston in New-England, where the earl of Bellamont seized him and what goods he had left, and sent advice of what he had done to England, desiring that a ship might be sent to bring him home. The Rochester was accordingly dispatched for this purpose; but she being disabled by a severe gale of wind, was obliged to return. This gave the disaffected party a handle to charge the ministry with authorizing and encouraging a piratical expedition, which they wanted to screen from the knowledge of the public: and such was the interest and influence of parties at this time, that an undertaking which was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a design of robbery and illicit plunder. Nay, so far was this prejudice carried, that on the sixth of December some hot-headed members in the opposition made a motion, "That the letters-patent granted to the earl of Bellamont, and others, of pirates goods, were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, an invasion of property, and destructive to commerce *." This motion however, to the credit of the house of commons be it spoken, was rejected with indignation by a great majority.

The next attempt the Country Party (as they called themselves) made, was against doctor Burnet bishop of Salisbury, whom they now endeavoured to remove from his office of preceptor to the duke of Gloucester, for which they alleged he was utterly unqualified, as well on account of his being a Scotchman, as by his having written the Pastoral Letter which had been burned by order of the parliament; and in which he had asserted that king William and queen Mary had a right to the crown by conquest. A motion was accordingly made for that purpose, but it met with the fate of the former. The bishop about this time had published his noted work, called, An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, of which he himself gives a most pompous account in the History of his own Times; and indeed the good bishop seems, in most instances that regard

himself, to have possessed no common share of vanity and self-complacency.

In the mean time a supply was granted for the support of the fleet and army, when it was resolved to adopt the same scheme of reduction which had prevailed in the last session; and it was resolved on the twenty-first of December that seven thousand seamen were sufficient for the naval service of the ensuing year.

But the circumstance on which the anti-courtiers built their chief hope of distressing or disgracing the government, was the Irish forfeitures, which the king had distributed among his own dependants. This business had indeed been begun the preceding session, and the following persons had been appointed to take an account of the said forfeited estates, viz. the earl of Drogheda, Francis Annesley, esq. John Trenchard, esq. James Hamilton, esq. Henry Langford, esq. sir Richard Leving, and sir Francis Brewster.

Upon the report of those gentlemen, made to the house of commons on the fifteenth of December this year, it appeared, that the persons outlawed in Ireland since the thirteenth of February 1688, on account of the late rebellion there, amounted in number to three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one: that all the lands in the several counties in Ireland belonging to the forfeited persons, as far as they could reckon, made one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres, worth about two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds per annum, which by computation of six years purchase for a life, and thirteen years for the inheritance, came to the full value of two millions six hundred eighty-five thousand one hundred and thirty pounds: that some of those lands had been restored to the old proprietors, by virtue of the articles of Limerick and Galway, and by his majesty's favour by reversal of outlawries and royal pardons, obtained chiefly by gratifications to such persons who had abused his majesty's royal bounty and pardon. Beside these restitutions, which they thought to be corruptly procured, they gave an account of seventy-six grants and custodiams under the great-seal of Ireland. As,

	Acres.
To the lord Romney three grants now in being, containing	49,517
To the earl of Albemarle in two grants in possession and reversion	108,663
To William Bentinck, esq. lord Woodstock	135,820
To the earl of Athlone (Ginckle) two grants, containing	26,480
To the earl of Galway (Ruvigny) the grant of	36,148
To Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, afterwards countess of Orkney	100,000

Upon which the commissioners observed, that after all deductions and allowances, there remained no less than a million and an half of money to be raised by the sale of these forfeited estates. Several animadversions were made upon this report, and the commissioners were charged with very gross errors and impositions, as well in computing the number of acres, as in ascertaining the value

of the estates. Indeed it appears that they did not agree among themselves; for three of them, viz. the earl of Drogheda, sir Richard Leving, and sir Francis Brewster, refused to concur with their colleagues in the report, and even sent a memorial to the parliament, explaining the reasons of their dissent; but no regard was paid to their representation: the report of the others was approved, and a bill brought into the house of commons "for applying all the forfeited estates and interests in Ireland, and all grants thereof, and of the rents and revenues belonging to the crown within that kingdom, since the thirteenth of February 1688, to the use of the public:" and on the eighteenth of January, 1700, it was resolved, "That the advising, procuring, and passing the aforesaid grants, was highly reflecting on the king's honour, and that the officers and instruments concerned in the procuring and passing these grants had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty." Then it was voted that this resolution should be presented to the king, which was accordingly done on the twenty-first of February; to which the king, five days after, returned this answer:

"Gentlemen, I was not only led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice to reward those who had served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion there: the long war in which we were engaged did occasion great taxes, and has left the nation much in debt; and the taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, is what in my opinion will best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the kingdom."

The commons were so nettled with this answer, that they resolved, "That whoever had advised it had used his utmost endeavour to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people *." They also resolved, on the seventh of March, that the following commissioners, viz. the earl of Drogheda, Francis Annesley, esq. John Trenchard, James Hamilton, Henry Longford, esqrs. and James Hooper, esq. their secretary, should each of them receive one thousand pounds for their service; and sir Richard Leving and sir Francis Brewster, the other two commissioners, each of them 500 l. only, for their expences. Sir Richard Leving they had before voted to be sent to the Tower for having, in his protest against the report given by his colleagues, been the author

of several false and scandalous aspersions upon their character, &c.

The commons being apprehensive that the bill of resumption, which passed their house on the second of April, 1700, would meet with a strong opposition in the house of peers; artfully tacked it to the land tax bill, so that the one could not be rejected without defeating the other. When the bill came up to the lords, they did not shew any disposition to pass it, on a double account; first, because they looked upon it as a reflection upon his majesty; and, secondly, because this method of tacking it to a money-bill, entirely deprived their lordships of considering the expediency of it. However, the king being in great want of money, is said to have sent to the lords, desiring them to pass it, which they did immediately after. We cannot forbear observing, in relation to this affair, that it was certainly a great blemish in king William's character, that he was immoderately partial and lavish to those whom he personally loved, of whom the countess of Orkney, and the earls of Portland and Albemarle, were the most distinguished instances. It is possible the commons might have noticed this partiality, and could not without resentment behold such prodigious tracts of land given to foreigners, while the duke of Ormond, the earl of Marlborough, general Douglas, general Talmash, Cutts, and other British officers, who were eminently instrumental in the reduction of Ireland, had not a foot of land granted to any one of them. It was this conduct that gave an handle to the enemies of his person and government, to represent him as confining his affections wholly to foreign favourites, and that he hated the company, and even the sight of Englishmen. Certain it is, the English were not behind-hand in their endeavours to mortify him, which they never so completely effected as by carrying this bill: but yet, as if not satisfied with their victory, the commons proceeded to absurd lengths in their career; for they came to a resolution to address his majesty, That no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highness George prince of Denmark, should be admitted into his councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway: but before the address could be presented, the king came to the house of peers on the eleventh of April; and having passed such bills as were ready for his assent †, and

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 120—124.

† The bills signed by the king this session were, An act for taking away the bounty for exporting corn, there having been a great scarcity of corn the preceding year. An act for granting an aid to his majesty by sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland, and by a land-tax in England (which was two shillings in the pound). An act for laying further duties on wrought silks, muslins, and other East India goods; and for purchasing other reverfionary annuities. An act for the more effectual employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactories of this kingdom. An act for ascertaining the measures for retailing ale and beer. An act to enable his majesty's natural-born subjects to inherit the estates of their ancestors, either lineal or collateral, notwithstanding their fathers or mothers were aliens. An act for preventing frivolous and vexatious suits in the principality of Wales and the counties palatine. An act for the further preventing the growth of popery. An act for the more effectual punishment of vagrants, and sending them whither by law they ought to be sent. An act to prevent any dispute that may arise by officers and members of corporations having ne-

glected to sign the association, and taking the oaths in due time. An act to punish governors of plantations in this kingdom, for crimes committed by them in the plantations. An act for the more effectual suppression of piracy. An act to repeal an act made in the ninth year of his majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for rendering the laws more effectual for the preventing the importation of foreign bone-lace, loom-lace, needle-work, point and cut work, three months after the prohibition of the woollen manufactory in Flanders shall be taken off." An act for the better ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax. An act to enable justices of the peace to build and repair gaols in their respective counties. An act for continuing several laws therein mentioned, and for explaining the act, entitled, "An act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts, and for the encouragement of the woollen manufactories of the kingdom of England." An act for the better explanation and execution of former acts touching water-men and wherry-men rowing on the river of Thames; and for the better ordering and governing the said water-men, wherry-men, and lighter-men,

and prorogued the parliament to the twenty-third of May.

Among the acts of this session a very remarkable one passed against papists, a complaint being received against the growth of popery: the same was referred to a committee; and when Mr. How the chairman made his report, it was proposed to bring in a bill to oblige all persons educated in the Romish religion, or suspected to be of it, who should succeed to any estate before they were of the age of eighteen, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the test as soon as they came of that age; and till they did it their estate was to devolve to the next of kin that was a protestant, but was to return back to them upon their taking the oaths. All popish priests were also banished by this bill, and were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment if they should again return into England; and the reward of one hundred pounds was offered to any person who should discover a popish priest, so as to convict him. This act obtained the royal assent; but as it wanted several necessary clauses, and was in other respects very indefinite, it was not followed nor executed in any sort*.

Some little time before the prorogation of the parliament, a motion had been made to address his majesty to remove John lord Somers, lord-chancellor, from his presence and councils; but upon putting it to the vote, it was carried in the negative. The Tories, however, finding that the king was highly chagrined by the violence of the Whigs during this session, had found means to worm themselves into William's confidence, who indeed seems to have been always veering from one party to another, and gave him the most positive assurances, that if he would dismiss a few of his Whig ministers, and admit some of their own party, they would serve him with greater zeal than ever the Whigs had done. William fell in with their proposals; and the first sacrifice he made them was the lord Somers, whom they considered as the principal leader of the Whig party. Accordingly, the king sent for that nobleman to court, and told him that it seemed necessary for his service that he should part with the seals, and wished that he would make the doing this appear an act of his own; but that nobleman positively refused to take any step of that kind, which the world would readily construe into a consciousness of guilt or misbehaviour in his office. The king however being determined, the earl of Jersey was sent to him on the seventeenth of April, with an order to deliver the seals, with which he instantly complied. Thus was the lord Somers dismissed from this great office, which he had filled with distinguished reputation for near seven years. The seals were committed to the custody of sir Nathan Wright, one of the king's serjeants at law, with the title of lord-keeper.

In the course of the late session a bill was introduced into the house of commons for continuing the old East India company till the expiration of their charter at Michaelmas 1701. A state of their case was at the same time published, in which the

equity of their claim was attempted to be proved, and the injuries they had sustained were greatly exaggerated. A violent opposition was made to this bill by the members of the new company; but the influence of their great patron Mr. Montagu being upon the decline, the bill was actually carried through both houses, and at last received the royal assent; so that there were now two rival companies of merchants trading to the East Indies: and such was at this time the force of party, in a matter which one should imagine ought to be of no party, that these two companies divided almost the whole nation into the two opposite factions of the Old and New Companies; the former generally favoured by the Tories, and the latter by the Whigs, who vented their spleen against each other in the most bitter invectives.

Besides the affairs of England, the king found himself extremely perplexed by the remonstrances of the Scots in behalf of *their* India company. The house of peers had, during the session, addressed his majesty against the Scottish settlement at Darien in America, but the commons did not think fit to join with them in that address. The king answered the lords by proposing a union between the two kingdoms, as the only effectual way to prevent all disputes of this nature for the future; and the lords accordingly brought in a bill for authorizing commissioners of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland on that subject; but the commons refusing their concurrence, the bill was dropped. In the mean time, the Scots drew up an address to his majesty, which was sent about the Scottish kingdom, and signed by many thousands; after which it was presented to the king on the twenty-fifth of March this year by the lord Ross, and several of the principal Scottish nobility, who came up for that purpose. This address was conceived in a very high strain: it was filled with warm complaints of their having been sacrificed, and basely betrayed in that quarter where they were entitled to protection; concluding in this remarkable manner: "Wherefore we in all humble duty most earnestly intreat, and most *assuredly expect*, that your majesty will order your parliament of Scotland to meet as soon as possible, which we doubt not will tend to the honour of your majesty, and the general good and satisfaction of the nation." Upon the presenting of this address, the commissioners intimated to his majesty, that they hoped he would look upon it not only as a petition for allowing the parliament to sit, but likewise as a testimony of the nation's concern for the interest of the Indian and African company. His majesty returned for answer, That it would be best known in parliament, which could not sit before the fourteenth of May; but it should sit then. Accordingly, against that time he sent down the duke of Queensberry in the character of his high-commissioner, charging him with a letter to the Scottish parliament, wherein he tells them, That he had purposed to hold that session in person, but that the present circumstances of affairs abroad would not allow it. He expresses great sorrow for the

men, upon the said river, between Gravesend and Windsor. An act for taking away the duties upon the woollen manufactures, corn, grain, bread, biscuits, and meal, exported. An act for the appointing commissioners to take, examine, and

determine the debts due to the army, navy, and transport-service; and also an account of the prizes taken during the late war.

* Burnet.

losses their nation had suffered in its trade: and after recommending to them the furnishing proper supplies, the encouraging manufactures, and other the like matters, he concluded with assuring them that he would maintain their laws, liberties, and kirk (that is, presbyterian) government.

The Scots however looked upon this as only an evasive answer, and they continued still in violent agitation. An address was presented to the parliament of that kingdom by the shire of Haddington, in which the addressers enumerated, with great acrimony, the losses they had suffered in trade; and in particular complained of the grievous hardships the nation lay under, by having a numerous body of forces kept on foot, which occasioned them, in times of peace, heavy and unnecessary taxes, while their much wealthier neighbours (the English) were disbanding their troops. The Scottish parliament now adopted the East India and African company as a national concern: and upon the reading of this address, and several others of a like tendency sent in from different parts of the kingdom, it was moved to resolve, "That the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement, and that the parliament would maintain and support the same;" which the high-commissioner observing was likely to be carried in the affirmative, adjourned the parliament for three days; and at their next meeting for twenty days longer: in short, they were not suffered to sit till the winter following: and their settlement at Darien being then surrendered to the Spaniards, they could only lament their misfortunes (owing in a great measure to their own precipitate conduct and over sanguine hopes) and shew their resentment by angry speeches and abusive pamphlets*.

By the death of the young electoral prince of Bavaria, which happened on the sixth of February last year, during the sitting of the parliament, new intrigues began to be revived again in regard to the Spanish succession. Lewis XIV. king William, and the States-General, disposed once more of that monarchy in idea, and assigned to the archduke Charles, the emperor's youngest son, that part which they had before given to the infant prince lately deceased. They gave Milan to the duke of Lorraine; and Lorraine, so often invaded and so often restored again by France, was to be annexed to that crown for ever. This second treaty of partition, which was concluded on the fifteenth of March, N. S. and which set the politics of all the princes of Europe at work to support or thwart it, proved as useless as the first. When this treaty of partition was offered to the emperor to sign, he refused, because he was in hopes of having the entire succession. This treaty was concealed from the English parliament and privy-council, as the former had been.

His majesty having now resolved to go abroad, was pleased on Midsummer-day to constitute Edward earl of Jersey, lord chamberlain; Henry earl of Romney, groom of the stole; and the earl of Carlisle was made one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber: the order of the garter was also confer-

red on Keppel earl of Albemarle, the king's new favourite, and on the earl of Pembroke president of the council. On the twenty-seventh of June his majesty appointed a regency† to manage the government in his absence, and on the seventh day of July embarked for Holland, where he arrived five days after.

Soon after his majesty's departure the duke of Gloucester, the only surviving son of the prince of Denmark, was taken ill of a fever, occasioned by overheating himself on his birth-day, the twenty-fourth of July, when he entered into the eleventh year of his age. He died on the twenty-ninth of the same month, to the inexpressible grief of their royal highnesses, being the last of seventeen children that had proceeded from this marriage: but the loss sustained by the death of this young prince was looked upon as irreparable by all who had any concern for their native country, the duke being the last of our native princes. It was yet concealed in the mystic roll of fate, that Britain was to be indebted to the illustrious house of Brunswick for every blessing and every glory that could make her the envy, admiration, and dread of her sister nations: advantages which seem perpetuated to us by the prospect of a long line of those heroes and fathers of their people.

King William was at Loo when he received the melancholy news of the death of the duke of Gloucester; soon after which the bishop of Osnabrug, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the elector of Bavaria, the electoral prince of Brandenburg, the electress of Brandenburg, and the electress-dowager of Hanover, attended his majesty at the Hague, where it was supposed that the state of the royal family of England by the young duke's death, was taken into consideration, and the business of the succession to the crown of these realms so far concerted, as to have it laid before the two houses at the ensuing session of parliament.

In the mean time the peace of the North was greatly affected by a war which had arisen between the kings of Denmark and Sweden. It will be necessary to say something as to the grounds of this war, because the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the English nation, and may serve as a lasting lesson to our all ministers, that whenever there appears an absolute necessity to succour an ally, it should be done without delay, and prosecuted with vigour, which will not only effectually serve him, but save ourselves a very considerable expence. Towards the close of the last year (1699) several princes of Germany had entered into a private treaty with the king of Denmark for attacking Charles XII. king of Sweden, at that time a mere lad, and even for dismembering the Swedish monarchy. Pursuant to this scheme, the king of Denmark (Frederick IV.) was to invade Holstein; the elector of Brandenburg was to fall upon Swedish Pomerania; Augustus II. king of Poland, was to attack Livonia; and in case the dukes of Zell and Hanover moved to the assistance of the Swedes, the landgrave of Hesse and the duke of

* State Tracts. Burnet. Oldmixon.

† The regency consisted of the archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Nathan Wright, lord-keeper; the earl of Pembroke, lord-president of the council; viscount Lonsdale, lord privy-seal;

the duke of Devonshire, lord-steward; the earl of Bridgewater, first commissioner of the admiralty; the earl of Marlborough, governor of his highness the duke of Gloucester; and the earl of Tankerville, first commissioner of the Treasury.

Wolfenbottle were to cut out work for them. This was an alliance founded entirely upon interest, for the Swedes had done nothing to deserve this treatment. The duke of Holstein, who had married the king of Sweden's sister, had built some new forts in that duchy, which the king of Denmark complained of as contrary to the Condominium which he and the duke had in that territory; and this, it seems, was the only ground upon which he entered into the league against Holstein and Sweden. However that might be, young Charles no sooner found himself likely to be attacked, than he ordered his ministers at our court and at the Hague, to press king William before he went abroad, and also the States-general, to act in their capacities of guaranties of the treaties made for securing the tranquility of the North, by preserving there the proper balance of power. At first it was thought requisite only to interpose our good offices: but when the king of Denmark overran Holstein, and the king of Poland first attempted to surprize, and then besieged in form Riga in Livonia, it became necessary to take other measures, especially as czar Peter of Muscovy appeared inclinable to enter into the confederacy. Bishop Burnet tells us, that king William was for some time in debate with himself, whether or not he should take the proper steps agreeable to the treaties he was engaged in with the crown of Sweden, without consulting the house of commons; but weighing well the ill humour they were in, and the measures they had taken to thwart all his inclinations, he resolved, as the executive part of the government lay in him, to proceed according to his own judgment for the present, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting.

Agreeable to this resolution, his majesty, soon after the end of the last session, sent over a strong squadron into Holland, under the command of sir George Rooke, who in the latter end of May was joined by a Dutch squadron; and taking upon him the command of the united fleet, he sailed for the Sound, where he arrived on the twentieth of June. Here they were joined by count Wuchtmeister, admiral-general of Sweden, with a squadron he had under his command; and the combined fleets soon afterwards bombarded Copenhagen, to the harbour of which the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty-eight line of battle ships, had retired. A body of Swedes then at Bremen crossed the Elbe, advanced to the assistance of the duke of Holstein, and compelled the Danes to relinquish the siege of Tonninghen, which they had formed. The young king of Sweden, much about the same time, made a descent upon Zealand, the largest and most fruitful island in the Baltic, belonging to Denmark, and situated at the entrance of that sea*; which enterprize was executed with equal spirit and success. Charles was the first man that landed; and he here displayed such marks of courage and intrepidity as filled his enemies with the utmost consternation. This was greatly increased, by the disposition he made for laying siege to Copenhagen, which struck the Danes with such a panic, that they were glad to avoid the impending danger by an immediate peace; for which a treaty was set on

foot, under the mediation of king William, at Travendahl: and this being signified to sir George Rooke, he refused to let the combined fleets any longer cover the descent of the Swedes; and a peace was concluded on the eighteenth of August 1700, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, which left Charles at liberty to act against the czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions at this critical juncture †.

King William's conduct in this whole affair was greatly applauded, and indeed with justice; for he at once effectually protected the Swedes, and yet obliged them to accept of reasonable terms of peace, by which the balance of power was properly preserved; which, if Copenhagen had been taken, would have inclined too much the other way. Hostilities being now at an end, the combined fleets of England and Holland returned to their respective ports; and the States-general were so sensible of the prudent and spirited conduct of sir George Rooke, that they thanked his majesty for having entrusted him with the command ‡.

About this time the new partition-treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, from whom it generally met with a very unfavourable construction: the people of Spain in particular were exasperated to the highest degree at the insolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. They had a settled hatred to the house of Austria: the young archduke Charles used never to mention the Spaniards but with some opprobrious appellation. He soon experienced how incumbent it is on princes, as well as private men, to weigh all their words. The bishop of Lerida, who was ambassador from the court of Madrid to that of Vienna, on some occasion of dislike against the Germans, collected those expressions, and transmitted them with considerable exaggerations to his court in his dispatches. They were made public; and the bishop of Lerida being soon after recalled, on his return to Madrid he doubly increased the aversion which his countrymen had to the Germans. The French had engaged in their interests the cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis of Monterey, and the marquis de las Balbases, with many other persons of family and distinction in Spain: these joined together to prevent the dismembering of the monarchy. Their hatred to the Austrian government added a double weight to reasons of state in their breast. They persuaded the Spanish monarch to prefer the grandson of Lewis XIV. (the duke of Anjou) to a prince who was at so great a distance from them, and incapable of defending them. The scrupulous king caused all his divines to be consulted on this head, who were unanimously of opinion with the council; and ill as he was, Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to pope Innocent XII. proposing the case to him. The pope, who thought the liberty of Italy depended upon weakening the house of Austria, wrote back for answer, "That the laws of Spain, and the good of Christendom, required of him to give the preference to the house of Bourbon." This letter of the pope was dated July 16, N. S. 1700. Here, observes M. de Voltaire, the

* There is also a province of the same name in Holland, consisting of eight islands, in the mouth of the Scheld.
† Present State of Europe. Life of King William. Le

Clerc, &c.

‡ Naval History. Lives of Admirals.

pope treated a case of conscience proposed by a sovereign as an affair of state, while the king of Spain made a case of conscience of an important affair of state*.

The pope's opinion was strongly supported by the remonstrances of Portocarrero; and the weak prince complied with the proposal, and made a fresh will in the beginning of October, N. S. by which he bequeathed all his dominions to the duke of Anjou. It was generally thought in Europe that this will of Charles II. had been forged by the cardinal; but if it be observed how generally the Spaniards came into this project, and that they delivered up all the Spanish territories to the duke of Anjou voluntarily, without any compulsion, it may surely be inferred with some appearance of truth, that it was the act of the whole nation: but however that was, the king of France still seemed to act heartily as a principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts ceased not to solicit, in conjunction with those of the maritime powers, the accession of the other powers of Europe. When count Zinzendorf, the imperial minister at Paris, presented a memorial, desiring to know what part France would act, should the king of Spain voluntarily offer the throne to a grandson of Lewis; the marquis de Torcy answered in writing, That his most Christian majesty would never listen to such a proposal.

The partition-treaty was no sooner known in England, than it excited various and even opposite sentiments in the nation. Some approved of it as the only possible means of preventing the Spanish monarchy from becoming an accession to the crown of France; and it was on this principle that William engaged in the treaty. Others condemned it as a measure which would increase the power of France to a dangerous height, and maintained that it was our business to compel Lewis to adhere to the renunciation which he and his queen had formerly made. The Jacobites greedily laid hold of this circumstance to render the king odious to his subjects; and the general distraction that prevailed throughout the kingdom filled them with hopes of being able to establish the succession upon the person of the pretended prince of Wales; nay, so sanguine were their expectations on this head, that they are said to have dispatched Mr. Graham, a brother of lord Preston, to St. Germain with an overture for this purpose, and an assurance that the house of commons would not stand by king William in the execution of the partition-treaty.

In this violent crisis of affairs king William left Holland, and arrived in England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himself involved; and in the beginning of the next month he received advice that the king of Spain was actually dead. This was an event he hourly expected, but it was attended with a circumstance he had little foreseen; I mean the last will of that monarch, by which he had declared the duke of Anjou (afterwards Phi-

lip V.) second son of the dauphin of France, sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the duke of Anjou and one of the archduchesses.

This will had been kept so secret, that the count de Harrache, the emperor's ambassador, still flattered himself that the archduke would be acknowledged Charles's successor. He waited a long time for the breaking up of the great council, which was held immediately upon the king's death. At length, seeing the duke of Abrantes coming towards him with open arms and a smiling countenance, he made sure that the archduke was king; when Abrantes, embracing him, accosted him thus; "Vengo ad expedir me de la casa de Austria: I am come to take my leave of the house of Austria †."

When this testament was first notified to the French court, Lewis seemed for some time undetermined whether he should still abide by the treaty of partition, which was very profitable for France; or whether he should accept the will, which was so advantageous to his family; and to carry the farce on with the same dexterity he had begun it, he caused an extraordinary council of state to be summoned; the result of which was, that Lewis accepted the will. The duke of Anjou was hereupon declared king of Spain in the court of France on the sixteenth of November, N. S. was proclaimed at Madrid, by the direction of Lewis, the twenty-fourth of the same month; and on the fourth of December the new king set out for Spain, in company with his two brothers, who attended him as far as the frontiers of France.

Some little time before the decease of the Spanish king, pope Innocent died; and was succeeded by cardinal Albani, who took the name of Clement XI. This pope was the youngest that had for many years been inaugurated, and sat longer than most had done in the list of Roman pontiffs; not dying till the year 1721. He was but little acquainted with public affairs, but was very learned; and in so critical a time, a pope of courage and spirit was thought the fittest person to fill the Roman see.

Lewis XIV. by accepting of the king of Spain's will in favour of his grandson, had acted so directly contrary to his engagements with England and Holland, that he found some difficulty in justifying his conduct to those two powers. However, he sent his minister the marquis de Torcy to wait on the earl of Manchester, the English ambassador at Paris, with orders to represent that his most Christian majesty had duly weighed the occasion and intent of the late treaty with England, &c. which was to prevent a war with Europe; but finding that the emperor had refused to accede

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

† Ibid. This author also gives us the following character of Charles II. of Spain. "This prince was from his birth as weak in mind as body; and this weakness had spread itself through his dominions. It is the fate of monarchies to have their prosperity depend upon the disposition of a single man:

Charles II. had been brought up in such profound ignorance, that when the French were besieging Mons, he thought that place belonged to the king of England. He neither knew whereabouts Flanders lay, nor what places belonged to him there. This king left the duke of Anjou all his dominions, without knowing what he had given him.

thereto, and the duke of Savoy absolutely rejected the accepting of Naples and Sicily, and there having appeared discontentments both in England and Holland against the French being masters of those two kingdoms, in relation to the trade of the Levant; and moreover, none of the princes that the treaty had been communicated to having promised more than a bare neutrality, his most Christian majesty, upon consideration of the premises, could not but think there was a necessity for his accepting what the will of the king of Spain had declared in favour of the duke of Anjou, which should he have refused, he said the archduke would have had a double title, viz. from the will of Philip IV. and that of the deceased king: that the Spaniards were so unwilling to see their monarchy dismembered, that they would defend their whole kingdom to the last province, rather than suffer the partition-treaty to be executed: that the ships which were to be furnished by Great Britain and Holland would not be sufficient for effecting such a purpose: that it was certain the treaty was more advantageous to France than the will, which the most Christian king had accepted, merely from a desire of preserving the peace of Christendom; and that his majesty hoped that these reasons would so far prevail with the king of England, that there might still be the same good understanding as ever between the two crowns, which was so necessary for the good and tranquility of Europe.

The same topics were employed by monsieur Briord, the French ambassador at the Hague: but the States-general ordered Heemskerke, their envoy at Paris, to present a memorial, wherein they testified their great surprize at his most Christian majesty's having accepted the will of the late king of Spain, in direct contravention to the solemn engagements he had entered into with them and the court of England: adding, that as the time limited for the emperor to accede to the treaty was not yet expired, they could never have doubted but that his most Christian majesty would have adhered to his treaties in every article. Lewis in answer to this sent a letter to the States, in which he replied, that the principal design of the treaty being to prevent the union of the two kingdoms of France and Spain under one sovereign, this was effectually provided for by the will, the heirs of the duke of Anjou being rendered incapable of the crown of Spain if they succeeded to that of France; so that he had still adhered to the spirit and intent of the partition-treaty, though he might have departed from the letter*. A memorial to the same purpose was dispatched to all the courts of Europe. Soon after, Don Bernardo, the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, presented their High Mightinesses with a letter from his new master, notifying his accession. The States however declined giving any answer to this, or the French king's pressing remonstrances for them to acknowledge his grandson's title, on pretence that they could not declare themselves upon affairs of such consequence without consulting their respective provinces.

The emperor loudly complained against the French king for having accepted the will; but in his present circumstances he could do nothing more than complain. The Spaniards, however, fearful

that his imperial majesty might prevail on the maritime powers to join with him in a league to set aside the succession of the duke of Anjou, and bring them under the hated dominion of the house of Austria; and well considering their own inability to defend their territories against such a confederacy, should it be formed, took the resolution of throwing themselves into the arms of France, and depending upon her for protection. In pursuance of this resolve, the duke of Bavaria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, had orders to yield up all the towns and fortresses in that country to the French, and admit their troops into the garrisons: the same was done in the duchy of Milan. A French fleet was received into the harbour of Cadiz, and another dispatched to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Thus Lewis XIV. saw the kingdom of Spain, America, one half of Italy, and the Low-Countries, fall under his orders, without his having been at the trouble of striking a blow; while all Europe at first seemed lost in surprize, and unable to bestir itself, when it saw the Spanish monarchy become subject to France, whose rival it had been for three hundred years; and the prospect was the more alarming, because the duke of Burgundy had then no children, and by this means the king of Spain was in time likely to succeed to the crown of France. A great part of the Dutch army lay scattered up and down in the garrisons of the Spanish Netherlands, particularly in Luxembourg, Namur, and Mons; and upon the cession of these to the French, and the refusal of the Dutch troops to acknowledge the new king of Spain, they were made prisoners of war. This stroke filled the States with terror and dismay: they were in a defenceless condition, and without an army to oppose the progress of the French and Spanish troops, should they attempt to invade their territories. These considerations determined their High Mightinesses to avert the impending danger, by acknowledging the duke of Anjou as king of Spain; and they accordingly wrote a letter to the French king for that purpose; which was no sooner received than orders were dispatched for sending back their battalions†.

France seemed now advancing with haughty strides towards an universal monarchy; and to add to the calamity of Europe, England, who was the only power capable of protecting and defending the rest, was at this period weakened and enervated by intestine factions and home-bred broils. William burned with indignation at finding himself thus outwitted by the French king; and in all probability, had he been able to engage in a new war, he would have revenged himself on that perfidious monarch: but, conscious of his own inability to take a suitable revenge, he wisely dissembled his chagrin until he should have founded the opinion of the other powers of Europe. In the mean time, being heartily wearied with the factious and turbulent spirit of the Whigs, he threw himself into the arms of the Tories. He now gave his confidence to the earl of Rochester, who was the head of that party, and had undertaken for their submission and compliance with the king's will. This nobleman was now appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; the privy-seal was delivered to the earl of Tanker-

ville, who succeeded lord Londale; sir Charles Hedges was made secretary, in the room of the earl of Jersey; and the lord Godolphin was appointed first commissioner of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Charles Montagu, who was created earl of Halifax; the management of the commons was entrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who, tho' of a presbyterian family, and educated in Whiggish principles, had hitherto opposed the court with great warmth and ability, on a disgust he had taken at not being considered at the Revolution in the manner he thought he deserved.

This new ministry, however, upon comparing notes, soon found that they had not sufficient weight of interest to carry their points in the present parliament, which had been summoned to sit on the twenty-first of November, and afterwards prorogued to the fifteenth of January: they therefore persuaded his majesty to dissolve this parliament by proclamation, and to issue writs for convoking a new one, which was appointed to meet on the sixth of February following.

Before the meeting of the English parliament, that of Scotland, which, agreeable to the king's promise, had been convened this winter, notwithstanding the heats they were in about the miscarriage of their settlement at Darien, and some other matters, at length came to this salutary resolve, "That in memory of the great and never to be forgotten deliverance, which it had pleased God to give that kingdom by his majesty; and for that their safety and happiness depended, under God, upon the preservation of his person, and the security of his government, they would stand by and support his majesty and his government to the utmost of their power, and maintain such forces as should be necessary for these ends." Accordingly, an act passed for keeping on foot three thousand men till the first of December, 1702, and another for a land-tax to maintain these troops: which done, the commissioner produced the king's letter, wherein his majesty desired that he might have one thousand one hundred men on his own account to the first of June following, which the parliament readily complied with, and then were prorogued to the sixth of May. The duke of Queensberry and the earl of Argyle had exerted themselves with so much success in calming the minds of the Scottish assembly, and rendering them more amicable to the desires of the government, that king William thought himself under a necessity of rewarding their services: accordingly, Queensberry had a garter, and Argyle was made a duke*.

We cannot take our leave of this year without making mention of a glorious victory obtained by the young king of Sweden, Charles XII. over Peter czar of Muscovy, who had advanced towards Narva with an army of one hundred thousand men, in order to crush the young monarch. At the same time the king of Poland invested Riga, the capital of Livonia. The old count d'Alberg defended this place with incredible valour, insomuch that Augustus was glad of an honourable pretext

for raising the siege. Riga was full of merchandize belonging to the Dutch: the States general ordered their ambassador at the court of Augustus to represent the matter to his majesty. The king of Poland did not long resist their importunities, and agreed to raise the siege, rather than occasion the loss of so many valuable commodities to his allies: the latter, however, were at no loss for the real cause of this stretch of complaisance. The only thing that Charles of Sweden had now to do, was to march against the czar; with whose conduct he was the more exasperated, as at that very time there was an ambassador from him residing at Stockholm, who had lately sworn to the renewal of an inviolable peace. The emperor of Muscovy had indeed published a manifesto, which it would have been more to his honour to have suppressed. He there alleged, as the reason of the war, some disrespect which had been shewn him when he was upon his travels incognito, and the extravagant prices his ambassadors had been obliged to pay for provisions. Such were the mighty injuries for which he was about to ravage a whole kingdom with eighty thousand men! at the head of which he appeared before Narva † on the first of October (1700) and immediately laid siege to it. Narva was very weakly fortified. The baron de Hoorn, who commanded there, had not above one thousand regular troops, and yet this immense army could not reduce it in ten weeks: indeed the Muscovites were at that time little better than a body of undisciplined savages forced from their forests, and ignorant of all the manœuvres of war.

Charles XII. having crossed the Baltic Sea with his army, about twenty thousand strong, advanced with hasty marches to the relief of the besieged. The czar, who was far from despising his enemy, employed every art in order to crush him: with this view he resolved to shut up Charles between two armies. Nor was this all; a detachment of thirty thousand men from the camp before Narva were posted at a league's distance from that city, directly in the king of Sweden's road; another body of twenty thousand was placed at a greater distance upon the same road; and five thousand others composed an advanced guard; through all which troops Charles must necessarily force his way before he could reach the camp, which was itself strongly fortified. The king of Sweden had landed at Pernau, in the gulph of Riga, from whence he made a flying march to Revel ‡, followed by only four thousand horse, and the same number of foot. He always marched in the van of his army, without waiting for the rear. He soon found himself, with his eight thousand men only, before the advanced posts of the enemy. He resolved without hesitation to attack them, the one after the other, before they could possibly learn with what a small number they had to encounter. The Muscovites seeing the Swedes advance with such an appearance of confidence, imagined that the whole army was coming upon them. The advanced guard of five thousand men fled at their

* Burnet. Tindal.

† Narva, a port town of Livonia, on the frontiers of Ingria, or Ingermanland, on the rapid river of the same name, issuing from the Peipus Lake, and falling into the Gulf of Finland, two miles below the town.

‡ Revel, a port town and city of Esthonia, a subdivision of

Livonia, at the south entrance of the Gulf of Finland. It is not large, but a rich trading place, and surrounded with high walls, deep ditches, and strong bastions; and it is further defended by a castle, with several towers, standing on a rock. It has a fine harbour, where part of the Russian fleet is commonly laid up.

first approach. The twenty thousand that lay behind them, perceiving the flight of their fellow-soldiers, took the alarm, and carried their terror and confusion with them into the camp. Charles quickly carried all the posts, and at length appeared with his eight thousand men, exhausted by their fatigues, before the camp of the Muscovites, consisting of eighty thousand men, and defended by one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and scarce allowing himself any time to rest, he instantly gave orders for the attack, which began about noon, on the thirtieth of November, 1700. The Russians stood the shock for some time without flinching; but after an engagement of three hours, the entrenchments were forced on all sides. Charles pursued the right of the enemy as far as the river Neva, near forty thousand of the Russians flying like sheep before four hundred Swedes only, detached in pursuit. The bridge broke under the fugitives, and the river was filled with dead carcasses. The rest returned to their camp, without knowing whither they went: there they defended themselves for a while; but at last their generals surrendered to the king, and laid their arms at his feet*.

The left wing of the enemy was not yet entirely routed; but general Waad, who commanded that wing, having heard of the gracious reception the king had given to the other generals, and of his having dismissed with their liberty all the subaltern officers and soldiers, sent a message to him, requesting the same favour for the corps under his command. The conqueror granted him his request; and the general, with his Muscovites, to the number of thirty thousand, marched uncovered through less than seven thousand Swedes. The soldiers as they passed the king, threw their arms upon the ground, and the officers presented him with their ensigns and colours. Charles caused the whole of this multitude to be conducted over the river. Had he detained them, the number of prisoners would have been at least five times greater than that of the conquerors. After this, he entered the city of Narva in triumph. The czar was not present at this battle: it seems he had given orders for the march of about thirty thousand men, who were advancing from Pleskow. Peter, impatient for their arrival, left his camp to go in quest of this reinforcement; which having joined, he was advancing by long marches, in full hopes of surrounding his enemy on all sides: but before he had proceeded half way, he received intelligence of the battle of Narva, and of the dispersion of his whole army. Peter was too prudent to think of attacking, with his thirty thousand raw and undisciplined troops, a conqueror who had so lately defeated eighty thousand men in their entrenchments. He returned home with a determined resolution to discipline his troops: in which he succeeded so well, that at last, by long exercise, they grew even superior to the enemy†. I flatter myself the reader will not be displeased at this digressive account of so glorious an action, part of a campaign hardly to be paralleled in history, in which a king of eighteen years of age only, march-

ed in person with a handful of troops against three powerful monarchs who had invaded his dominions with formidable armies, and totally defeated all their cruel and perfidious designs. But to return to the affairs of England.

The new parliament meeting on the sixth, was prorogued to the tenth of February, 1701, when Mr. Harley was chosen speaker; and the next day king William made a speech to both houses, wherein he took notice of the great misfortune the nation had sustained in losing the duke of Gloucester, which, he observed, had made it absolutely necessary that there should be a farther provision for the succession of the crown in the protestant line; and therefore earnestly recommended it to their early and serious consideration. The death of the king of Spain, he said, with the declaration he had made with regard to his successor, had also made so great an alteration in affairs abroad, that it required their particular attention; and he did not doubt but their resolutions thereupon would be such as should most conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. He desired supplies for the current year, and put them in mind of the deficiencies and public debts which were yet unprovided for; at the same time recommending to them the putting the royal navy in a good condition, and of fortifying the sea-ports for its security. He also recommended the improvement of trade, and making provision for the poor; and concluded with exhorting them to proceed in their resolutions with such vigour and unanimity, as should convince the world that they were united among themselves, than which, in his opinion, nothing could contribute more to preserve tranquillity at home, and render the nation respected abroad.

The elections had gone generally in favour of the Tories, so that their party had now a great majority in the house: and in order to secure their superiority, they took care to expel a great number of Whig members, who had been guilty of corruption in procuring their elections; a practice from which they themselves, it may be presumed, were not totally clear. However, the power being in their own hands, their friends were not so strictly examined.

The commons having taken the king's speech into consideration, attended his majesty with an address, signifying their resolution to stand by and support him and his government, and to take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the peace of Europe‡.

His majesty having communicated to the house a memorial he had received from the States-general, wherein, after having set forth their apprehension of being attacked by the arms of France and Spain, and the urgent necessity they should have in so great a danger of the assistance of England, they requested his majesty to get the succours stipulated by treaty in readiness, that they might rely on them, if occasion required§. The commons desired that the treaty between England and the

* Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. p. 110, 111.

† Idem, p. 117.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 128.

§ Cole, p. 320.

States, in the year 1677, might be laid before them; which being done, and they having gone through the same, addressed his majesty to enter into such negotiations with the States-general and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to their mutual security, and the preservation of the peace of Europe, assuring him they would enable him to perform the treaty of 1677 with the States*.

On the seventeenth of February Mr. secretary Vernon produced a letter in the house of commons, that had been intercepted, from the earl of Melfort to his brother the earl of Perth, then governor to the pretended prince of Wales, which suggested that there were men and arms provided by the papists and Jacobites to assist the French king, if he would make a descent in favour of king James. The commons took but little notice of this letter, as no particular persons were mentioned as concerned in such a conspiracy: but the lords, to whom the letter was also imparted, ordered it to be printed, and then waited on his majesty with an address, thanking him for his care of the protestant religion; desiring all the treaties made since the last war might be laid before them; requesting him to engage in such alliances as he should think most proper for preserving the balance of power in Europe; assuring him of their concurrence; expressing their acknowledgement for his having communicated to them Melfort's letter; desiring he would give orders for seizing the arms of disaffected persons, for removing papists from London, and for searching after those arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requested him to equip speedily a sufficient fleet for the defence of himself and his kingdom†.

The credit of Exchequer-bills was so lowered by the change of the ministry, and the lapse of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent. to the prejudice of the revenue, and the discredit of the government in foreign countries. The commons having taken this affair into consideration, voted that provision should be made from time to time for making good the principal and interest due on the parliamentary funds; and afterwards passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called Exchequer-bills.

We have already observed that this was a Tory parliament. The king had, in his speech of the eleventh of February, earnestly pressed the house to provide for the succession of the crown, after the demise of himself and the princess of Denmark. Nevertheless, no notice was taken of this affair, though of so great importance, till the third of March. At last Mr. Harley proposed, that before they should proceed to the nomination of any person to succeed to the crown, certain conditions should be settled as preliminaries, in order to secure the privileges of the people. A committee was accordingly appointed to deliberate on this matter; and on the twelfth of March Mr. Conyers reported the resolution of the committee, when the house did then resolve and agree to the following preliminaries, as heads of the bill of succession‡.

I. That whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown, shall join in communion with the church of England, as by law established.

II. That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament.

III. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament.

IV. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there; and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy-council as shall advise and consent to the same.

V. That after the limitation shall take effect, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, altho' he be naturalized or made a denizen (except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the privy-council, or a member of either house of parliament; or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military; or to have any grants of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him.

VI. That no person that has any office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the house of commons.

VII. That after the limitation shall take effect, judges commissions be made, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both houses of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

VIII. That no pardon under the great-seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament.

Having settled these preliminaries, the nomination of a person as next in succession to the crown was naturally to follow. The commons on this occasion gave a striking proof of the little liking they had to this affair; for they employed sir John Bowles, who was then disordered in his senses, and soon after became a downright lunatic, to name the electress-dowager of Hanover as next in succession to the crown. Upon this a committee was appointed to consider of the bill, and sir John was of course put into the chair: the matter was treated with great coldness and indifference for several weeks; but at length the committee reported their resolutions, which were, "That the princess Sophia, duchess-dowager of Hanover, be declared next in succession to the crown of England in the protestant line, after his majesty and the princess of Denmark, and the heirs of their bodies respectively:" and, "That the further limitation of the

* By this treaty we were to furnish the Dutch with ten thousand men, and a squadron of men of war, whenever they should be attacked.

† Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 20.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 130.

crown be to the said princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants." A bill was formed upon these resolutions, which was sent up to the house of lords, where it was expected to meet with great opposition. Some objections were indeed made by the marquis of Normanby, and a protest was entered against it by the earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the lords Guildford and Jefferies. It however passed by a great majority, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal assent; and soon after the earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction to the electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the garter.

The popish branches of the royal family, who were more nearly allied to the crown than the house of Hanover, looked upon this settlement as a very great hardship on them; particularly the duchess of Savoy, daughter to the late duke of Orleans, and grand-daughter of Charles I. by the mother's side, who was nearest in blood to the crown after the princess of Denmark and king William. She ordered count Maffei ambassador of Savoy, therefore, to make the following protest in her behalf:

"That Anne of Orleans, duchess of Savoy, &c. princess of the blood-royal of England by the royal princess of Great Britain Henrietta her mother, put so high a value upon that prerogative, that she gladly made use of the opportunity that then offered to set it forth before the eyes of the whole English nation, as an evidence she drew from thence of having a right to that august throne: that therefore, being informed that it had been resolved in the parliament then sitting, having the order of succession under consideration, she represented to the king and to the said parliament, that being the only daughter of the late princess-royal Henrietta her mother, she was the next in succession after his majesty William the Third, and the princess Anne of Denmark, according to the laws and customs of England, which always preferred the nearest to the remotest line: that her title being thus notoriously known and indisputable, stood in need of no farther proof: however, that she thought fit to protest against all resolutions and decisions contrary thereunto, in the best and most effectual manner that might be practised in such a case; wherein she complied rather with custom than necessity; because she had so great an idea of the wisdom and justice of the king and parliament, that she had no cause to fear they would do any thing prejudicial to her and her children *."

No regard, however, was paid to this declaration, which was looked upon at St. Germain as an affront to king James, his queen, and the pretended prince of Wales, as no notice was taken of their right; but the duchess was substituted immediately after the princess of Denmark; a pretension which tended greatly to confirm the suspicion of the pretender's illegitimacy.

His majesty coming to the house on the thirteenth of March, gave the royal assent to some few acts; and on the sixteenth, secretary Hedges delivered a message signed by the king to the commons, whereby they were informed, "That his majesty having directed Mr. Stanhope, his envoy-

extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Hague, to enter into negotiations in concert with the States-General of the United Provinces, and other potentates, for the mutual security of England and Holland, and the preservation of the peace of Europe, according to an address of their house; and that the said Mr. Stanhope having transmitted his majesty copies of the demands made by himself and the deputies of the States upon that subject to the French ambassador there; his majesty had thought fit to communicate the same to them, it being his intentions to acquaint them from time to time with the state and progress of those negotiations into which he had entered, pursuant to their addresses before-mentioned †."

The proposals insisted on by Stanhope and the States-general with France were in substance as follow: "That the French king should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: that for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Nieuport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majesty: that no kingdoms, provinces, cities, lands, or places appertaining to the crown of Spain, should ever be yielded or transferred to the crown of France, on any pretence whatever; that the English should retain the same rights, privileges, and immunities, with regard to navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majesty; as also all such immunities, rights, and franchises, as the subjects of France, or any other power, either possess for the present, or may enjoy for the future: that all treaties of peace and commerce between England and Spain should be renewed, and that a treaty formed on these demands should be guaranteed by such powers as one or other of the contracting parties should solicit and persuade to undertake that office."

The States-general joined in the above proposals, with this difference, that they demanded as cautionary towns, Venlo, Ruremond, Stevenswaert, Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Dendermonde, Damme, and St. Donas, with all their fortifications and appurtenances.

The French, however, having now gotten possession of the Spanish Netherlands, haughtily rejected these proposals, equitable and reasonable as they certainly were: and Mr. d'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, where these negotiations were carried on, returned for answer, That the king his master had no other reply to return to the demand of the States-general of the United Provinces, than that he was ready to renew the treaty of Ryswick, which was all the security the States were to expect. He added, that he had no orders to give any answer to his Britannic majesty's envoy; but if that king had any thing to demand, it might be done by his ambassador at Paris, or the French minister; and that he had no commission to treat with any but the States.

This being communicated to the commons, they, instead of resenting the treachery and injustice of the French monarch, seemed to think of nothing but thwarting and perplexing their own; and with this view they began to wreak their vengeance on all those who had any hand in concluding the

* Lamberti, i. 504.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 131.

treaty of partition, which they now took under consideration*. Accordingly, upon receiving his majesty's message, they drew up an address, which was presented to the king on the twenty-first of March; wherein they thanked him for his gracious messages, and at the same time begged leave to lay before his majesty the ill consequences of the treaty of partition (passed under the great-seal of England during the sitting of parliament, and without the advice of the same) to this kingdom and the peace of Europe, whereby such large territories of the Spanish monarch were to be delivered to the French king.

This address greatly chagrined the king: however, he thought proper to dissemble his resentment; and without taking notice of that part of it which related to the partition-treaty, he returned for answer, that he was glad the commons were pleased with his communicating to them the state of the negotiations, which he should continue to inform them of, and always be ready to receive their advice thereupon, being persuaded nothing could contribute more to the happiness of the kingdom and the peace of Europe, than the concurrence of the parliament in all his negotiations, and a good understanding between him and his people.

The topic of the partition-treaty had, it seems, been taken up by the lords some few days before the commons had assumed the consideration of that affair: the debate was begun by Sheffield marquis of Normanby, and some others of the Tory party; and after canvassing the subject for two or three days, they on the twentieth of March presented an address to his majesty, which, as it conveys a full idea of the sense of one part of the nation concerning this famous treaty, we shall insert it here, though it is somewhat long.

Their lordships therein represent to his majesty, that after having read and considered the said partition-treaty of the third of March, 1700, N. S. made with the French king, together with the separate and secret articles which he had been pleased to communicate to them, they had to their great sorrow found the matters thereof would be of very ill consequence to the peace and safety of Europe; for that besides the occasion it might have given to the late king of Spain to have made his will in favour of the duke of Anjou, if that treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his majesty and his subjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, several ports of the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuscoa, and the duchy of Lorraine to France, had been not only very great, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itself, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken by uniting so many states and dominions under one head: that by all the informations they had had of the fatal treaty, they could not find that the verbal orders or instructions (if any were given to his majesty's plenipotentiaries) were ever considered in any of his majesty's councils, or that the draught of that treaty had ever been laid before his majesty at any meeting of his

council; much less that it was advised or approved of by any council or committee of council: wherefore they thought themselves bound in duty to his majesty, and justice to their country, most humbly to beseech him, that for the future he would be pleased to require, and admit in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural-born subjects, whose known probity and fortunes might make him and his people entertain a just assurance of their fidelity to his service; and that in order thereunto he would be pleased to constitute a council of such persons, to whom his majesty might be pleased to impart all affairs both at home and abroad, which might any way concern him and his dominions: for as interest and natural affection to their country would incline them to wish the welfare and prosperity of it, much more than others who had no such ties upon them; and as their experience and knowledge of their country would also render them more capable than strangers of advising his majesty in the true interest of it; so they were confident, that after such large and repeated demonstrations of his subjects duty and affection, his majesty could not doubt of their zeal in his service, nor want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in all his most secret and arduous affairs; and that since it appeared the French king's accepting of the king of Spain's will was a manifest violation of that treaty, they humbly advised his majesty in future treaties with that prince to proceed with such caution as might carry a real security †.

The king being at Hampton-court when this address was voted, the lord-keeper waited on him with it in the name of the upper house, when his majesty was pleased to return an answer, conceived in the following general terms: "That their address contained matters of very great moment, and he would always take care, that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England."

It will however be but fair to present the reader with some of the arguments on the other side of the question, that he may be enabled to form a suitable judgment on this important controversy. The advocates for the partition-treaty alleged, that considering the weakness of Spain, which had been so fully proved in the affair of Barcelona, that crown could not be supposed capable of making any resistance against the arms of France, when freed from a war; since, at the time that kingdom was pressed on all sides, it had been able with a small army to take that place. If then France, with so small a force, could make such a conquest, what could be expected from Spain, should he send his whole strength against them? A fleet before Cadiz, and two small armies marching through Navarre and Catalonia, might without much difficulty make the conquest of Spain. The emperor had, by abandoning all other considerations to his project of subduing the Turks, both exhausted his own strength, and disgusted his allies during the war; and at the conclusion of the peace of Rylwick, he had shewn so little regard to the honour and interests of a prince to whom he was so much indebted

* The debates in the commons on this subject were carried on with a degree of warmth which seemed to have banished all regard to decency or common good breeding. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories, to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe had even the insolence to call it a felonious treaty: an

expression which incensed the king to such a degree, that he is reported to have said, he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had he not been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered such an outrageous insult to his honour. Burnet. Tindal. † Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 25. Tindal.

as he was to king William, that very few of the English seemed willing to engage in a new war for him and his family. We were become so weary of taxes, and so jealous of a standing army, that we had very considerably reduced both our land and sea-forces; and the dangers of the progress the French might make, had the Spanish king died some months before, were too obvious and alarming to require exaggeration. Things being in this state, might it not be fairly inferred that king William, in concluding the partition-treaty, had solely in view the preservation of the peace of Europe? It was asserted, that how bad soever the partition-treaty might be, it seemed still more desirable to yield up some parts of the Spanish monarchy than to let France conquer it, or rather take all. It was observed, that Spain itself, the West Indies, and Flanders, being the branches of that monarchy in which we were chiefly concerned, while these were kept entire in the same hands, our interests could not be supposed in any great danger. As to the dominions in Italy, though very valuable, it was said that the naval power yet belonging to them were not now so considerable as they had been some years before: nor was it certain that, notwithstanding the partition-treaty, they would have become a sure acquisition to the crown of France, which perhaps would have found as much opposition to it as she was like to receive now to her taking possession of the whole. The Spaniards had never before this time been guilty of betraying their country; and their coming so tamely under the French yoke was so little looked for, that till all saw it, none could believe it. In fine, the friends of this treaty and of the court strenuously insisted, that it was the only means to prevent the impending destruction of Europe; and that in the making it the interest of the house of Austria was sincerely espoused, and a solicitous care used that the balance of Europe should not be entirely broken; and at the same time England and Holland did not neglect themselves, but made such a distribution as might be least prejudicial to their interest*.

On the last day of March the king imparted to the commons the French king's declaration that he would grant no other security than a renewal of the peace of Ryswick; so that the negotiation seemed to be at an end. He likewise communicated two resolutions of the States-general, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ships they had equipped with a view to join the English fleet, and the succour stipulated in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they desired might be sent over with all convenient expedition. The house having taken this message into consideration, on the second of April unanimously resolved to desire his majesty would carry on the negotiations in concert with the States-general,

and take such measures therein as might most conduce to their safety, assuring him they would effectually enable him to support the treaty of 1677.

Though William was by no means pleased with that part of this address, which, by confining him to the treaty, implied their disapprobation of a new confederacy, he received it with his usual unconcern: he thanked them for the assurances they had given him, and said he did not doubt but the readiness they had shewn on this occasion would very much contribute to the procuring such a security as they desired.

On the nineteenth day of April, N. S. the marquis de Torcy delivered to the earl of Manchester, at Paris, a letter written in Latin, from the king of Spain to king William, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing a desire of cultivating a mutual friendship between the two crowns. This letter was by the king's orders read in the cabinet-council, where there was a short debate about it; but it was never brought to any farther deliberation there; for king William observing, that although the nation were very ready to assist both the Dutch and the emperor to obtain a sufficient barrier against France, yet they did not at all incline to enter into a war for recovering the kingdom of Spain from the duke of Anjou; therefore his majesty thought proper, after he had thoroughly weighed all circumstances, to acknowledge the duke's title to the crown, and congratulate him on his accession, which he accordingly did in a very complaisant answer to his Catholic majesty's letter, dated from Kensington, April 17, 1701, O. S.

The emperor was not a little alarmed at this incident: he loudly exclaimed at being thus abandoned by his allies: nevertheless he was determined to assert his right by force of arms, and had proposed to send prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take possession of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new pope Clement XI. was attached to the French interest, while the Venetians favoured the emperor; but they refused to declare themselves at this juncture.

In the mean time, the French king laboured hard, by his ambassador count d'Avaux, to persuade the States-general what a cordial kindness he bore them; and several memorials passed between the one and the other: but the Dutch had too dearly experienced the French monarch's pretended love to their republic, to give a ready credence to his professions; and therefore they exerted themselves in providing for their own security, by reinforcing their garrisons, and soliciting succours from foreign potentates. They also wrote a letter to king William, in which they expressed the most sincere zeal for the interest of England, and earnestly pressed that the stipulated number of troops should be immediately sent to their assistance†. Hereupon the three Scottish regiments which

* See Two Letters to a Friend, concerning the Partition-Treaty, republished in the third volume of State Tracts, page 184. Bishop Burnet was supposed to have had a hand in them.

† In this letter we meet with the following lively description of the double dealings and treacherous proceedings of Lewis, at the very time he was professing the most cordial amity for the States: "We will tell you, sir, in what condition France puts itself, and your majesty will judge by that if our fear, which re-animates our demands, be ill founded: France, not contented with having taken possession of all the places in the

Netherlands that remained to Spain, has thrown into them, and causes actually every day formidable forces to march thither: they draw a line from the Scheld, near Antwerp, to the Maese: they are going to begin to draw such a line, according to our advices, from Antwerp to Ostend: they send a numerous artillery into the places that are nearest our frontiers: they make, with great diligence, many magazines in Flanders, in Brabant, in Guelderland, and at Namur, which they fill up with all sorts of ammunition for war and subsistence; besides the great stores of forage which they gather from all parts: they

which the king had retained in his own pay, were transported from Scotland, and the king communicated the letter of the States-general to the house of commons, who having taken the same into consideration, came to the following resolution, "That they will effectually assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and will *immediately* provide succours for the States-general, according to the treaty of 1677.

The house of peers, to whom the letter was also communicated, addressed his majesty thereupon in a very warm and affectionate manner, requesting that his majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the States-general, but that he would enter into a league offensive and defensive with them for their common preservation, and invite into it all the princes and states that were concerned in the visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain. They furthermore exhorted him to enter into such alliances with the emperor as his majesty should think fit, pursuant to the spirit of the treaty of 1689, assuring him of their resolution to assist him in the most effectual manner. They concluded, however, with this stinging reflection (proceeding from that spirit of party which now took possession of every breast) that it was with great grief they humbly represented to his majesty, that the danger to which his kingdom and allies had been exposed, were chiefly owing to the fatal counsels which had prevented his majesty's sooner meeting his people in parliament. His majesty was so well pleased with this disposition in both houses to concur with his views, that he expressed his satisfaction in an answer to each apart.

The commons, in the mean time, resumed the consideration of the partition-treaty, determined to prosecute in the severest manner the advisers of it. They had appointed a committee to examine the Journals of the House of Lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. Sir Edward Seymour, a violent Tory, was appointed chairman of this committee; and on his report the house came to a resolution, "That William earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, which was destructive to the trade of this nation, and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty, and should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours:" and sir John Levison Gower was sent up to impeach the earl at the bar of the house of lords and at the same time to acquaint that house, that the commons would in due time exhibit articles against him. Immediately after which the commons had a conference with the lords, when they desired their lordships to communicate to them what informations they had received of any transactions relating to the negotiations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy: whereupon their lordships delivered to them the two Latin commissions of powers granted to the earls of Portland and Jersey, for negotiating the said treaties, the one dated the first of July, 1699, the other the second of January, 1700; as also a private pa-

per of lord Portland's, in which secretary Vernon advises him to negotiate the first treaty. The house afterwards ordered that Mr. secretary Vernon should lay before them all the letters which had passed between the earl of Portland and him, in relation to those treaties. Vernon at first declined complying with this order, alleging, that this affair containing matters of private import transacted by his majesty, he did not dare reveal the secrets of his royal master without his permission. The commons growing warm upon this, king William thought proper to order Vernon to comply with their demand, and the papers in question were accordingly laid before them.

It must be acknowledged that the conduct of the commons on this occasion is chargeable with the most barefaced partiality. They resolved to screen the earl of Jersey, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in this transaction, and pointed all their vengeance against the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax (Charles Montagu, late chancellor of the Exchequer): nay, some of the members had even the mean wickedness to tamper with Kidd, who was then a prisoner in Newgate for his piratical practices, in order to persuade him, through the hopes of pardon, to accuse lord Somers as having been concerned with him in his enterprize. Kidd, however, as weak and as bad a man as he was, could never be prevailed upon to charge any of the noble persons who were his owners, with having any thing to do with his proceedings. The other party, therefore, finding him unfit for their purpose, left him to the course of the law, and he with some of his crew were hanged.

In the mean time, the lord Somers understanding that the commons were in debate about impeaching him for having advised the treaty of partition, his lordship desired to be heard before that house, previous to their coming to any resolution in regard to him. The commons thought proper to grant his request, and on the fourteenth of April his lordship was admitted and heard in his defence, when he delivered the copies of two letters to the house; the first of which he received from the king while in Holland (in 1698) desiring his advice in the first treaty of partition; and the other was his lordship's answer to it, in which he objected to several particulars in that treaty, and proposed other articles, which he thought were for the interest of his country. He then observed, in his own vindication, that when the treaty was concluded, he conceived himself bound to put the great-seal to it, by his majesty's command, in which he had, as chancellor, executed his office according to his duty; and by his letter he had, as a privy-counsellor, offered such advice as to him appeared best. His lordship then withdrawing, the house fell into a long and warm debate upon the justification he had offered: at length, however, the Tory party prevailed, and a resolution passed, "That John lord Somers, by advising his majesty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large

they build forts under the cannon of our place. Besides, they have worked, and work still, continually to draw the princes that are our friends from our interest, to make them enter into their alliance, or to engage them to a neutrality at least. In

short, by intrigues and divisions in the empire, they make our friends sueless, and increase those of France.

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 133.

territories of the Spanish monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour *. The house next ordered sir Simon Harcourt to go up to the lords and impeach him. Immediately after, they passed votes to the like effect against Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Halifax, and the general impeachment was brought up next day (April 15) against all three to the house of lords.

Not content with these proofs of their hatred and dislike to these lords, and perhaps apprehensive that they should not be able to make out the charge against them, the commons resolved to go a speedier way to work; and by a proceeding altogether unprecedented, they, some few days after the impeachment, drew up an address to his majesty, which was presented on the twenty-third of April; wherein, after representing the great satisfaction they had to observe, in their enquiry concerning the treaty of partition, the great care his majesty had taken in not entering into that negotiation without the advice of his English counsellors; and finding that John lord Somers, on whose judgment his majesty chiefly relied in that important affair, did, in concert with Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Halifax, advise his majesty to enter into that treaty of such dangerous consequence, without the advice of his council: "That they might no longer be able to deceive his majesty, and abuse his people, they requested he would be pleased to remove the said John lord Somers, Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Halifax, from his council and presence for ever; as also William earl of Portland, who transacted those treaties: and concluded with repeating their assurances to stand and support his majesty to the utmost of their power †."

An address of this nature, after an impeachment formally preferred, was not only against all precedents in parliamentary proceedings, but even contrary to the common laws of society, inasmuch as it was punishing before trial. His majesty seems to have seen it in its proper light; for he returned the following soft and evasive answer; "That he would employ none in his service, but such as should be thought most likely to improve the mutual trust between him and his parliament, which was so necessary in that conjuncture, both for their own security, and the defence and preservation of their allies."

The lords were greatly incensed at this step of the commons, which they considered as an insult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common justice: and although they had themselves said very harsh things of the treaty of partition, and the manner of transacting it, in their address; yet they now thought it necessary to present a counter-address to that of the commons, wherein they beseech his majesty not to pass any censure on those lords, until they were tried upon the impeachment the commons had preferred against them.

In fine, that I may not weary my readers with a minute detail of this affair, which lasted for near three months, and the particulars of which may be seen in the State Tracts, the Debates of Parliament, and other publications of those times, I shall content myself with observing, that the com-

mons, fearing that they might fall into disgrace with the nation, for having preferred impeachments which they could not properly support, used every art to delay the trials of the four lords. With this view, they endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two houses, by laying claim to a number of unusual privileges, which they were certain the upper house would not allow, and by affecting to cavil at an expression of lord Haversham at one of their conferences: this circumstance they laid hold of as a pretext for absenting from the trial, when a day was at last appointed; so that the four lords having no prosecutors to appear against them, were acquitted, and the impeachments dismissed on the twenty-fourth day of June; and at the same time the lords discharged an impeachment which had been lodged against the duke of Leeds some years before by the commons, which they had not prosecuted.

While these matters were upon the carpet, the Whig party omitted no endeavours to vilify and depreciate their adversaries in the minds of the people: they openly charged them with being pensioners to the French king, whose interest they espoused on all occasions: they represented them as implacable enemies to the present government; and that all their views and actions tended ultimately to the restoration of the abdicated king and his family. They even went so far as to try to procure petitions from the city of London, and several of the principal counties in England, to express their dissatisfaction at the proceedings of the house of commons and the present ministry; by which they hoped to have procured a revolution in behalf of their own party. Their endeavours in this respect, however, failed in general: the county of Kent alone could be prevailed on to send up an address, or petition, as it was styled, which being a very extraordinary one in its kind, I shall here insert a copy.

"We the gentlemen, justices of the peace, grand jury, and other freeholders, at the general quarter-sessions of peace at Maidstone in Kent, deeply concerned at the dangerous estate of this kingdom, and of all Europe; and considering that the fate of us and our posterity depends upon the wisdom of our representatives in parliament, think ourselves bound in duty humbly to lay before this honourable house the consequences in this conjuncture, of your speedy resolution and most sincere endeavour to answer the great trust reposed in you by your country.

"And in regard that from the experience of all ages, it is manifest that no nation can be great or happy without union, we hope that no pretence whatever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot.

"We most humbly implore this honourable house to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for; that your loyal addresses may be turned into bills of supply; and that his most sacred majesty (whose propitious and unblemished reign

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 134.

† Ibid. iii. 137.

over us we pray God long to continue) may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late."

This petition, which it must be confessed was a most indecent reflection upon the house of commons, was signed by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, several justices of the peace, all the grand-jury, and other freeholders, and was boldly delivered to the house of commons on the eighth of May, by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Colepepper, Justinian Champney, and William Hamilton, esquires. Upon being called in, and questioned at the bar of the house, they owned the petition, and their hands to it: after which they were ordered to withdraw; and the house taking the petition into consideration, voted it to be a scandalous, insolent, and seditious libel, tending to destroy the constitution of parliaments, and to subvert the established government of these realms; and ordered the five persons who had presented it to be taken into custody, as promoters of the said petition*.

Loud were the outcries raised by the Whigs at this tyrannical exertion of power, as they called it, in the commons; and the imprisoned gentlemen were visited in their confinement by all the leading men of that party, who affected to treat them as martyrs to the liberties and privileges of the people; though, as Dr. Drake very justly observes, in his History of this Parliament, the commons would have been wanting in their duty to the people, whose representatives they are, if they had tamely put up with such an insult upon their authority, without shewing their resentment, and thereby deterring others from following an example of so dangerous consequence.

The confinement of the presenters, however, added fuel to the flame which had been blown up among the people; and soon after a paper came out, supposed to have been drawn up by one Daniel de Foe, a scurrilous party-writer of those times, entitled, A Memorial from the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of — in Behalf of themselves, and many thousands of the good People of England. It was signed, Legion; and sent with a letter to the speaker, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the house of commons. The letter and the memorial are both of them too extraordinary for us to withhold from the reader: the former was conceived in the following terms:

Mr. Speaker,

"The inclosed memorial you are charged with, in behalf of many thousands of the good people of England.

"There is neither popish, Jacobite, seditious, court or party interest in it, but honesty and truth.

"You are commanded by two hundred thousand Englishmen to deliver it to the h— of c—; and to inform them it is no banter, but

serious truth, and a serious regard to it is expected: nothing but justice and their duty is required; and it is required by them who have both a right to require, and power to compel, viz. the people of England.

"We could have come to the house strong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any tumult, not desiring to embroil, but to save our native country.

"If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to repent it."

To R—t H—y, esq; f—r to the h— of c—s.

The memorial was in substance as follows. It began with this maxim, "That whatever power is above law, is burthensome and tyrannical, and may be reduced by extrajudicial methods." It charged the commons with breach of faith, in not paying the public debts contracted on the security of their acts: with imprisoning gentlemen who were none of their members, and who, at the command of the people (whose servants the commons were) came to put them in mind of their duty, declaring that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, in case their representatives in parliament did not proceed according to their duty and the people's interest, to inform them of their dislike, disown their actions, and direct them as they thought fit: it particularly censured the commons for voting the partition-treaty fatal to Europe because it gave too great a part of the Spanish dominions to the French; and yet taking no steps to prevent their possessing the whole, &c. &c. It likewise contained a new clause of rights, digested under seven heads; and the commons were admonished to act according to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation. This strange expostulation concluded thus; "For Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than to kings: our name is LEGION, and we are many†."

On the twelfth day of June his majesty came to the house, and gave the royal assent to the act of succession, intitled, An act for the farther Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject; and to some other acts‡. On this occasion his majesty made a speech, wherein he expressed his warm acknowledgements to both houses, for the care they had taken to establish the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and for their repeated assurances of supporting him in such alliances as should be for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and the security of England and Holland; and putting them in mind that the season of the year required his presence abroad, recommended dispatch in the business before them.

The commons, though exceedingly provoked by the remonstrance lately presented them, thought it beneath their dignity to take notice of it in the house; but in order to guard against consequences,

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 140. Burnet.

† State Tracts. Burnet. Oldmixon. Kennet.

‡ Viz. An act for preventing the inconveniencies that may happen by privilege of parliament. An act for continuing the acts therein mentioned for preventing theft and rapine upon the northern borders of England. An act for appointing wardens and assay-masters for assaying wrought plate in the cities of Ex-

eter, York, Bristol, Chester, and Norwich. An act for continuing a former act to prevent false and double returns of members to serve in parliament. An act for the better settling and preserving the library kept in the house at Westminster, called Cotton-House, in the name and family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; and to several other private acts.

they drew up an address to his majesty, representing, That several disaffected and evil-minded persons having gone about to raise tumults in several parts of the kingdom to disturb the public tranquillity, they therefore humbly besought his majesty to provide for the public peace and security. They appear however to have been not a little intimidated by the spirit of this remonstrance; for they almost instantly altered their measures. In their former address they had restricted the king to the alliance concluded with the States general in 1677, which would have been of very little use in the present emergency; but now they presented an address in answer to his speech, wherein they thanked him for having approved of their proceedings; declared they would support him to the utmost; and desired him to engage in such new alliances with the emperor and other states as he should deem necessary for bridling the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe. They likewise proceeded in earnest upon the business of supplies; they granted the sum of a million and a half for the public expences, to be raised by a land tax, certain duties upon merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the excise, so as to bring down the civil list to six hundred thousand pounds, as the duke of Gloucester was dead, and James's queen had refused her allowance. They voted thirty thousand seamen, and resolved that ten thousand troops should be sent to the assistance of the States-general. They likewise passed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament in legal prosecutions during the intermediate prorogations; and they introduced another for appointing commissioners to examine and state the public accounts*.

By this time, however, the misunderstanding between the two houses was become so great, on occasion of the impeachment of the four lords, and the liberty the peers took of making amendments to some public bills, by which the commons had thrown the management of the greatest part of the national affairs into the hands of the Tories, that the king, fearing some fatal consequences from their disputes, in which however he had never interfered, resolved to put an end to the session. For this purpose he came to the house on the twenty-fourth of June, the very day the lords had ordered the impeachments abovementioned to be dismissed; and having sent for the commons, they attended accordingly, when their speaker, on presenting the money-bills, made the following speech:

"Sir, It is with great joy and satisfaction that I attend your majesty at this time, since your commons have complied with all your majesty was pleased to desire at their meeting: they have passed the bill of succession, which has settled the crown in a protestant line, and continued the liberty of England, which your majesty hath settled and preserved: they have passed a bill for taking away

those privileges which might have proved burthenome and oppressive to your subjects: they have given your majesty those supplies, which are more than ever were given in a time of peace, to enable your majesty, when you are abroad, to support your allies, procure either a lasting peace, or to preserve the liberties of Europe by a necessary war."

Then his majesty gave the royal assent to the several acts to be found in the notes†; and afterwards made a speech, wherein he returned both houses his hearty thanks for the great zeal they had expressed for the public service, and their ready compliance with what he recommended to them at the opening of the parliament; and particularly thanked the commons for the supplies, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preservation of Europe‡.

The king now seemed to have wholly abandoned the Whigs, and given himself up to the Tory party; at least so much may be gathered, from the promotions he made soon after the breaking up of the parliament: for he bestowed the command of the ten thousand auxiliaries voted by the commons for the service of the States-general, on the earl of Marlborough, universally esteemed the chief of the Tory party, with the title of commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Holland. A new commission of admiralty was made out, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke. The command of the fleet was bestowed upon sir George Rooke; and his majesty having declared his design of going to Holland, he was pleased to appoint the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper (sir Nathan Wright) the earl of Pembroke, the dukes of Devonshire and Somerset, the earl of Jersey, and lord Godolphin, lords justices during his absence: and at the same time the earl of Marlborough was appointed (over and above his post of commander in chief) his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary for the negotiations at the Hague: Edward Southwell, Christopher Musgrave, and James Vernon, esqrs. were constituted commissioners of the privy-seal, vacant by the death of Ford Grey, earl of Tankerville; sir Thomas Trevor, attorney-general, was made lord chief-justice of the Common-pleas, in the room of sir George Treby, deceased; and Edward Northy, esq. was made attorney-general. All or most of these gentlemen were Tories.

King William having settled the regency, and other matters relating to domestic government, embarked for Holland, July 1st. On his arrival at the Hague he assisted at an assembly of the States-general, whom he addressed in a very affectionate speech, wherein he said, "He always came into that country with joy, but especially in this dangerous conjuncture, because he foresaw his presence would be necessary for the service of the state. He hoped to have passed the rest of his

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 133.

† An act for granting to his majesty an aid for defraying the expence of his guards and garrisons for one year, and for other necessary occasions. An act for granting to his majesty several duties upon low wines, or spirits of the first extraction; and continuing several additional duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate, spices, and pictures; and certain impositions upon hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen; and the duty of 15 l. per

cent. upon muslins; and for improving the duties upon japaned and lacquered goods; and for continuing the coinage-duty for the several terms and purposes therein mentioned. An act for appropriating three thousand seven hundred pounds weekly, out of certain branches of excise, for public uses; and for making a provision for the service of his majesty's household, and other his necessary occasions; and to several other private acts.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 183.

days in repose and peace, and to have left that state in a flourishing condition; but there had happened such great alterations in the affairs of Europe, that he knew not what might be the consequences. However, he could assure their High Mightinesses, that whether things were accommodated amicably, or whether they should be obliged to have recourse to arms, he persisted in the same zeal he ever had for their service and prosperity. He could assure them the whole English nation were ready to assist the States, and strongly to contribute towards their defence, and to whatever might tend to the common security *."

The States in their answer, which was equally affectionate, told his majesty, "That they could not omit to thank him for his assurances, not only in his own, but in the name of the English nation, in favour of themselves and the common cause, well knowing how much they might rely upon a people, whose courage had gained so much reputation in the world, and were always of opinion that their interests were inseparable from those of England †."

After this the king, as his health would permit him, which indeed seemed to decline apace, spent a good part of his time in reviewing the frontier garrisons of the States, and gave such orders as he judged necessary for the better defence and security of the country. On his return to the Hague, he found that the count d'Avaux, the French ambassador, had delivered a letter from the French king to the States, accompanied with a memorial of his own, to notify his being called home by his master. In the memorial there were several strokes, very much reflecting upon king William, and that shewed the malignity of Lewis' heart, who no doubt was well apprized of the contents of his minister's paper: particularly, the ambassador said, "That he should abuse his master, should he write to him that any success was to be expected from the conferences: that his master had too discerning a judgment, after the king of Great Britain had, by his envoy, openly declared that he would never depart from the interest of the emperor: that he would not listen to any proposals of accommodation till satisfaction were given to that prince. His excellency then observed, that the ties between their High Mightinesses and the king of England were too strict, and they had too well made known their blind submission to the sentiments of that monarch; and no doubt but that they had already taken a resolution to make the same declaration to the most Christian king's ambassador ‡."

To this memorial the States-general returned a very spirited answer on the first of August; in one part of which they express themselves to this effect: "They could not comprehend, they said, why the effect of the union between them and the king of Great Britain should be rather war than peace, since his Britannic majesty on all occasions had given sufficient proofs of his inclination to peace: that they did not blindly follow the king of Great Bri-

tain's sentiments, but had great deference for his advice; although they acknowledged themselves to be strictly united to him by alliances many years ago, for their mutual security: that he was one of the chief parties in the treaty of partition; and that they had declared, previous to their having entered upon these negotiations, that they thought his consent necessary, as well for those reasons as for his private relation to the republic §."

Thus all the pretensions of the French to give the States a reasonable security went off with the count d'Avaux, and every thing seemed to tend towards a new war between France and Holland; the latter exerted their utmost endeavours in making preparations for their own defence: they repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries from various quarters. An alliance had been already formed || between king William and the king of Denmark; which latter engaged to furnish three thousand horse, one thousand dragoons, and eight thousand foot, in consideration of receiving a subsidy of three hundred thousand crowns a-year during the war. Great endeavours were also used to bring about a peace between Sweden and Poland, but without effect. Lewis XIV. had also interposed his mediation between these powers, with a view of securing the young king of Sweden in his interests; and the court of Vienna had solicited the assistance of the king of Poland, but the dyet of that kingdom being suspended, and king Augustus consequently delivered from its intrigues, he resolved to persist in the prosecution of the war.

We have already observed that the emperor, as being the person more immediately affected by the accession of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, had resolved to do himself justice by force of arms: with that view he assembled an army, the command of which he bestowed on prince Eugene. As this general will make so distinguished a figure in the subsequent part of this history, the following account of him, as given us by M. de Voltaire in his Age of Lewis XIV. cannot fail to be acceptable.

"The first general who put a check to the superiority of the French arms was a Frenchman; for so we should call prince Eugene, though he was the grandson of Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy: his father the count de Soissons had settled in France, where he was lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and governor of Champagne: he married Olympia Mancini, one of the nieces of cardinal Mazarine. From this match, unfortunate in other respects, was born this prince, who afterwards proved so dangerous an enemy to Lewis XIV. though hardly known to that monarch in his youth. He was known in France by the name of the Chevalier de Carignan; but afterwards taking the Petit Collet, he was called the abbot of Savoy. It is said that he asked Lewis for a regiment, which was refused him, on account of his being too much connected with the princes of Conti, who were then

* It is somewhat difficult to reconcile this declaration of king William, with regard to the disposition of the English, with the representation Dr. Burnet gives of the English ministry and parliament at this time, in his second volume; wherein he peremptorily charges them with being Jacobites, and pensioners to France: but indeed that prelate is so contradictory to him-

self in different parts of his work, that it is not very easy to unriddle his meaning.

† Lamberti. Cole. Coke.

‡ Lamberti.

§ Idem.

|| On the fifteenth of July, 1701.

in disgrace for having written some indecent letters, reflecting upon the king and madame de Maintenon. Disappointed in this application, he went to serve the emperor against the Turks in Hungary in 1684, together with the princes of Conti. The campaign being ended, Lewis sent an order to these princes, and all who had accompanied them in this expedition, to return home. The abbot of Savoy was the only one who refused to comply with this mandate, openly declaring he renounced France for ever. When Lewis XIV. was told of this, he said to his courtiers with an air of contempt, "Don't you think I have had a great loss?" This prince, however, who was held in so much contempt at the court of France, was born with all the qualifications which form the hero in war, and the great man in peace: he had a just and lofty turn of thinking, and a becoming presence of mind both in the field and in the cabinet: he was guilty of faults, as all generals have been; but these were lost in the number of his great actions. He shook the power of Lewis XIV. and the Ottoman Porte: he governed the empire; and in the course of his victories and ministry, shewed himself equally superior to vain-glory and avarice. He cherished, and even protected learning, as much as could be done at the court of Vienna."

At this time he was about thirty-seven years of age, and had the experience of his own victories over the Turks, and the faults which he had seen committed by the Imperialists in the late wars, in which he served against France. He entered Italy at the head of the imperial army, consisting of thirty thousand men, in the month of July, by the way of Vicenza, in the territories of Venice, the entrance towards Verona being blocked up by the French army under marshal Catinat, having made a feint of passing the Po near Ferrara: and having thus amused the French, he passed the Adige near Carpi, where he surprized and cut in pieces a body of five thousand French, commanded by M. St. Fremont. After this success the Imperialists having the command of all the country between the Adige and the Adda, penetrated into the territory of Bresciano, while Catinat and the duke of Savoy retreated behind the Oglio. This retreat was approved of by many good officers: but Catinat's enemies represented it so much to his disadvantage at the court of France, that marshal Villeroy was sent over about the latter end of August, to supersede Catinat in his command, and with orders to attack the Imperialists at all events. The duke of Savoy still preserved the title of generalissimo; but Villeroy was in fact commander in chief. He accordingly gave immediate orders for attacking prince Eugene in the post of Chiari, near the Oglio. The duke of Savoy and most of the general officers were of opinion, that it was against all the rules of war to attack this post, for these very essential reasons; first, That it would answer no valuable end; secondly, That the entrenchments were inaccessible; and lastly, If they failed, the reputation of the whole campaign would be lost. Villeroy however told the duke of Savoy that he must march, and sent an aid de camp to order marshal Catinat in his name to begin the attack: upon which that general marched directly up to the entrenchments.

Prince Eugene however gave the French such a reception, that they were obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign, the prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself and Goits, which he blocked up. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter of 1701, where he gave daily proofs of the most intrepid courage, indefatigable vigilance, and consummate prudence.

In the month of January following he formed a design of surprizing Cremona; an attempt which, had it succeeded, would have been a decisive blow in favour of the Imperialists. He found means, by the assistance of a priest called Bozzoli, provost of St. Mary le Nova, to introduce four hundred men through the common sewer of the town into this priest's house. They immediately killed the guard at the two gates, which were flung open, and prince Eugene entered the city with four thousand men. All this was done before the governor, who was a Spaniard, had the least suspicion: the whole affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy, order, and diligence. The Spanish governor, on the first alarm, appeared in the street with a few soldiers, but was presently shot dead; and all the general officers were either killed or made prisoners. Marshal Villeroy, who was at that time in Cremona, was awakened with the noise of the firing, and ran out into the streets, when he was immediately made prisoner, and led out of the town without knowing any thing that had passed, and unable to conceive the cause of so extraordinary an event: in short, the place must have been infallibly reduced, had prince Eugene been supported by another body of troops which he had ordered to advance from the Parmesan to secure the bridge: but these not arriving in time, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge, and the prince was obliged to retire with his prisoners, including marshal Villeroy, and several other persons of distinction. This enterprize, tho' unsuccessful, added great lustre to the military fame of prince Eugene*.

Lewis XIV. alarmed at the progress of the Imperialists, sent the duke of Vendôme to command his forces in Italy. He likewise pressed the duke of Savoy to assist him with a body of auxiliary troops; but that prince having obtained all he could from France, became very indifferent to her interests: it is said that he was greatly disgusted with that court for having sent over Villeroy to take the command, who had behaved with insupportable arrogance towards the duke. Philip V. the new king of Spain, had lately been married to the duke's daughter, whom he went to meet at Barcelona, where he found himself involved in a very troublesome dispute with the states of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed, until he should confirm their privileges; a concession which he was obliged to make, after a long and violent contest.

A misunderstanding arising about this time between the estates of Cologne and prince Clement of Bavaria, their elector, the French king laid hold of this opportunity to strengthen his interest on the Rhine, and for that purpose laboured hard to engage

that prince in his cause; and he so far prevailed by his artful negotiations, and heightening some apprehensions the elector had, that the Estates might be too powerful for him, that when king William sent the earl of Galway to endeavour to bring him over to the interest of England, Holland, and the empire, he appeared wholly engaged to France; which afterwards was more apparent, by his admitting French troops into several places, and committing some violences upon the constitution of his electorate. Lewis also found means to form such a strong party in the Portuguese councils, that his most Faithful majesty, though personally attached to the Austrian family, was obliged to agree to a treaty of alliance with the French monarch.

Every thing now tending to a war, our fleet became his majesty's chief care, which he resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy, being very sensible of the ill consequences that followed the want of this salutary precaution at the beginning of the last war. By the latter end of July we had a fleet of forty-eight ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels, ready for sea at Spithead, under the command of sir George Rooke, who sailing from thence overawed the French coast during the remainder of the season. About the latter end of August vice-admiral Benbow was detached with a strong squadron to the West Indies: the French expected that this fleet would have proceeded to the Mediterranean; and in order to confirm them in this belief, and cover its true destination, king William made a formal demand of the court of Spain of the free use of their harbours, which however was civilly evaded, though the French ships had free admittance. After the sending of the fleet to sea, his majesty thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the earl of Pembroke, a nobleman universally beloved and esteemed, lord high-admiral of England. The design of this promotion was to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board, and this end it answered perfectly well; for his lordship immediately sent away captain Edward Loades to Cadiz, to bring home the sea-stores and the merchants effects before the war broke out; which piece of service was successfully performed.

The Whig party made a violent outcry, because our grand fleet did not perform any thing of consequence this summer; and severe censures were passed upon sir George Rooke, as if he had purposely continued idle: but the ill-nature and falsity of these censures will sufficiently appear, when we consider that this was a fleet of amusement only, the war not being declared; and therefore the longer sir George could keep the French and their allies in suspense, the greater service he did; but how often do we find parties making use of any thing that will serve a turn, without considering or caring whether it is founded either on justice or truth!

King William being well apprized of all the proceedings of Lewis, exerted himself with uncommon diligence, in order to render his schemes abortive. With this view he projected the grand alliance between the emperor Leopold, England, and Holland, against France, for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and for the security of England and Holland in point of their commerce and navigation, and of the Hanover succession to the crown of Great Britain, as well as for a safe barrier to the Dutch. This treaty, which was concluded at the Hague, September 7, O. S. was framed in the nature of proposals, upon which France might come in; and accordingly the same was communicated to the Spanish ambassador; and on their being rejected, it was determined to have recourse to arms. For the particular articles of this treaty, the reader is referred to the notes*.

Thus were the French and the confederates upon the point of entering into the war, which seemed only to be deferred till each side could prepare for action; and possibly it might not have been declared till the next summer, if an accident had not happened which brought things to a crisis somewhat sooner: this was the death of that weak and unfortunate prince James II. who being seized with a vomiting of blood, departed this life at St. Germain's on the sixteenth of September, N. S. 1701, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and of his exile the thirteenth. His character has already been touched upon at the end of his unhappy reign. Since the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, he had laid aside all

* 1. There shall be a perpetual and inviolable friendship between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the States-general.

2. The allies think nothing more effectual for establishing the general peace, than the procuring satisfaction to the emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies.

3. The allies shall employ two months time, from the day of exchanging the ratifications, to obtain by amicable means the said satisfaction and security.

4. But if that cannot be obtained within the time limited, they engage to assist one the other with all their forces, according to the specification to be agreed on in a particular convention.

5. The other confederates shall, among the other things, endeavour to recover the Spanish Netherlands, to be a barrier between Holland and France; as likewise the duchy of Milan, &c. for the emperor's security; and also the kingdoms of Naples, and the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany, belonging to the Spanish dominions.

6. The king of Great-Britain and the States may seize what lands and cities they can belonging to the Spaniards in the Indies, and keep them.

7. In a war, the confederates shall faithfully communicate

their designs to one another.

8. No parties shall treat of peace, truce, &c. but jointly with the rest; they shall prevent the union of France and Spain under the same government, or the French possessing the Spanish Indies. The subjects of the king of Great Britain and the States shall enjoy all the privileges of trade which they had before the death of the late king of Spain.

9. At the making of peace, the confederates shall provide for the maintaining the trade of the English and the Dutch to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and likewise secure the States by a barrier.

10. They shall at the same time agree about the exercise of religion in the places acquired.

11. They shall assist one another with all their forces, if the French king or any one else shall invade any one on account of this alliance.

12. After a peace there shall remain a defensive alliance between these allies for maintaining the said peace.

13. All kings, princes, and states, that please, may enter into this alliance; but the empire shall be particularly invited, and the confederates may jointly or separately invite whom they please.

14. This treaty shall be ratified by all the confederates within six weeks, or sooner.

thoughts of worldly affairs, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. The jesuit Le Bretonneau, who attended him in his last moments, relates, that he did not only forgive all his enemies, but said, "He thought himself more obliged to the prince of Orange than to all the world; because by taking from him three crowns, that prince had put him in a way to purchase one infinitely more precious than all." His corpse was carried to Paris, and reposed in the church of the Benedictines, in the suburbs of St. James, where it now lies, not interred, but in a hearse; together with the body of his daughter, who died before him; in the fond hopes, perhaps, that some convenient time may offer for the transporting it to England, in order to its being interred in Westminster-abbey among his royal ancestors and relations: an event which, to the unspeakable happiness of this country, appears very unlikely to happen.

Immediately after his death, a question was started in the French council, what steps should be taken with regard to his son? Lewis was inclined to give him the titles his father had borne; but the ministry advised their master to remain passive, and allow him to assume what title he pleased. They enforced their advice with such arguments of sound policy, that Lewis resolved not to acknowledge the son of James II. as king. The same day, however, Mary of Modena, widow to the deceased James, went to Madam de Maintenon's apartments to speak to the French king. She found him there; and with a flood of tears conjured him not to treat her son, herself, and the memory of a king he had protected, with so much indignity as to refuse a title, the only remains of their former greatness. She observed, that as her son had always received the honours of prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father; and that even William himself could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy the throne of which he had deprived him. To these arguments she added others which concerned the interest and glory of Lewis: she represented to him, that whether he acknowledged the son of James II. or not, the English would nevertheless declare war against France, and that he would only feel the regret of having sacrificed the most noble sentiments to a fruitless precaution. The representations and tears of the royal widow were powerfully seconded by Madam de Maintenon. The king resumed his former sentiments. In a word, the pretended prince of Wales was proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the name of James III. the very day it had been determined in council not to acknowledge him. M. de Voltaire, from whom we have taken this remarkable anecdote*, says, That the marquis de Torcy frequently owned it, though he has not inserted it in his Memoirs, because he thought it was not to the honour of his master to be prevailed on by two women to alter a resolution which he had taken in his council. The pretender's title was likewise recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope.

William was no sooner informed of this trans-

action, than he dispatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick, to complain of this manifest violation of that treaty. At the same time, he recalled his ambassador, the earl of Manchester, from Paris, with orders to return without taking leave; and monsieur Pouffin, the French resident in England, was ordered to depart the kingdom. This action of Lewis, in acknowledging as their king a person whom they had banished, appeared a violent insult offered to the nation, and an attempt towards exercising an absolute authority over Europe. The spirit of freedom which then prevailed among us, and which was not a little increased by the hatred the people bore to Lewis, on account of his ambition and power, produced every effect that king William could desire: the city of London, and most of the counties of England, transmitted addresses to his majesty in Holland, declaring their sense of the indignity offered him, and promising to support his government against the Pretender and all his enemies. Lewis endeavoured to vindicate his own conduct in a long manifesto, which he dispersed throughout Europe; in which he pretended to assert, that there was nothing in what he had done contrary to the treaty of Ryswick, which he explained by saying, he did not intend to assist the pretender (king James III. as he styled him) in recovering his crown during the life-time of his present majesty king William. Lewis also prevailed on the pope to press the emperor, and other Roman catholic princes, to acknowledge the pretended king, but without effect.

Our king having concluded alliances with several foreign princes against France, particularly that with the emperor and Holland, usually styled the Grand Alliance, of which we have already given an account, began to prepare for his return to England; but being detained in Holland, partly by his ill state of health, and partly in concerting measures with the States to attack the French frontiers the next campaign, he did not arrive in his British dominions till the fifth of November, when the first thing that engaged the attention of his majesty and his council was, whether the present parliament should be continued or dissolved, and a new one called? It was, after some debate, carried for the latter measure; and on the eleventh the king issued a proclamation for dissolving the parliament, and calling another to meet on the thirtieth of December. The reason alleged for the dissolution of this parliament was, that his majesty might have the sense of the nation in this extraordinary conjuncture: but it is more than probable that the chief inducement to this step was to prevent a revival of the heats and animosities between the two houses, whereby the supplies necessary for the approaching war might have been delayed.

Never did the two parties proceed with such zeal and activity in influencing the elections: the Whigs, however, on this occasion gained an incontestable majority. The city of London, and some other places, gave their representatives instructions for their conduct in the ensuing session; in which they pressed them to assist his majesty vigorously in maintaining his title to the crown, to

* Age of Lewis XIV.

make good his alliances, and reduce the power of France, recommending above all things a union between the two houses.

Notwithstanding the returns being generally made in favour of the Whig interest, when the parliament met on the thirtieth of December, the choice of speaker fell upon Harley, who was deemed the principal leader of the former opposition, and who was set up against sir Thomas Lyttleton, recommended by the court.

On the last day of the year 1701, king William made a speech to his new parliament; in the framing of which he was supposed to have been assisted by the lord Somers, and which was so acceptable to the well-wishers of the Revolution, and their friends abroad, that it was printed with decorations in English, Dutch, and French, and hung up in frames in almost every house in England and Holland. As this was the last speech king William ever made in parliament, and might have passed for a model of future speeches, I shall, after the example of almost every other historian of those times, insert it at full length.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I promise myself you are met together, full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and the resentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people.

"The owning and setting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the nation, but does so nearly concern every man who has a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what further effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and secret abettors.

"By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy: he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as his own dominions; and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniencies of war.

"This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the variable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of Europe.

"In order to obviate the general calamity with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given me by both houses of parliament, which I will direct shall be laid before you, and which I doubt not you will enable me to make good.

"There are some other treaties still depending,

that shall be likewise communicated to you as soon as they are perfected.

"It is fit I should tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament: all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known, and therefore no time ought to be lost.

"You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you don't lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.

"In order to do your part, it will be necessary to have a great navy, and to provide for the security of our ships in harbour; and also that there be such a force at land as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which their importance requires: at the same time, I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim, that they shall never be losers that trust to a parliamentary security.

"It is always with regret when I do ask aids of my people; but you will observe, that I desire nothing which relates to any personal expence of mine: I am only pressing you to do all you can for your own safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time; and am willing, that what is given should be wholly appropriated to the purposes for which it is intended.

And since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that during the late war I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before you, and also gave my assent to several bills for stating and examining the public accounts, that the subjects might have the satisfaction to know how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matter may be put in any other way or examination, that it may appear whether any misapplications and mismanagements, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really arisen from the shortness of supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

"I have already told you how necessary dispatch will be for carrying on that great public business whereon our safety, and all that is valuable to us, depends. I hope what time can be spared will be employed about those other very desirable things which I have recommended from the throne; I mean the forming some good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the suppression of vice.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and hearty consent for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session.

"I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make

make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest offences committed against me.

"Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of your enemies, by your unanimity. I have shewn, and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people: do you in like manner lay aside parties and divisions: let there be no other distinction heard amongst us for the future, but of those who are for the protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who wish for a popish prince and a French government.

"I will only add this, if you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

In answer to this excellent and patriotic speech, the two houses presented separate addresses to his majesty, but agreed in returning him thanks for his speech, and in their resolutions to maintain and support his title and the protestant succession, and to enable him to make good all his alliances for the preservation of the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France*: which addresses were graciously received by the king, with assurances of the great satisfaction he conceived of their duty and affection. In a word, every thing was carried on to the high satisfaction of the nation in general. Care was taken to expedite forces by sea and land, forty thousand men being appointed for the naval service, and as many to make up the complement, already in good forwardness, by land; and the commons, in order to raise his majesty a present sum of money for those purposes, resolved, that whoever should advance or lend the sum of 600,000 pounds for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the present subsistence of the land-forces, should be repaid with interest at six per cent. out of the first aids.

His majesty was pleased, on the fourth of January 1702, to constitute the earl of Manchester principal secretary of state; and on the eighteenth the duke of Somerset was made president of the council, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, now lord high-admiral of England.

Both houses now seemed to vie with each other in their zeal for the government. It was unanimously resolved to address his majesty, that he would insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, that no peace should be made with France, until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A bill was also brought into the house of commons for attainting the pretended prince of Wales; which being carried up to the other house, passed, with the additional clause of attainder against the late king James's queen, who now assumed the character of queen-regent during her son's minority. This however was not carried without great opposition in the house of lords; and when the bill was sent back to the commons, they excepted to the amendment as ir-

regular, and proposed that the queen should be attainted in a separate bill; to which the lords assented: however, this was afterwards neglected in the lower house.

But the longest and warmest debates of this session were produced by a bill which was brought into the house of lords for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, and swearing to king William, by the title of Rightful and Lawful, and his heirs, according to the act of settlement. It was proposed that this oath should be voluntary, and should only be tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal recorded, without any other penalty†. Though the Whigs possessed an evident majority in both houses, yet there was in each a considerable number of Tories, who used their endeavours to traverse the measures of their rivals; and being headed by the earl of Nottingham in the house of peers, made strong efforts to throw out this bill, on pretence that the government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract, and that it was neither just nor honourable to add a new obligation. Oaths, they said, relating to mens opinions, had ever been considered as severe impositions; and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful, since no man could swear lawfully, unless required to it by a superior authority.

During these disputes another bill of abjuration was brought into the house of commons by sir Charles Hedges, which was to be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employments in church or state: it likewise included an obligation to maintain the government in the king, lords, and commons, and to maintain the church of England; together with the toleration for dissenters. A long debate ensued upon the question, "Whether the oath should be imposed, or voluntary?" and at length it was carried for imposition, by the majority of one voice. They agreed to an additional clause, declaring it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her royal highness the princess Anne of Denmark, as to compass or imagine the death of the king's eldest son and heir.

This bill was strenuously opposed in the house of peers: the Whigs rejected with indignation the clause to maintain the government in the king, lords, and commons, insisting that the lords and commons were no part of the government or the executive power, but only of the constitution or legislative authority: besides, they said, that as the extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales was the only object of the present bill, it was improper to crowd it with any foreign matters. The clause in favour of the church and the toleration was likewise laid aside, and for the same reason; and when, after long debates, the bill passed, ten lords entered a protest against it as an unnecessary and severe imposition‡.

The king came to the house on the tenth of February, and gave the royal assent to a bill for reviving and continuing the act for stating and examining the public accounts: after which the commons took into consideration the conduct of the Kentish petitioners who insulted the last parliament§; and there happening to be a controverted election for the borough of Maidstone in Kent,

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 185. Burnet, 295.

† Proceed. House of Lords, ii. 33, 34.

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 188.

between Thomas Blisse and Thomas Colepepper, esquires (the latter one of the Kentish petitioners). The house, on examining into the same, resolved, That the said Thomas Colepepper had been guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indecent practices, in endeavouring to procure himself elected burgeses for that town; and that he had promoted that scandalous and seditious petition in the house of commons, commonly called the Kentish Petition, containing groundless reflections on the house of commons, by aspersing the members with receiving French money, and being in the interest of France; for which offence he should be committed to Newgate, and the attorney-general should prosecute him for the said crimes. And on the twenty-sixth of February they came to these further resolutions, That to assert that the house of commons were not the only representative of the commons of England, tended to the subversion of the rights and privileges of the house of commons, and the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom: That to assert that the house of commons have no power of commitment but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the constitution of the house of commons: that to print or publish any books or libels reflecting on the proceedings of the house of commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his service therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the house of commons. It was determined, however, to take due care of the rights and privileges of the subject, while the house was maintaining its own dignity; and accordingly it was resolved by a considerable majority, That it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the king for the calling, sitting, or dissolving of parliaments, and for the redressing of grievances; and that every subject under an accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, had a right to be brought to a speedy trial.

These matters, however interesting, did not prevent the commons from attending to others of a more public and important nature: they addressed the king to engage his allies to increase their quotas of land-forces, to put on board the fleet, in proportion to the numbers which his majesty should embark. At the same time they settled the sums appropriated to the several uses of the war. The supplies were raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon land, annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on the profits arising from the different professions; by a tax of two and a half per cent. on all stock in trade, and money at interest; of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; a capitation-tax of four shillings; an imposition of one pound per cent. on all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; a duty of six pence per bushel on malt; and a further duty on mum, cyder, and perry.

The party humours were by this time become very fierce between the two East India companies: both strove to gain the court, as well as the new members of the house of commons. The spirit of this time may in some measure be seen by many warm pamphlets then published; and at the two coffee-houses near the Royal Exchange, which still retain the names of Garraway's and Jonathan's, these matters were made so important, as to be said then to prepare and direct the greatest business of the

nation. Both companies were at this time reckoned to have no fewer than sixty ships at sea; and great was the emulation at their public sales. These considerations made the government see the absolute necessity of composing their fierce contentions by a coalition, which was at length complied with, though not formally concluded, before king William died.

The same fate attended a most excellent and patriotic scheme, projected by that monarch, and which failed solely through the unhappy dissensions which prevailed in the northern parts of the island. This was an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The king had this affair so much at heart, that even when he was disabled from going to the parliament in person, he sent a letter to the commons, expressing an earnest desire that a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot: but as the ferment in Scotland, in relation to the Darien affair, was not yet thoroughly subsided, it was thought dangerous to risk the calling a new parliament there; and therefore this project was postponed to a more favourable opportunity.

The whole nation now seemed to join in the cry for a war with France; and his majesty issued out a proclamation for the better encouragement of seamen and able-bodied landmen, in which he offered a considerable gratuity by way of bounty-money, to such as should enter themselves on board the fleet by a fixed time: and after that, another proclamation was issued, to give farther time for such who were at any great distance, to come and partake of the like bounty. Accordingly, a great number very cheerfully entered themselves, as directed by these proclamations. His majesty had, before his return from Holland, engaged in a negotiation with the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who assured him, that if he would lay siege to and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, who were most heartily disgusted with the insolence and foppery of their new masters the French, would declare for the house of Austria. The emperor and the Dutch had also determined upon the siege of Keyserwaert, which the elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the French. The elector of Hanover had resolved to disarm the prince of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha; the king of the Romans and prince Lewis of Baden undertook to invest Landau; and the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement to prince Eugene in Savoy. The great elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia (Frederic-William) who for his services and attachment to the common interests of the German empire, was, by the interest of our king, who was his relation, invested with the regal dignity, and recognized by most of the princes and states of Europe as king of Prussia, in the preceding year had agreed to furnish a certain number of troops on having a fixed subsidy paid him: in a word, every thing appeared in the greatest forwardness by sea and land to humble the enemies of these kingdoms, when, in the midst of our flattering prospects, a cloud of sorrow overspread the land, upon the news of the king's indisposition.

His majesty, who had for some time been visibly declining in his health, had retired to Hampton-court, where he amused himself with his favourite diversions of riding and hunting. On the twenty-first of February, as he was taking the

air

air in the park of Hampton-court, he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, and broke his right collar-bone. He was immediately carried into the palace, where the bone was set, and the same evening he returned to Kensington. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovery till the first of March, when a defluxion fell upon his knee, with such symptoms as gave his physicians and surgeons very alarming apprehensions. Finding himself unable to go in person to the parliament-house as he intended, and yet being very solicitous about the great national affairs then depending, he was pleased to grant a commission under the great-seal to several peers, for passing the bills then lying ready for the royal assent; which were, a bill for the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales; and an act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an oath, in the usual form.

On the fourth day of March his majesty was so well recovered, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but at length, being somewhat fatigued, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep: soon after which he was seized with a shivering fit, which was succeeded by a fever and a violent looseness. Sir Thomas Millington, sir Richard Blackmore, Dr. Brown, Dr. Hutton, and several other physicians, were immediately sent for, who administered such remedies as they thought most like to give him relief: but he continued very ill till Friday the sixth of March, when, being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in the presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, applied a stamp, prepared for the purpose, to three bills; one of which was, the act of abjuration and settlement, to which we owe the security of a protestant succession in the august family now reigning. On Saturday morning his majesty found himself somewhat easier, though still extremely weak, and continued so all the morning: towards the evening he was again more faint, and in the night was attacked by three violent fits; during the intervals of which he sent for several noblemen, and spoke to them about private affairs. On Sunday morning early, being the eighth of March, his majesty received the holy sacrament from the hands of Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, who, with Dr. Burnet bishop of Salisbury, prayed by him, he himself assisting with great devotion. The lords of the council and many of the nobility attended all the while in an outer room. About eight o'clock in the morning the agonies of death overtook him; and just as he was expiring, he faintly asked for his great favourite the earl of Portland, who was immediately introduced to the bed-side; but the king being by that time speechless, he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart with marks of the most tender affection. He had before delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutore, telling him he knew what to do with them. He was sensible to the last moment, and died in the arms of Mr. Sewel, one of the pages of the Back-stairs, sitting up in bed in his night-gown, being kept alive five or six hours merely by the help of cordials. Thus departed William III. in the fifty-first year, fourth month, and fourth day of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and one month, wanting five days.

The remains of king William were deposited in Westminster-abbey on Sunday night the twelfth of April, with all the magnificence a private funeral would admit of. Soon after his will was opened in Holland: in this he had declared his cousin John-William-Henry Friso, prince of Nassau-Dietz, and hereditary stadtholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, appointing the States-general his executors. By a codicil annexed, he bequeathed the lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the earl of Albemarle.

William III. according to bishop Burnet's description of him, was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, and delicate constitution; subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave and solemn aspect, but very little majesty in it. He spoke very little; and when he did, his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting.

The character of William III. has shared the same fate which commonly attend the characters of those who act in exalted stations. By his friends he has been represented as adorned with every virtue; by his enemies, as deformed by every vice; but neither the one nor the other seem to have drawn their portraits from truth: the greatest eulogium upon this prince's memory, is the frantic joy which his enemies shewed at his death. Tho' we might count his disgraces by the number of battles he fought against the French, and by the sieges which they compelled him to raise, yet can we not in justice refuse him the title of a great general and a great king: though repeatedly beaten, he could never be said to be defeated, the victors being generally as great losers as the vanquished. William had inspired his troops with a confidence and courage that, like his own, was superior to all danger and ill success. Fortune indeed seems to have taken a delight in traversing all his military projects, if we except his campaign in Ireland, and the taking of Namur; but she could never get the better of his courage, fortitude, and equanimity, in which he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity.

In the government of his dominions he discovered an exquisite discernment, and consummate prudence. Almost all the powers of Europe considered him as a friend; one in whom they could repose an unlimited confidence; a distinction never before possessed by any king of England, and which William maintained by the most inviolable attachment to the interests of his allies, and an unwearied application to business. He checked the alarming progress of the French arms in Flanders and Germany: he was the prop of Europe, when ready to crouch beneath the power of Lewis XIV. To him the English are indebted for the knowledge of their own strength as a maritime and commercial nation. Though he was himself seldom cordially treated by his parliaments, who much embarrassed and obstructed him in his undertakings, yet he suffered not this treatment to get the better of his solicitude for the glory and welfare of these kingdoms. In a word, now that party prejudices have given way to reasons of justice and equity, William III. is deservedly considered as one of the greatest kings that ever filled the English throne.

Engrav'd for
MORTIMER'S
History of England.



S. Wale delin.

C. Grignion sculp.

QUEEN ANN.

It must be acknowledged, however, that with all his virtues, this prince was not free from vices, or more properly speaking, from imperfections; the chief of which was ambition. This was the distinguishing part of his character, as may appear in most part of the steps he took at the time of the Revolution, but particularly in his refusing to accept the sovereign power in conjunction with his queen, whose priority of title could never be disputed. Other causes have indeed been assigned for this refusal of a conjunct reign, but they do not seem satisfactory; in particular, when they would ascribe this step rather to prudence than ambition, to preserve queen Mary from the odium of swaying the sceptre of her living father. William stands justly blameable for that impolitic, and indeed ungrateful bias, which he on all occasions discovered towards his foreign favourites. This occasioned the distrust between him and his people, and is an example that all princes would do well to consider, when they are called to the government of a strange people.

It is not to be wondered at, that a prince bred up from his cradle amidst the noise of battle and a camp, should not have possessed any great taste for

the arts and sciences; nor have shewn himself the patron or encourager of learning and learned men. Generosity indeed was on few occasions one of his most shining virtues: military merit, which he beyond all other things admired, experienced several instances of it. However, upon a candid review of this prince's conduct and character, we may with justice say, that his virtues and accomplishments were greater, and his failings less numerous, and much more excusable, than most of his predecessors, whose lives and actions we have recorded in the course of this work; nor can Englishmen think of him but with gratitude, as an illustrious instrument in the hand of Providence for rescuing these nations from popery and slavery.

King William was the posthumous son of William of Nassau prince of Orange, by the princess Mary, eldest daughter of king Charles I. On the fourth of November, 1677, he married his first cousin the princess Mary, eldest daughter of James duke of York (afterwards king James II.) by whom he had no issue; nor did he ever marry again after her death, which happened on the twenty-eighth of December, 1694.

A N N E, the last Sovereign of ENGLAND of the Name of STUART. A. D. 1702.

UPON the death of king William, the crown, pursuant to the act of succession, devolved to the princess Anne of Denmark. This princess was second daughter of James duke of York, afterwards king James II. by Mrs. Anne Hyde, eldest daughter of sir Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. The duke was privately married to this lady during his first exile in the year 1659; and upon that great turn of affairs at the Restoration, there did not want those who would have had him deny the marriage, suggesting the advantages he might make by another choice; but he could never be brought to listen to their advice; and in the year 1660 she was, by an order of council, declared duchess of York, and to have the precedence of the princess of Orange and the queen of Bohemia. The duchess was a lady of a very fair character, and a constant member of the church of England till her last long indisposition, when she was prevailed upon to embrace the faith of the church of Rome, in which she died, to the unspeakable grief of her father, who expostulated with the duke as well as herself on that subject. The duchess of York died in the palace of St. James, on the thirty-first of March, in the year 1671. She had issue by the duke four sons and four daughters, viz. Charles, James, Charles, and Edgar; Mary, Anne, Henrietta, and Catherine. Charles, James, Charles, and Henrietta, died in her life-time, and Edgar and Catherine did not survive her a year; but her two daughters Mary and Anne lived to be queens of England.

The latter of these princesses, whose reign I am now entering upon, was born at St. James's, on the sixth of February 1665. As the lady Anne grew up, she was found not to be so healthy as could have been wished; wherefore she was, by the advice of the physicians, sent over to France when about five years of age. This gave occasion to many people to suspect that she was sent thither to be bred a catholic: but these fears were quieted by her return to England some months afterwards, having received considerable benefit in her constitution from the change of air. When her sister the princess Mary was married to the prince of Orange, the duke of York was very pressing with his brother (Charles II.) to leave him the disposal of his other daughter the princess Anne; but the king judged it most prudent to fall in with the views and remonstrances of his parliament, and give her hand to a protestant prince. When the princess was in the twentieth year of her age, the prince of Hanover (afterwards king George I. of England) arriving here, it was the general talk that a treaty of marriage was on foot between him and the lady Anne, and that he came over purposely to see her. However this might be, he returned without making any proposals of the kind. Two years after prince George of Denmark, second son of Frederick III. a younger brother of Christian V. king of Denmark, came into England on purpose to pay his addresses to the young princess, and on the twenty-eighth of July 1683, they were solemnly married by Dr. Henry Compton,

Compton, bishop of London (who had the charge of her highness's education) in the chapel-royal of St. James, in the presence of the king and queen, their royal highnesses the duke and duchess of York, and all the principal nobility of the land.

Upon the death of king Charles II. the princess Anne became a degree nearer to the crown. However, during all the time of her father's reign, she kept her court as private as she could, consistent with her station. A very good correspondence had all along subsisted between her royal highness and her sister the princess of Orange; but the birth of the pretended prince of Wales tending to remove them at a greater distance (and perhaps for ever exclude them and their issue) from the crown, together with the report of his being a prince imposed upon the nation gaining ground every day, a greater intimacy grew between the two sisters, who carried on a secret correspondence for some time. When at length the prince of Orange landed in England, and was preparing to march to the capital, in order to bring the infatuated James to a proper sense of his past ill conduct, and that numbers of the nobility and gentry crowded to enlist under his banners, the banners of liberty; Prince George of Denmark, her highness's consort, quitted king James, his father-in-law, whom he had accompanied as far as Salisbury, and went off to the prince of Orange at Torbay. He left behind him a letter for the king; wherein, among other things, he excused himself in the following expressions: "My just concern for that religion wherein I have been so happily educated, which my judgment truly convinces me to be the best, and for the support whereof I am highly interested in my native country; and is not England now become so by the most endearing tie!" by which he meant her royal highness, who, upon the news of her husband's having left the king, and that the latter was upon his return to London, was thrown into great agonies and perplexities; and so apprehensive was she of her father's displeasure, that she told the lady Churchill (afterwards duchess of Marlborough) then her lady of the bed-chamber and chief confidant, that rather than see the king, she would jump out at the window, not knowing but she might be sent away into France, or put under such restraint as might endanger her life. Accordingly, by the help of lady Churchill and lady Berkeley, she left the court in the dead of the night before the day of her father's arrival; and attended by these two ladies, went to the bishop of London's house in the city, and there taking coach with all

imaginable secrecy, the bishop and the earl of Dorset conducted her royal highness safely to Nottingham, where the earl of Devonshire was in arms, who furnished her with some money, gave her two hundred men for a guard, and she from thence went to Oxford, where she soon after met with her husband with a detachment of the prince of Orange's forces *.

The success of the prince of Orange's expedition has already been fully related: I shall therefore only observe, that her royal highness finding the parliament inclined to settle the crown on king William for life, she readily gave her consent to it; and during the whole of that king's reign, she took care that no disturbance should be raised by her friends, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition. The return she met with for this behaviour has been already enlarged upon in the history of the last reign; it was indeed such as few princesses of her expectations could have brooked so patiently and submissively as herself. However, king William's death put an end to her disagreeable situation, and placed her on the throne in the thirty-third year of her age.

The late king dying on Sunday the eighth of March, about eight in the morning, the privy-council that was then assembled waited upon her majesty, and recognized her right and title to the throne: upon which occasion she made them a short speech, which was delivered with a majesty and sweetness peculiar to this princess in all her public orations: therein she expressed her deep sense of the loss which the nation had sustained by the death of his late majesty, and of the great weight and burden which it brought upon herself in particular: but the sincere regard she had to the religion and liberties of her country, she said, would influence her to leave nothing undone on her part to preserve them inviolable, to maintain the succession in the protestant line, and the government in church and state as by law established. She also declared her firm resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France, and that she would lose no time in giving her allies all assurances that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with that of the confederates, for the support of the common cause.

As by an act passed in the late reign, the parliament continued sitting even after the king's death, both houses met immediately; and the lords having desired a conference with the commons, acquainted them with the death of king William, declaring, that on the demise of his late majesty,

* Her royal highness thought it prudent, before she left the court, to write a letter of excuse to the queen for her so sudden retreat, which was in these words:

"Madam, I beg your pardon if I am so deeply affected with the surprising news of the prince being gone, as not to be able to see you, but to leave this paper to express my duty to the king and yourself, and to let you know that I am going to absent myself, to avoid the king's displeasure, which I am not able to bear either against the prince or myself; and I shall stay at so great a distance as not to return before I hear the happy news of a reconciliation: and as I am confident the prince did not leave the king with any other design than to use all possible means for his preservation, I hope you will do me the justice to believe that I am not capable of following him for any other end. Never was any one in such an unhappy condi-

tion; so divided between duty and affection, between a father and a husband; and therefore I know not what to do but to follow one to preserve the other. I see the general defection of the nobility and gentry, who avow to have no other end than to prevail with the king to secure their religion, which they saw so much in danger by the violent counsels of the priests, who to promote their own religion did not care to what danger they exposed the king. I am fully persuaded that the prince of Orange designs the king's safety and preservation, and hope all things may be compassed without more bloodshed, by the calling of a parliament. God grant a happy end to these troubles, that the king's reign may be prosperous, and that I may shortly see you in perfect peace and safety: till when, let me beg your majesty to continue the same favourable opinion you have hitherto had of, &c."

the princess Anne was the only rightful queen of these realms, and that orders had been given for proclaiming her majesty. The commons readily joined with their lordships in recognizing her majesty's title, and unanimously voted an address of condolance and congratulation. In the afternoon the queen was proclaimed with the usual ceremony, amidst the loud acclamations of the people; and indeed the joy expressed by the whole nation on the accession of queen Anne was observed to be greater and more general than had appeared on any other occasion since the Restoration of the church and monarchy under king Charles II. The same day her majesty was pleased to issue a proclamation, by which all magistrates and officers civil and military, were continued in the exercise of their respective functions till further orders.

The queen also summoned all the late king's ministers of the kingdom of Scotland who were then in London, to attend her, before whom she took the coronation-oath appointed to be taken by the laws of Scotland, on the accession of a new sovereign. After which she sent a commission to the earl of Marchmont, lord-chancellor of that kingdom, to be her commissioner in the general assembly of the kirk that was then sitting; and likewise dispatched a letter to the privy-council there, authorizing them to act as her council, and to issue proclamations, requiring all officers, civil and military, to continue the exercise of their several offices, declaring her resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties; and the like orders were sent to Ireland, where the joy of the people appeared no less sincere on her majesty's ascending the throne than in England.

The next day, being the ninth of March, each house of parliament attended her majesty separately, with an address of condolance and congratulation. The peers, who first presented theirs, assured her majesty of their firm resolution to support her undoubted right and title, and the succession in the protestant line, against all her enemies whatsoever, being fully sensible, they said, that the great loss they had sustained was no otherwise to be repaired but by a vigorous adherence to her majesty and her allies, in the prosecution of the measures already entered into to reduce the exorbitant power of France: that they would exert themselves to the utmost to maintain the balance of Europe, and desired no time might be lost in communicating to the allies her majesty's resolution of adhering to the alliances already made, which they would exert their utmost endeavours to enable her to maintain.

Her majesty returned the lords her thanks for the assurances they gave her, and told them her endeavours should always be very sincere to promote the true interest of England, and support the common cause.

The same day in the evening, the commons in a body attended her majesty with their address, in which they condoled with her for the loss of the late king; but, they said, her majesty's zeal for their religion and establishment gave them a cer-

tain prospect of future happiness, and moderated their grief, and engaged them unanimously to assure her, that they would assist and maintain her majesty on the throne where God had placed her against all her enemies; and also that they were firmly resolved to maintain her majesty's alliances, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and effectually provide for and make good the public credit of the nation*.

Her majesty thanked the commons for their assurances, and told them they could not be more agreeably confirmed than by giving dispatch to their preparations for the public service and for the support of the allies. The lord archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops also attended her majesty with an address of condolance and congratulation, as did the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and afterwards all the counties and corporations of England.

On the eleventh of March the queen went to the house of peers with the usual solemnity, where she delivered this her first speech to the parliament:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot too much lament my own unhappiness in succeeding so immediately after the loss of a king, who was the great support not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe; and I am extremely sensible of the weight and difficulty it brings upon me.

"But the true concern I have for our religion; for the laws and liberties of England; for the maintaining the succession to the crown in the protestant line, and the government in church and state, as by law established, encourages me in this great undertaking, which I promise myself will be successful, by the blessing of God, and the continuance of that fidelity and affection of which you have given me so full assurance.

"The present conjuncture of affairs requires the greatest application and dispatch; and I am very glad to find in your several addresses so unanimous a concurrence in the same opinion with me, that too much cannot be done for the encouragement of our allies to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

"I cannot but think it very necessary upon this occasion to desire you to consider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been so lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and security of both kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I need not put you in mind that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government is expired.

"I rely entirely upon your affections, for the supplying it in such manner as shall be most suitable for the honour and dignity of the crown.

My lords and gentlemen,

"It shall be my constant endeavour to make you the best return for that duty and affection you have expressed to me, by a careful and diligent ad-

* This resolution of the commons about public credit, together with the good harmony that appeared between the new queen and her parliament, immediately raised the national funds

above their former value, which upon king William's death had fallen about fifteen per cent. Burnet. Tindal.

ministration for the good of all my subjects; and as I know my own heart to be entirely English, I can very sincerely assure you there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."

This speech was extremely agreeable to the parliament, and the two houses unanimously joined in a warm address of thanks to her majesty for the same; and on the fourteenth of March voted, That the same revenue which had been settled on king William should be settled on her majesty for life*. The same day the duke of Bedford and the earl of Marlborough were elected knights companions of the most noble order of the garter, and on the 15th the earl was declared captain-general of all her majesty's forces in England, and of those which were employed abroad in conjunction with her allies. Her majesty wrote a letter to the States-general to notify the death of king William, and to assure them of her resolution to concur with them in all the measures that should be found necessary to preserve the common liberty of Europe, and to reduce the power of France within due bounds. This letter Mr. Stanhope, the English envoy in Holland, delivered to the States, who immediately published it, to refute those reports that had been raised that the queen would not prosecute the measures concerted by king William and the confederates. This letter greatly revived the drooping spirits of the States, who had been seized with the most dreadful consternation on the first news of king William's death: but animated by her majesty's assurances, they now resolved to prosecute vigorous measures; and their resolutions were still more inspirited by the arrival of the earl of Marlborough on the twenty-eighth of March, in the quality of her majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their High Mightinesses.

After several conferences with the pensionary Fagel, and the other ministers, he was on the thirty-first of March, conducted to his public audience of the States General, with great solemnity, to whom he made a speech, wherein, after having condoled their mutual loss, and assured them of her majesty's sincere desire to entertain the same union, friendship, and correspondence, as had subsisted between the two nations in the preceding reign, he also told their High Mightinesses, that he was farther ordered to assure them, that the queen his mistress would not only faithfully observe the treaties and alliances already made with them, but was ready to renew and confirm them, and to concur in all the measures taken by the late king, in pursuance of the said alliances; that she was also willing to assist the allies with all her forces, by sea and land, for the preservation of the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France; and had ordered him to concur with them in the necessary operations for effecting these ends†. This speech

was answered by Dyckvelt, president of the week, who, in the name of the States, expressed their hearty thanks to her majesty, and their resolution of concurring with her in a vigorous prosecution of the common interest: to which the president added, "that his excellency's person would be highly acceptable to them, not only for the queen's choice of him, and for the sake of king William, who had first invested him with that character, but also for his own merit."

The French king, on the news of William's death, which had filled the court of Versailles with a joy they could hardly restrain within the bounds of common decorum, dispatched credentials to the sieur de Barré, whom the count d'Avaux had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with instructions to renew the negotiations with the States, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. De Barré accordingly presented a memorial to the States, offering them his master's friendship, which he said he did not doubt they would be ready to cultivate, "now they were no longer under the influence of the deceased king:" but gave them to understand, at the same time, that his master's forces were ready to enter upon action, and they must now determine whether they would chuse quiet and liberty, or war and ruin, and the ruin of their trade, sacrificed to foreign interests‡.

The States, in their answer to this memorial (both which they made public), said, "That they had always a high esteem for his most Christian majesty's friendship, and had never done any thing to incur his displeasure; but that the preparations for war upon their frontiers, laid them under the necessity of putting themselves in a posture of defence, and of asking assistance from their allies: that the resident was mistaken, if he thought their High Mightinesses had not as much liberty during the life-time of his Britannic majesty, to debate and take such resolutions as they judged necessary for their preservation, as they had at present: that they could not indeed enough deplore their misfortune, in being deprived of his wise conduct and counsels, whose deserts the republic could never forget; and they were resolved to follow the same principles, and continue the same alliances they had entered into in his life-time; and make use of such other means as God had put into their hands for maintaining their liberties and religion." Upon this answer, the sieur de Barré dispatched an express to France; and the earl of Marlborough, having concerted measures for beginning the military operations, returned to England.

In the mean time the English parliament having gone through several bills, her majesty came to the house on the thirtieth of March, and gave the royal assent to the act for the better support of her majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown; to an act for stating the public accounts; and to some other acts, which may be seen in the notes||. After which her majesty made a speech to both houses, wherein she told them, it

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 199.

† Lamberti, vol. i. Burnet. Boyer.

‡ Lamberti. Broderick.

|| An act for explaining a clause in an act made in the parliament begun and holden at Westminster the twenty-second of November, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord William III. intitled, "An act for the better security of his majesty's royal person and government."

An act for reviving an act, entitled, "An act for exempting apothecaries from serving the offices of constable, scavenger, and other parish and ward-offices, and from serving upon juries."

An act for continuing the act made in the eighth year of his late majesty's reign, for the better preventing the counterfeiting the current coin of this kingdom.

was with great pleasure that she gave her assent to the act for stating the public accounts, as she thought it highly reasonable that her subjects should be satisfied how the large sums they had granted her had been expended, especially when their common safety still required the continuance of great taxes: at the same time she returned the commons thanks for having continued to her, during her life, the same revenue they had granted to the late king; telling them, that although it would, in all probability, fall short of what it had formerly produced, she would nevertheless give directions that one hundred thousand pounds thereof should be applied this year to the public service; being willing, she said, to straiten herself in her own expences, rather than not contribute all she could to the ease and relief of her people, with a just regard to the honour and dignity of the crown.

This popular and generous declaration so won upon the parliament, that both houses presented her majesty addresses of thanks, in which they took notice of her unparalleled grace and goodness, in contributing out of her own revenue to the ease and relief of her subjects.

The queen being settled in the throne, began to think of forming her ministry, wherein she gave evident proofs of her partiality for the Tories: she had, indeed, from her infancy, imbibed strong prejudices against the Whigs, whom she considered as filled with a republican spirit, and by no means friends to the church of England, to which she was most zealously devoted. The treatment she had met with from her sister and king William, had not a little confirmed her in her dislike to the Whigs, to whom she imputed that treatment; and her consort prince George, who had found himself equally slighted during the preceding reign, encouraged her in her resentments against that party: besides, the Tories had engaged very warmly in her interests in the affair of her revenue, which, though it might have been done principally out of opposition to king William, was charged to the account of their affection to her. These circumstances considered, the reader will not be surprized to find that the Tories were chiefly considered.

On the fourteenth of April, the duke of Devonshire was constituted lord-steward of the household; the earl of Jersey, lord chamberlain; the earl of Bedford, treasurer; sir Edward Seymour, comptroller; and Peregrine Bertie, esq. vice-chamberlain: two days after, her majesty, in council, declared his royal highness the prince of Denmark generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land. It had been debated, on her majesty's accession to the throne, whether her princely consort should have any higher title than he had before: some alleged, he should have the name, if not the authority, of King; and instanced the examples of Philip of Spain, who married our queen Mary I. and of Henry, lord Darnley, who espoused Mary queen of Scots. As to the first, the emperor Charles V. had, before his son's marriage, conferred on him the title of king of Naples, Jerusalem, &c. and not long after resigned to him all his hereditary dominions; but for the other, he never had any

sovereignty, and so was more parallel to the present case; perhaps the main reason that induced the Scots to proclaim him king, was his near relation to the crown of Great Britain. It might also have been observed, that Francis, dauphin of France, the queen of Scots first husband, had the title of king of Scotland, though in France he was styled only Roy Dauphin (King Dauphin †.) However, the prince of Denmark contented himself with the same titles and character as before, and was the first who did homage to her majesty at her coronation, which was solemnized on the twenty-third of April, as duke of Cumberland. The duke of Ormond was now made commander in chief of all her majesty's land forces on board the fleet; and the lord Somers, and some others of the Whig party, being dismissed from the council-board, the marquis of Normanby, the earl of Abingdon, sir John Leveson Gower, sir Edward Seymour, and John How, esq. (the same who had expressed himself in so indecent terms about the partition-treaty in the last reign), were sworn of the privy council. The privy seal was delivered to the marquis of Normanby, and sir John Leveson Gower was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; the earl of Rochester was continued lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great share of her majesty's confidence; and Dr. John Sharpe, archbishop of York became her ghostly director and counsellor in all ecclesiastical affairs. Soon after the earl of Nottingham and sir Charles Hedges were appointed secretaries of state.

There were however several of the Whig party at this time in the ministry: these had been admitted in order to gain them over; but the Tories were the preponderating party. When it came to be debated in council, whether England should enter into the war as principals, or only as auxiliaries, the Tories, with the earl of Rochester at their head, were for the latter, alleging, that in the late war the emperor and some other allies had been very remiss in furnishing their quotas, and bringing their troops early into the field, whereby many advantages had been lost, and the burthen of the war in a manner thrown upon the English; that their deficiencies were constantly supplied by England; and when they were put in mind of what they had stipulated and engaged for, their inability to perform their parts was accepted as an excuse; while the English, from a nice notion of honour, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country in the quarrel: whereas, had they acted only as auxiliaries, they would have had no more to do but to pay the troops sent to their assistance, and the stress and burden of the war must have been borne, as it ought to be, by those who were most nearly concerned in the event.

The Whigs, however, the chief of whom were the dukes of Devonshire and Somerset, insisted upon the expediency of our acting as principals: in this opinion they were joined by the earl of Marlborough, between whom and the earl of Rochester there was at this time a rivalry for the queen's favour: the interest of the latter however prevailed; Marlborough was not only the better courtier, but by the canal of his countess actually

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 199.

† Coke's Court of England, p. 127.

directed the queen in all her resolutions. He observed on this occasion, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the king's engagements, and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds unless the English would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was strongly supported by the two dukes above-mentioned and the earl of Pembroke, who at length drew over the majority of the council to their side, and a declaration was ordered to be prepared against France and Spain. Her majesty, however, thought proper to lay the matter before the house of commons, and accordingly Mr. Comptroller, by her command, communicated to them the convention between her majesty, the emperor, and the States-general; whereupon the commons addressed her majesty with thanks for having condescended to advise with them before she declared war, and assured her that they would to the utmost assist and support her majesty in carrying on the said war. The queen having the concurrence of the commons, caused the following declaration of war against France and Spain to be solemnly proclaimed on the fourth day of May.

A N N E R.

“Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call us to the government of these realms, at a time when our late dear brother William III. of glorious memory, had, in pursuance of the repeated advice of the parliament of this kingdom, entered into solemn treaties of alliance with the emperor of Germany, the States-general of the United Provinces, and other princes and potentates, for preserving the liberty and balance of Europe, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France; which treaties are grounded upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments of the French king, who had taken, and still keeps possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions, exercising an absolute authority over all that monarchy, having seized Milan and the Spanish Low-countries by his armies, and made himself master of Cadiz, of the entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the ports in the Spanish West Indies by his fleets, everywhere designing to invade the liberties of Europe, and to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce: and it being provided by the third and fourth articles of the fore-mentioned alliance, That if in the space of two months, which are some time since expired, injuries complained of were not remedied, the parties concerned should mutually assist each other with their whole strength: and whereas, instead of giving the satisfaction that ought justly to be expected, the French king has not only proceeded to farther violences, but has added thereunto a great affront and indignity to us and our kingdoms, in taking upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and has also influenced Spain to concur in the same affront and indignity, as well as in his other oppressions: we find ourselves obliged, for maintaining the public faith, for vindicating the honour of our crown, and for preventing the mischiefs which all Europe is threatened with, to declare, and we do hereby accordingly declare war against France and Spain; and placing our entire

confidence in the help of Almighty God in so just and necessary an undertaking, we will, in conjunction with our allies, vigorously prosecute the same by sea and land, being assured of the ready concurrence and assistance of our subjects in a cause they have so openly and so heartily espoused; and we do hereby will and require our lord high-admiral of England, our general of our forces, our lieutenants of our several counties, governors of our forts and garrisons, and all other officers and soldiers under them by sea and land, to do and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of this war against France and Spain, their vassals and subjects, and to oppose their attempts, willing and requiring all our subjects to take notice of the same, whom we henceforth strictly forbid to hold any correspondence or communication with France, Spain, or their subjects: but because there are remaining in our kingdoms many of the subjects of France and Spain, we do declare our royal intention to be, that all the subjects of France and Spain who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us shall be safe in their persons and estates.”

Given at our court at St. James's, the fourth day of May, 1702, in the first year of our reign.

Two days after the issuing of this declaration lord Godolphin was constituted lord high-treasurer. This office his lordship had for some time refused, until he was over-ruled by the persuasions of the earl of Marlborough, to whose eldest daughter his son was married. This nobleman refused to command the forces abroad unless the treasury was put into the hands of Godolphin, on whose punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. The same day her majesty was pleased to appoint George prince of Denmark lord high-admiral, though to do this it was requisite to remove the earl of Pembroke, then lord high-admiral, who was actually preparing to go to sea. It is true a large pension was offered him; but his lordship answered with a generosity and spirit not often to be met with, That however convenient it might be for his private interest, yet the accepting such a pension was inconsistent with his principles; and since he could not have the honour of serving his country in person, he would endeavour to do it by his example*. The new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him by his commission, viz. sir George Rooke, sir David Mitchel, George Churchill, esq. and Richard Hill, esq. who were to assist him with their advice, and also in the execution of his office.

The two houses now joined in an address to her majesty, that she would prevail with the emperor, the States-general, and the rest of her allies, to prohibit all trade and correspondence with France, and enter into measures with the Dutch for protecting the foreign trade of both nations. The Lords also addressed her majesty to encourage privateers and adventurers who should endeavour to possess themselves of the Spanish dominions in America, this being the only part of the world where the nation could gain any advantage by the war on the terms of the grand alliance; but unfortunately this advice was neglected. Her ma-

* Campbell's Lives of Admirals.

jeſty having been pleaſed, by order of council, to require that the princeſs Sophia, electreſs-dowager of Hanover (by act of parliament appointed next in ſucceſſion to her majeſty, in caſe ſhe ſhould leave no iſſue behind her) ſhould be prayed for in churches, &c. both lords and commons voted her thanks for her great zeal for the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, expreſſed in her ſaid order.

And now the violent Tories in the lower houſe, who were moſt of them Jacobites, perceiving that every thing was conducted with vigour and diſpatch, reſolved to ſtart ſome ſubject which might, if not defeat, at leaſt retard the proſecution of the war. With this view they moved for an addreſs, "That no perſon who was not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or at leaſt of Engliſh parents, unleſs they were formerly in half pay, ſhould be an officer in her majeſty's new-raiſed forces." This motion was ſuppoſed to be meant as a reflection on the memory of the late king, who was accuſed of an immoderate attachment to foreigners: the motion however was ſilenced, and the enemies of the government for this time put to confuſion. This however was but a ſmall part of the inſults aimed at the character of the late king; for about this time a report was induſtriouſly ſpread, that he had formed a deſign to exclude the princeſs Anne from the crown, and to get the elector of Hanover declared his immediate ſucceſſor; a report which gained ſo much credit, that the city of Norwich, in their addreſs to the queen, printed in the Gazette of the thirtieth of April, congratulated her majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne, "notwithſtanding the malicious deſigns and contrivances uſed to defeat her majeſty of her undoubted right."

Hereupon ſeveral peers, friends to the Revolution and the memory of the late king, inſiſted that a proper ſcrutiny ſhould be made into the matter; and after a ſtrict and ſcrupulous ſearch among the papers his majeſty had left behind him, nothing appeared on which ſuch a ſtory could with truth be founded. The houſe of lords therefore voted the ſaid report to be a villainous attempt to diſhonour the late king's memory, and humbly beſought her majeſty to cauſe the authors or publiſhers of ſuch a report to be proſecuted by the attorney-general; and Dr. Drake being charged with having ſuggeſted ſomething of this kind in a pamphlet he publiſhed, entitled, *The Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament*, he was brought before the houſe, when he ſeemed to be under a ſtrange ſurprize and abſence of thought at his examination: for being aſked, if he had heard any perſons ſay that they could charge any perſons whatever with ſuch ſpeeches? he answered, he did not know of any ſuch perſon: and on being aſked farther, if in any of the pamphlets he had cited as obnoxious, there was any thing ſaid about ſetting aſide her preſent majeſty? the doctor answered, he did not remember there was: and yet it appears, that about the ſame time there was a

pamphlet cited by the doctor under their lordſhips conſideration, entitled, "Reasons for addreſſing his majeſty to invite into England their highneſſes the electreſs-dowager and the electoral prince of Hanover;" written by Toland: wherein it was expreſſly ſaid, that it appears from hiſtory, "That all free people have ſet aſide the children of tyrants, for reaſons of eternal and univerſal force, as inheriting the principles and deſigns of their parents, bearing an affection to their friends, and owing revenge to their enemies." And their lordſhips were ſo well ſatiſfied of the drift of this claufe, and others of the like nature, that they paſſed their cenſures on theſe pamphlets, and ordered the authors to be proſecuted for the ſame: and indeed thoſe gentlemen and their zealous brethren were much leſs forward in giving credit to ſuch a report, when they had ſeen his majeſty make the earl of Rocheſter, uncle to the princeſs Anne, his prime miniſter, and the earl of Marlborough, who was her principal confidant, general of his armies, and ambaffador and plenipotentiary to his allies *. But to proceed:

As the queen in her ſpeech had recommended an union between England and Scotland, a bill was introduced into parliament to empower her majeſty to name commiſſioners to treat with the Scots on that ſubject. The Tories endeavoured all in their power to defeat this bill; but the meaſure was ſo plainly conducive to the intereſt of England, and the ſupport of the preſent government, that notwithstanding all their efforts it paſſed through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent. The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, on the twenty-fifth of May the queen went to the houſe of peers; and after giving her aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills, prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh day of July †, after having in a ſhort ſpeech thanked them for their zeal, recommended unanimity, and declared ſhe would carefully preſerve and maintain the act of toleration.

In the beginning of June her majeſty was pleaſed to appoint Simon Harcourt, eſq. to be ſollicitor-general, and to confer the honour of knight-hood both upon him and Mr. Northey, attorney-general. In the ſame month great alterations were made of general officers, viz. the earl of Rivers and Charles Churchill, eſq. were made lieutenants-general; ſir Charles O'Hara, William Selwyn, and Richard Ingoldsby, eſq. majors-general; and the earl of Arran, the lord Windſor, Cornelius Wood, Hatton Compton, William Lloyd, Guſtavus Hamilton, and William Seymour, brigadiers-general; and William Matthews, eſq. brigadier general of her majeſty's guards. The prince of Denmark was conſtituted conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports. The honourable John Granville was appointed lord-warden of the ſtannaries; and the earl of Carberry, governor of Milford-haven. His royal highneſs was pleaſed to appoint Charles earl of Wincheſea lieutenant of

* Life of Queen Anne. Tindal. Hiſtory of Europe.

† In this ſhort ſeſſion the queen gave her aſſent to the following acts, viz. an act obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their proteſtant children. By this act, if any Jewiſh parent, with a view to compel his proteſtant child to change his religion, ſhould reſuſe ſuch a child maintenance ſuitable to the ability of the parent, and the age and education of the child, the lord-chancellor was empowered to make ſuch an order for the maintenance of the child as to him ſhould ſeem moſt

proper and convenient. An act for continuing the imprisonment of Counter, and other conſpirators againſt king William. An act for the relief of the proteſtant purchaſers of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland. An act for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration. By this act it was declared treaſonable for any one to attempt the hindering any perſon who was or ſhould be next in ſucceſſion, according to the act of ſettlement for ſucceeding to the crown on the death of her majeſty.

Dover-castle and the Cinque-ports; and the lord viscount Weymouth, the lord Dartmouth, sir John Trevor master of the Rolls, sir Thomas Trevor lord chief-justice of the Common-pleas, and the honourable John Granville, esq. were sworn of her majesty's privy-council; the earl of Marlborough was also made master of the ordnance.

In the mean time William Fuller, an infamous impostor, who had repeatedly abused the patience both of the lords and commons, on pretence of making some important discoveries concerning the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, was brought to his trial at the bar of the Queen's Bench, upon an information for contriving and publishing several scandalous libels, particularly one, entitled, "Original Letters from the late King James," &c. It appeared at this trial, that Fuller had been censured by the house of commons in the year 1691, for crimes of the like nature, for which he was prosecuted at common law, and punished; notwithstanding which he still persisted in his villainous practices. It appeared also, that he had applied himself to some of the ministry, pretending to make discoveries, as above-mentioned; and though the stories were so very foolishly laid together, that they could never obtain any credit with reasonable people, yet the commonalty gave great credit to them. Fuller would have trifled with the court of Queen's Bench, as he had formerly done with the two houses of parliament, pretending, that if they would allow him time, he would produce witnesses to the truth of what he had affirmed; but the imposture was so notorious, that the jury found him guilty without withdrawing, and the lord chief justice Holt sentenced him to stand thrice in the pillory; to be sent to the house of correction, there to be whipped, and kept to hard labour for five months; to pay a fine of one thousand marks, and to remain in prison till it was paid.

It is now time to shift the scene, and take a view of the affairs of Scotland, where a warm contest had arisen between the Revolutionists and those in the opposition, concerning the existence of the present parliament. I have already taken notice that the queen, on her accession, sent a letter to the privy-council of that kingdom, to continue to act till farther orders. Her majesty, not long after, thought fit to send them another letter, in answer to one the late king had received, concerning their trade to Africa and the Indies, and the union with England, wherein her majesty tells them, she would maintain the sovereignty and independency of that her antient kingdom, and be as tender of their rights as of her kingdom of England; that she would govern each kingdom according to their respective laws, and endeavour to avoid all misunderstandings and differences between them; to that end she would endeavour to establish an union between them. That the parliament of England having shewn such an inclination towards an union, she hoped the parliament of Scotland would not obstruct the design. That the late king had ordered, that none of the subjects of Scotland should be impressed for the English sea-service, and she would continue to protect them in this matter. She regretted their losses and disappointments in their trade to Africa and the Indies; and

in settling a colony in America, which was now a misfortune to the whole kingdom: she would concur in any proposals for their reparation and assistance; and she would encourage not only the trade of that company, but of the whole kingdom, and to the utmost of her power promote the welfare of her people*.

Notwithstanding these assurances, and that her majesty had taken the coronation oath of that kingdom, in the presence of twelve Scottish counsellors, then in London, those who wanted to embroil affairs, affirmed that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by persons deputed for that purpose, either by the parliament, or the privy-council of the kingdom: they also clamoured loudly for the calling a new parliament; while the present ministry, consisting of the duke of Queensberry, the earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Selkirk, and Hyndford, who were staunch Revolutionists, were desirous that the present parliament should continue, in pursuance of a late act for continuing the parliament that should be then in being, six months after the death of the late king, and that it should assemble in twenty days after that event; but the queen having, by several adjournments, deferred the meeting almost three months after the king's decease, the Antirevolutionists therefore affirmed it was dissolved; and the duke of Hamilton, who was at the head of this party, together with the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls Marischal and Rothes, and many other gentlemen, repaired to London, in order to make the queen acquainted with their objections to the continuance of the present parliament. The duke of Queensberry, however, having warmly represented to the queen and her English ministry, that the calling another parliament at this juncture might occasion tumults in Scotland; and, moreover, that it could not be convened time enough for her majesty's service, which required immediate supplies of men and money for the war; he carried his point, and orders were sent from England for the parliament of Scotland to meet, according to their last adjournment, on the ninth day of June, Queensberry himself being appointed high-commissioner for holding the same.

Duke Hamilton finding himself baffled in his designs hastened back to Scotland, and, on the day of the parliament's meeting, desired to be heard before the queen's high-commission was read, which being granted, his grace, in behalf of himself and the other members who adhered to him, objected, in a long speech, against the legality of their meeting; after which he read a paper, containing these words:

"Forasmuch as by the fundamental laws and constitutions of this kingdom, all parliaments do dissolve by the death of the king or queen, except in so far as is innovated by the seventeenth act of the sixth session of king William's parliament, empowering the parliament last in being at his majesty's death to meet and act what should be needful for the defence of the true protestant religion, as now by law established, and maintaining the succession to the crown as settled by the claim of rights, and for preserving and securing the

peace and safety of the kingdom; and now seeing that the said ends are fully satisfied by her majesty's succession to the throne, whereby the religion and peace of the kingdom are secured, we conceive ourselves not warranted by this law to meet, sit, or act; therefore do dissent from all that shall be done, and thereupon take instrument*."

The duke having accordingly taken instruments, he went out of the house, but without giving in his paper; thereupon the clerk register and seventy-nine of the members declared that they adhered to duke Hamilton's paper, and likewise took instruments and withdrew. But nevertheless the duke of Queensberry, having a greater number remaining with him in the house, his commission to be her majesty's high-commissioner was read, and afterwards a letter from her majesty to the parliament, wherein she told them, that it would have been a great satisfaction to her, at her accession, to have met them in person; but the multiplicity of weighty affairs deprived her of that opportunity: however, she gave them full assurance, that she was firmly resolved to maintain and protect them in the full possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, "and of the presbyterian government of the church:" that she had been obliged, in pursuance of an express article of treaty entered into by the late king and her allies, to declare war against France and Spain, wherein she expected their hearty concurrence and assistance: and lastly, she earnestly recommended to their consideration an union of the two kingdoms.

The queen's letter being read, the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Marchmont, in separate speeches, enforced the several points therein; and the parliament meeting again on the eleventh of June, proceeded to appoint committees for the security of the kingdom; for controverted elections; for drawing up an answer to her majesty's letter; and for revising the minutes: then they passed an act for recognizing her majesty's authority; another for declaring the present parliament to be a lawful parliament; and another for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian church-government, upon which there happened great debates and several warm speeches; and among the rest one of sir Alexander Bruce, in which he had given vent to such stinging reflections against rigid presbytery as drew upon him the severe censure of the house, which ended in his expulsion; and, notwithstanding all the opposition those of the episcopal communion could make, the act passed; and the parliament transmitted an answer to the queen's letter, wherein, after expatiating on the blessings for which they were indebted to the late king, by the preservation and settlement of their religion, laws, and liberties, they lamented their misfortune of being deprived of her majesty's royal presence, who had shewn herself disposed to adopt the gracious resolutions of their late sovereign in regard to them, and particularly the presbyterian government as then established. That the growing power and unbounded ambition of the French king, and his owning the pretended prince of Wales as king, having engaged her majesty in a just and necessary war, they promised to raise supplies for the defence of their kingdom; and assure her,

that the groundless secession of some members should increase and strengthen their care and zeal for her majesty's service, and what she had recommended to them: and as the union of the kingdoms had been so long desired by all good men, they were resolved to make such a suitable return to the advances already made by the parliament of England, as might best contribute to accomplish this great design.

In the mean time, however, the duke of Hamilton and his party had prepared an address to the queen, to justify their withdrawing themselves, shewing, that, by the constitution of Scotland, the convention or parliament was dissolved by the death of the late king. This address they sent up to London by the lord Blantyre; but her majesty refused to receive it, and adhered to the parliament, to which she sent the following Letter:

Anne R.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Being informed, that at your first meeting, by virtue and warrant of the seventeenth act of the sixth session of this parliament, and of our proclamation of adjournment agreeable thereto, several members of parliament, after prayers said, and declining to wait the reading of our commission granted to James, duke of Queensberry, representing our royal person in this meeting of parliament, did presume to declare openly, that they did not conceive themselves warranted to meet and act in this present session of parliament, and therefore dissented from any thing that should be done or acted therein, and thereupon did take instruments, and withdrew and removed from their attendance; we have thought fit to signify to you our just resentment of that irregular and unusual proceeding, and our resolution to own and maintain this present session of parliament, and the dignity and authority of the same, and of our high-commissioner thereto, against all opposers: and this we thought fit to declare for your better encouragement, that you may proceed vigorously in your work, for the defence of the true protestant religion, and the maintaining the possession of the crown, and for the preserving and securing of the peace and safety of the kingdom. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at our court at St. James's, the seventeenth day of June, 1702, and of our reign in the first year."

On the twenty-fifth of June, the high-commissioner gave the royal assent to an act for enabling her majesty to appoint commissioners for treating of an union between the two kingdoms; after which it was proposed to settle the succession of the Scottish crown in the house of Hanover, as had been done in England; but there appearing a majority against settling the succession at this time, and the debates running very high, the lord-commissioner thought fit to adjourn them on the thirtieth of June, having first commended their unanimity and cheerfulness in recognizing her majesty, securing the protestant religion and presbyterian church-government, and dispatching the other acts for her majesty's service.

Soon after, the queen, in consequence of the power given her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, appointed commissioners for treating of an union between England and Scotland.

The commissioners for England were,

The archbishop of Canterbury,
Lord keeper Wright,
The earl of Pembroke,
The marquis of Normanby,
The duke of Devonshire,
The duke of Somerset,
The earl of Jersey,
The earl of Burlington,
The earl of Nottingham,
The earl of Rochester,
The earl of Marlborough,
The earl of Scarborough,
The bishop of London,
Sir Charles Hedges,
The chief justice Holt,
The chief justice Trevor,
Sir John Leveson Gower,
Sir Christopher Musgrave,
Sir John Cook, L. L. D.
Robert Harley,
Charles Godolphin,
Samuel Clarke,
Stephen Waller, LL. D.

The commissioners of Scotland were,

The duke of Queensberry,
The duke of Argyle,
The marquis of Annandale,
The marquis of Lothian,
The earl of Seafield,
The earl of Hyndford,
The earl of Leven,
The viscount Tarbat,
The viscount Stair,
The lord Galloway,
The lord Boyle,
Sir James Stuart,
Sir George Maxwell,
Sir James Smollet,
Sir Alexander Douglas,
Sir David Dalrymple,
Sir Patrick Johnstown,
Mr. Montgomery,
Mr. Scrimser,
The provost of Aberdeen.

Dr. Davenant was appointed secretary to the English commissioners, and Robert Pringle to those for Scotland*.

On the twenty-second of October, the commissioners met, for the first time, at the Cockpit, where, after both commissions had been read, the lord-keeper Wright made a short speech on the subject, and was answered by the duke of Queensberry. On the thirtieth of the next month they adjusted the preliminaries, which imported, "that nothing agreed on among themselves should be binding, unless it be ratified by her majesty and the respective parliament of both nations; and that, unless all the heads proposed for the treaty

were agreed to, no particular thing agreed shall be binding." The lord-keeper then proposed on the part of England, "That the two kingdoms should be inseparably united in one monarchy, under her majesty, her heirs and successors; and under the same limitations as provided by the act of settlement." This proposal met with the ready acquiescence of the Scots. The duke of Queensberry then proposed, "That both nations should be united under one monarchy and one parliament, with a mutual communication of trade and privileges." In the mean time the queen, willing to quicken their deliberations, came to the assembly, and made them a speech, wherein she said, "she was so fully persuaded that a union of the two kingdoms would prove the happiness of both, and render this island more formidable than ever, that she wished the treaty might be brought to a speedy conclusion." Some days after, the Scots gave in six proposals; but they were so extravagant, especially one, by which they demanded the preservation of the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies, that the English commissioners could not comply with them, and nothing more was done upon this commission, which was annulled by the new Scottish parliament called by the queen. The tranquility of Ireland suffered no interruption at this time. The earl of Rochester, who, though lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, continued to reside wholly in England, committed the government of it to lords-justices: the earl of Mount Alexander, major-general Erle, and Thomas Knightley, esq. were appointed lords-justices in the room of the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Drogheda.

We are now entering upon a war, the most glorious to England and her allies, if we consider her almost uninterrupted successes for the several years it lasted, that ever was known. The emperor and the States-general published their respective declarations of war against France and Spain much about the same time that queen Anne issued her's. The emperor's declaration turned chiefly upon the flagrant injury which had been done to the Austrian family by the French king's accepting the will made by the late king of Spain, Charles II. in favour of his grand-son the duke of Anjou. That of the States set forth in substance, "That Lewis had long since cast his eyes upon their provinces: that he had twice attacked their republic (namely, in the years 1672 and 1688) by a most unjust war, in order to make his way to universal monarchy: that so far was he from designing to observe the treaty of Ryſwick, that he thereby solely aimed at lulling the allies asleep, by making them lay down their arms, and particularly by ruining the commerce of the Dutch, to enervate them, since that treaty was scarcely ratified before he began manifestly to encroach on their trade, which is the great sinew of their state, by openly refusing the tariff promised by that treaty†.

The French king affected to be greatly incensed at these declarations, especially that of the States, of whom he spoke in the most contemptuous terms; but, notwithstanding all his vapouring, he was not ready to publish his declaration of war till the

* Lockhart's Hist. of Europe, vol. vii. 457.

† Lamberti, vol. ii.

beginning of July, when it came forth to the following effect:

“ By the King.

“ Although the treaty concluded at Ryswick, at a time when the king, by the superiority of his forces, was in a condition to have given laws to the neighbouring princes, that were jealous of his power, was a certain proof of the sincere desire that his majesty had always to give peace to his subjects, and to restore peace to Europe; his majesty nevertheless finds that the emperor, without any lawful right to the Spanish monarchy, hath put himself in a condition, by the augmentation of his troops, by treaties and alliances with several princes, and particularly with England and the States-general of the United Provinces, to trouble the repose of Europe by a new war, as unjust as it is ill-grounded. They have begun hostilities on all sides, against and contrary to the treaties so solemnly sworn to. All Europe is witness of his majesty's moderation; he hath seen places attacked, advantageous posts seized, convoys stopped, and prisoners taken, before any declaration of war, and at a time when his majesty was endeavouring, by his ambassadors and envoys, to preserve the peace. All these steps being so contrary to sincere dealing, and their own interests, and the manifestos and declarations of war of the emperor, England, and the States-general, having been published, his majesty finds himself under an indispensable necessity (in order to preserve his own and the king his grand-son's dominions) to arm on his side, and to make levies sufficient to oppose the undertakings of the common enemies; and for that end his majesty is resolved to employ all his forces, by sea and land, and (by the help of divine protection, which he implores on the justness of his cause) to declare war against the emperor, England, the States-general of the United Provinces, and the princes their allies: his majesty orders all his subjects, vassals, and servants, to cruize upon the subjects of the emperor, England, and Holland,” &c. &c.

In the mean time, Lewis observing what a formidable confederacy was forming against him, left no stone unturned to draw over the German princes to his interest, and did not only succeed in his attempts upon the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, but prevailed also with the two dukes of Wolfenbuttle, Rodolphus and Anthony, to raise forces in the empire in his favour: whereupon the old duke of Zell, by the emperor's direction, made an incursion into their country, in order to compel them by force of arms to abandon the interests of the common enemy. This succeeded so well, that, after the duke of Zell had made himself master of several strong holds in the said principality, he blocked up Wolfenbuttle itself*. The two brothers, Rodolphus and Anthony, then

held the regency together: Anthony, whether out of generosity, not to forsake his friend and ally, who had so well paid him, and from whom, perhaps, he expected greater advantages, or out of obstinacy, shewed no inclination to quit the French interest; and though the duke of Holstein-Ploen used all his endeavours to persuade him to understand his own good, he could never bring him to hearken to reason. But Rodolphus, either terrified by the impending danger, or desirous to have the regency to himself, began to incline to a composition: accordingly, a negociation was set on foot, which ended in an agreement between the duke of Zell and the elector of Hanover, his nephew, and Rodolphus Augustus of Wolfenbuttle, to this effect: “ That duke Anthony Ulric should be excluded from the regency; that Rodolphus should take the government into his own hands, and quit all his engagements with France: on the other side, that the elector of Hanover and the duke of Zell should take into their service a thousand horse, and two thousand four hundred foot, of the troops of Wolfenbuttle, which had been raised with French money, and withdraw their own forces out of the principality.”

The war was begun in the name of the elector Palatine, with the siege of Keyserfwaert†, a strong town on the Rhine, which the elector of Cologne had put into the hands of the French. The place was invested, in the month of April, by the prince of Nassau Saarburch, mareschal du camp to the emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, because war had not yet been declared by the States-general; at the same time prince Lewis of Baden assembled an army upon the Upper Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Croon Weissenberg and Lauterburg, to cut off the communication between Landau and Strasburgh, and the country of Alsace. The badness of the weather and the overflowing of the Rhine retarded the besiegers so much, that Keyserfwaert was not taken till the seventeenth of June; and marshal Boufflers, who commanded the French army under the duke of Burgundy, eldest grand-son of France, was very near surprizing the city of Nimeguen, while the allies were engaged in the siege: the earl of Athlone, who commanded a separate army of the Dutch, arrived scarce an hour before the French, and posted his army under the walls of Nimeguen, whereby he prevented the loss of that important place; for which he received the thanks of the States-general. Coehorn, with a detachment of ten thousand men, broke into Flanders, forced and demolished the French lines between the two forts of St. Donat and Isabella, which the enemy had been for many months raising, with great labour and expence, and laid the greatest part of the Chatellany of Bruges under contribution: but, upon the approach of the marquis of Bedmar and count de la Motte, he was obliged to

* A city of Brunswick and Lower Saxony, in Germany, situated on the river Ocker, the ancient residence of the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, to whom it is subject. It is a strong place by art and nature, has a stately palace finely furnished, a noble library, and lies twelve miles south of Brunswick, latitude fifty two degrees twenty-six minutes north, longitude ten degrees forty-one minutes east. Busching.

† Keyserfwaert is a town below Dusseldorp, on the Rhine; mean, but well fortified, and did belong to the elector of Cologne. It had a broad ditch, very regular fortifications, and

high walls faced with brick; as also the counterscarp, which was in a very good condition. It is seated on the north side of the Rhine, six German miles between Cologne to the north-west, and the same distance from Gulic (or Juliers) to the north. The French possessed themselves of it, for cardinal Furstenburgh, in 1688; but the late elector of Brandenburg retook it in the year 1689, and delivered it to the elector of Cologne, who in 1701 received a French garrison into it, which continued there till it was taken by the army of the allies. It is now subject to the duke of Neuburg. Busching.

retire under the walls of Sluys*; and, to prevent their taking fort St. George, he laid the country under water.

The unsuccessful attempt upon Nimeguen, and the reduction of Keyserfwaert, were not the only mortifications which the French suffered; for their army in Germany being weak, and drawing together but slowly, under the command of marshal de Catinat, prince Lewis of Baden seized this advantage, and laid siege to Landau †, on the sixth of June; but the place being strong, and defended by a numerous garrison, held out till the beginning of September, when prince Lewis informed the king of the Romans that the town was upon the point of surrendering, who came unto the Imperial army, and was present when the garrison beat a parley, on the tenth of September, and consequently had the honour of that conquest‡.

The States-general had now completed their levies, and waited only for the English to begin jointly with them the operations of the campaign in Flanders, while the combined squadrons of both nations prepared to carry terror and destruction on the coast of France and Spain. With this view they sent to press the coming over of the earl of Marlborough, to take upon him the supreme command of the allied army. It is said, that the queen was at first desirous, out of her affection to her consort, the prince of Denmark, to invest him with that high character, and had actually proposed this measure to the States-general; which, however, was not received in the manner she wished and expected. Those people thought that a war of such importance as that which they were going to enter upon, required a general to conduct it, who possessed the confidence of both nations, and had already distinguished himself in a military capacity; now this advantage was wanting in the prince of Denmark, while the earl of Marlborough possessed it in an eminent degree: the queen, therefore, very prudently gave up this point to her allies, and, to make the prince some amends for his disappointment, had created him (as we have seen) lord high-admiral of England, one of the most honourable and lucrative posts in the state; and the earl of Marlborough was confirmed in the supreme command of the British forces in Germany, to which he had been appointed by the late king. Accordingly, on the twelfth of May, his lordship set out for Holland, in order to assume the com-

mand. The earl of Athlone, who enjoyed the rank of veldt (or field) marshal, was requested by some of the Dutch officers to insist upon an equal command with the English general; but the States obliged him to yield that point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared generalissimo of all their forces. As this nobleman became afterwards the greatest general of the age, it will not be improper to give a brief account of his life and character.

John Churchill, earl (afterwards duke) of Marlborough, was second son of sir Winston Churchill, of Wotton Bassett, in Wiltshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of sir John Drake, of Ashe, in Devonshire, at which place he was born, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1650 §. He was brought young to court, and made a page of honour to the duke of York, who, upon his discovering a natural inclination to a military life, procured him, at the age of sixteen, an ensign's commission in the guards. He afterwards went to serve in the French armies abroad, where he distinguished himself in a particular manner; and, upon his return to England, the fame of his bravery, and his sister's interest ||, raised him to be a lieutenant-colonel, gentleman of the bed-chamber and master of the robes to the duke of York, whom he attended in his retirement to Brussels, and afterwards to Scotland. In 1681, he married Sarah, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Jennings, of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire, who was then in great favour with the princess Anne, the duke of York's second daughter. Upon the duke's return from Scotland, colonel Churchill was created baron Churchill, of Aymouth, in Scotland, and appointed captain of the third troop of horse-guards. When the duke of York came to the crown, lord Churchill was made lieutenant-general, and sent ambassador to the court of France, to notify that prince's accession to the throne. In 1685, he was created an English peer, by the title of baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire. We have taken notice of the part he acted at the Revolution, when he left his old master and benefactor, and went over to the prince of Orange, who, as soon as he ascended the throne, created him earl of Marlborough. The new earl commanded the English forces that served, in the year 1689, in Flanders, under prince Waldeck; and next year he reduced the city of Cork and town of Kingsale for king William. In the year

* Sluys, a pretty large town of Dutch Brabant, in the Netherlands, and one of the five sea-ports of Flanders, situated on a small arm of the sea which parts it from the island of Cadzand. It is very strong, and even thought impregnable because of its sluices. It lies ten miles north-east of Bruges, latitude fifty-one degrees twenty-one minutes north, longitude three degrees twenty-one minutes east. Busching.

† Landau is a little but strong city of Germany, in the Lower Alsatia, upon the confines of the Palatinate of the Rhine, once imperial, but yielded to the French by the treat of Munster. This town was the great magazine where the French, after they had plundered most of the towns of the Palatinate in 1688, laid up the booty, all which was burnt by an accidental fire in May, 1689. It was now taken from the French by the Germans, but they retook it in 1703, as will be seen in the history of the next campaign. In 1704, the Imperialists reduced it again, after the battle of Blenheim. It stands on the Queich, eight miles south of Neustadt, and sixteen south-west of Spire.

‡ Broderick. Burnet.

§ His origin is traced up to Roger de Courcil, a younger branch of the illustrious house of Leon, in France, who attending William the Conqueror into England, received for his ser-

vices a considerable estate in land; was grandfather to sir Bartholomew de Courcil, by corruption called Curriel, and so Churchill, who held the castle of Bristol for king Stephen; and whose descendant, Otho de Churchill, was the founder of a spreading family in Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire. Of this last county, and of the town of Wotton Bassett, was Winston Churchill, esq. who having had a liberal education at St. John's college, Oxford, asserted and suffered for the cause of king Charles I. but upon the Restoration was chosen member of parliament for Weymouth, admitted fellow of the Royal Society, soon after knighted and appointed commissioner of the claims in Ireland, where he began to retrieve his broken fortune; and afterwards, by the favour of the duke of York, made one of the clerk comptrollers of green-cloth to the king. Peerage of England, Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

|| Miss Arabella Churchill. She was maid of honour to the duchess of York, and afterwards favourite mistress to king James II. by whom she had two sons, James Fitz-James duke of Berwick, and Henry Fitz-James, commonly called the grand prior; and two daughters. She was afterwards married to colonel Godfrey, and by him had two daughters, Charlotta, wife of Hugh Boscawen, viscount Falmouth; and Elizabeth, wife of Edward Dunch, esq.

1692, he was suddenly removed from all his employments, for reasons which have been already related under that year, and continued out of favour till 1698, when he was appointed governor to the duke of Gloucester. In 1701, the last of king William's reign, he was declared commander in chief of the English forces in Holland, and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for the negotiations at the Hague, in which employments he was continued by queen Anne ‡.

The earl of Marlborough, says a late historian in his *Life of Queen Anne*, was by nature designed for a FAVOURITE, by fortune and personal merit raised to be a GENERAL, and by his own observation and long experience of court-intrigues, made a STATESMAN. His person was lofty and well made; his features manly, yet beautiful; his looks gracious and open; his mien great; his parts quick; his memory faithful and exact; his penetration deep; his judgment solid; his courage undaunted.

Although Marlborough had not yet shone at the head of armies, yet he had so far distinguished himself in the several actions in which he had been engaged, or had borne a share in the command, that he was thought the most proper person to fill the place of king William. Trained up to arms in the military school of the great Turenne, he had more than once received the approbation and thanks of that consummate master in the art of war for his gallant behaviour; and his after-conduct shewed how well he had profited by his lessons. Equally skilled in the intrigues of the cabinet and of the field, he possessed the happy art of gaining upon the minds of all those he dealt with: endowed with an exquisite discernment, he discovered a lucky moment the instant it presented itself, and failed not to avail himself of it with success, both in negotiating and fighting: as a soldier, he was a man of nice honour, punctual, vigilant, and indefatigable: as a statesman, he managed variety of business, either single or in concert with the prime minister, with great ease, dexterity, and sufficiency. As he perfectly well understood the interests of the powers he served, and seldom failed to penetrate into the designs of the enemy; and as he in a particular manner enjoyed the confidence of the troops he headed, he could always avert impending dangers by his prudence and foresight, or combat and overcome them by presence of mind and courage. These eminent qualities procured him the esteem and admiration of the allies, and even of the enemy, as well as of his own countrymen, till carried away by an unbounded ambition, and an insatiable thirst

for riches, and intoxicated with the great reputation and credit he had acquired by his unparalleled successes*, he endeavoured to perpetuate to himself the supreme command, by perpetuating the war, forgetting what he owed to his royal mistress and benefactors; by which he lost her friendship, and with it all the high offices he occupied. In a word, the duke of Marlborough was a compound of many vices and many virtues; but, as lord Bolingbroke observes, the latter were so great, that they made those who knew him forget his failings.

Such was the person the allies cast their eyes upon to command their armies, and check the conquests of the French arms, nor could they at that time have made a more happy choice. Marlborough was not one of those generals who tamely receives from a first minister the plan of a campaign, and after having executed his orders, and put his troops into winter-quarters, returns back to solicit a renewal of his command. This general, on the contrary, governed his sovereign, as well from the necessity she had for his services, as by the great influence his wife possessed over her affections †. He managed the parliament as he pleased, by his own great credit with the nation, and the interest of Godolphin the high-treasurer, whose son had married one of his daughters. Thus, master of the court, the parliament, the army, and the treasury, with more power in the kingdom than ever king William possessed, whom he equalled as a politician, and excelled as a general, he did greater things than the allies had presumed to hope from him.

His first actions this campaign gained him universal admiration, and were a pleasing earnest of his future good fortune. Having regulated all things with the deputies of the States, he left the Hague on the thirtieth of June, and repaired to the army, which was now encamped under the command of the earl of Athlone, in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen, and which, after calling in the detached parties, he found to amount to about sixty thousand men. As with this force he was superior to the French under the duke of Burgundy and marshal Boufflers, the earl of Marlborough passed the Maese on the sixteenth of July, and made several attempts to bring the enemy to an engagement; but rather than expose themselves to the hazard of a battle, they chose to abandon the Spanish Guelderland, and leave it entirely to the discretion of the allies. Thus the Dutch, who were so lately in the deepest consternation upon the retreat of their army under the cannon of Nimeguen, before the earl of Marlborough's arrival, had now the pleasure to see the French fly

‡ Burnet. Boyer. Tindal. Collins's *Peerage*.

* It is said of the duke of Marlborough, "That he never sat down before a town which he did not take, nor ever fought a battle which he did not win."

† The beginning of this lady's favour with her royal mistress had a much earlier date than her entrance into her service: they had used to play together when children, and the princess Anne even then expressed a particular fondness for her: as they grew up this attachment became still stronger; and so desirous was she of having her always near her, that upon her own marriage with the prince of Denmark, in 1683, lady Churchill (for she was then married) was, at the princess's own request, made one of the ladies of the bedchamber, and was at length distinguished by so high a place in her favour, as perhaps no person arrived at a higher with queen or princess.

She had an ascendant over the mind of Anne in every thing, who seemed to think and act only in conformity to her confidant's sentiments. Lady Churchill, afterwards duchess of Marlborough, was a woman of very contracted knowledge, but of a clear apprehension, and a true judgment; a warm and hearty friend; violent and sudden in her resolutions, and impetuous in her way of speaking. She has been charged, and not without some appearance of reason, of growing proud and insolent on her favour, and with keeping the queen in a kind of subjection to her will. Nevertheless, it does not appear that she had ever recourse to the common arts of a court to maintain her credit with her mistress, for she did not beset or flatter her. The queen, on her accession to the throne, appointed her groom of the stole, and keeper of the privy-purse. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Burnet.

in their turns; and thus were the United Provinces preserved by the earl's prudence and vigilance, whilst the duke of Burgundy, who came to the army to be taught how to fight, returned home, having learned nothing but how to avoid an engagement; and the French king was so dissatisfied with the conduct of marshal Boufflers, that he never after reposed any confidence in him.

The earl of Marlborough not being able to bring the French to an engagement, the deputies of the States in the army represented to him, that it would be much to the advantage of Holland to dispossess the enemy of the places they held in the Spanish Guelderland, whereby the navigation of the Maese would be opened; and accordingly preparations were made for the siege of Venlo, which was invested on the twenty-ninth of August. On the seventh of September the trenches were opened, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month the town surrendered. I shall not take upon me to give a diary of every siege during this long war; but there are some heroic actions which history ought not to pass by unnoticed: such was that performed by the lord Cutts before this place. On the eighteenth of September his lordship was commanded to attack Fort St. Michael, between the bastion that is next the plain and the ravelin that lies on the north side of it, having under his command brigadier-general Hamilton, with the royal regiment of Ireland, and general Hukelem's regiment, one hundred and seventy-two grenadiers, and one hundred fusileers, mostly English, under a lieutenant-colonel; and also three hundred workmen, with a competent number of engineers under colonel Blood. His lordship's orders were to make a lodgment from the point of the ravelin to the bastion, leaving him at liberty to proceed farther if he found it practicable: and at the same time the prince of Anhalt, with the same number of troops, was to make an attack between the bastion and the ravelin on the north side, with the like discretionary orders. The signals for both attacks, which was to be the blowing up a ton of powder, and the discharge of all the batteries of the besiegers, was accordingly made a little before six in the evening.

The attack was made with inexpressible vigour; the grenadiers cleared the covered-way of the enemy, and being sustained by fresh numbers, attacked the ravelin sword in hand, encouraging and assisting one another upon the assurance of being seconded, which lord Cutts perceiving, he marched with all his forces, engaged the enemy, and was soon master of the ravelin. The French then

made a great fire upon the English from the rampart of the fort; whereupon his lordship sent orders to the officers that were at the head of the grenadiers to throw in their granadoes, and attack the fort sword in hand, if it were possible to find a passage, which they did, by charging and following the enemy so close, that they had not time to break the bridge, though it was hotly disputed by fire and push of pike, and especially by the enemy's grenadiers: but the bravery of the English grenadiers, encouraged by the example of their own and some other officers of distinction, was inexpressible: some of them attacked the bridge, and some clambered up the ramparts, after having thrown in their granadoes, and forced their way into the fort. The enemy, however, continued to defend themselves, till the English poured in so fast upon them, that they were no longer able to resist, which as soon as lord Cutts perceived, he checked the fury of the soldiers, and put a stop to the slaughter. The English took above two hundred prisoners, whereof thirty were officers, with a brigadier-general, and the governor: but all the rest that were in the fort, to the number of six hundred, were killed or drowned endeavouring to escape, except twelve who luckily passed the Maese in small-boats. On the twenty-fifth the town of Venlo beat a parley, and the garrison surrendering upon honourable terms, were conducted to Antwerp. While this siege was carrying on, the earl of Marlborough detached general Schultz, with a body of troops, to attack the town and castle of Wertz, which were both surrendered after a slight resistance.

In the month of October the general invested Ruremonde, which he took after a very obstinate defence, together with Stevenswaert, both situated on the Maese. The army then marched towards Liege*, and upon its approach mareschal Boufflers (to whom the duke of Burgundy had now left the command of the French army) thought fit to retreat from thence to Tongeren, on the river Jecker; after which he went towards Brabant, to defend such places as at that time were not intended to be attacked.

When our army came before Liege, they found the city abandoned, whereupon the earl took possession of it; but the citadel, and another strong fort called the Chartreuse of Liege, held out till the end of October. The citadel of Liege, in which were eight French battalions, was taken by storm the twenty-third; of which the earl of Marlborough transmitted to our court the following account: all things being prepared, and the signal given,

* Liege is a populous wealthy city, in the bishopric of the same name, in Germany, situated on the Maese, fourteen miles south of Maestricht, and twenty-eight north-east of Namur. It is about four miles in circuit; two branches of the Maese, with other rivulets or canals, run through many of the streets, forming little islands. It exceeds all the cities of Germany or France for fine churches and convents; of the former are no less than a hundred of all sorts, with a very numerous body of ecclesiastics belonging to the churches and monasteries. The city is so pleasantly situated, and has such rich endowments, that it is stiled the Paradise of the Clergy. Among other religious foundations here is one of English nuns; and here is also a famous university. The fortifications are not considerable, being overlooked and commanded by the contiguous hills; but the citadel is strong, and capable of making a good defence. It was taken this year by the earl of Marlborough; and the French

investing it in 1705, were by the same general obliged to raise the siege, upon his expeditious return from the Moselle. The magistrates of Liege have sometimes pretended that it is an imperial city; but they have been severely handled for disputing the authority of their bishop, who is in effect absolute sovereign both of the city and bishopric: he is chosen by the sixty major canons, who are generally of noble extraction. The bishop of Liege is one of the most considerable ecclesiastical princes of the Germanic body; there being within his diocese fifty-two baronies, eighteen walled towns, and four hundred villages, all well peopled, with a yearly revenue of three hundred thousand ducats or nobles; and he can maintain a standing body of eight thousand troops, without oppressing his subjects, the bulk of whom are Roman catholics. Liege lies in latitude fifty degrees forty-six minutes north; longitude five degrees twenty eight minutes east. Busching.

our troops were out of their trenches, and marched towards the enemy without firing a shot, and with an order and intrepidity hardly to be paralleled. They then attacked the counterscarp with such fury, that the enemy were constrained to abandon the post: but our men, instead of lodging therein, got into the covert-way, passed the mount, and ascended the breach: whereupon the governor, who did not look for so vigorous an attack, beat a parley: our troops, however, being already in the place, would not hearken to it, and had cut the whole garrison in pieces, if they had not thrown down their arms and called aloud for quarter, which was granted them. In this glorious action the hereditary prince of Cassel signalized his courage: he went volunteer in the attack at the head of the grenadiers, and was the first man who mounted the breach, and with his own hands wrested the colours from a French officer. Mr. Wentworth, brother to the lord Raby, also served as a volunteer in this action, and had the glory of dying in the bed of honour. Monsieur Viviane the governor and the duke of Charôt were made prisoners. Three hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found in the citadel, besides notes for about one million two hundred thousand florins more, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was so considerable, that an English grenadier is said to have gotten one thousand louis d'ors for his own share. Thus ended the campaign, equally to the advantage of the allies, and the honour of the earl of Marlborough, who had now established his military character beyond all controversy, and entirely secured the affection and confidence of the States.

On the third of November the confederate army being separated, the earl of Marlborough went to Maestricht, where he embarked that evening on the Maese for Holland, in company with Mynheer Gueldermansel, one of the deputies of the States, and the baron d'Opdam, general of the Dutch horse, taking with him twenty-five soldiers under the command of a lieutenant, by way of guard: next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Mynheer Coehorn, a famous engineer in the service of the States; and having dined with the prince of Holstein-Beck, commander of that garrison, continued his voyage, escorted by fifty troopers, who rode along-side of the river; but the boats being separated in the night, a party of fifty-three men of the garrison of Guelder (the only place the French now retained in that province) who lay skulking on the banks of the Maese, near three leagues on this side of Venlo, in wait of prey, observing the boat, seized the rope by which it was drawn* by surprise, and hauling it on shore, immediately made a discharge of their small arms upon the boat wherein their Excellencies were, and then entering seized upon the boat; and having examined the several passports, without knowing my lord Marlborough, they afterwards searched the trunks and baggage, from whence they took what plate they could find, and made their Excellencies guard prisoners. About five in

the morning they retired with their booty, leaving the earl and his companions to pursue their voyage.

The governor of Venlo hearing of this transaction, took it for granted that the earl of Marlborough was made prisoner, and carried into Guelder, whereupon he marched out with his whole garrison to attack that place. The same account being carried to the Hague, filled all minds with the utmost consternation: the states forthwith assembling, resolved that all their forces should march instantly, and threaten the garrison with the utmost extremity, unless they would immediately release the general: but before these orders could be dispatched the earl arrived at the Hague, to the no small joy of the people, and was complimented on his happy escape by the pensionary Heinsius, in the name of the States†.

In the mean time the duke of Bavaria, who had hitherto professed a neutrality, having declared for France, had surprised Ulm, an imperial city, and the capital of Suabia: whereupon the Imperial Diet assembled at Ratisbon, and by a plurality of voices resolved to declare war against the French king and the duke of Anjou (as they stiled the new king of Spain) and they desired his imperial majesty to act against the duke according to the constitution of the empire, and use his authority for recovering the city of Ulm, and to require the said duke to abstain from all attempts of the like nature for the future. Hereupon the duke (elector) of Bavaria published a manifesto, giving the circles of Suabia and Franconia to understand, that he expected they should observe a strict neutrality in this war, which did not concern the empire in general, but only the house of Austria: but several dispatches having been intercepted, by which it appeared that the Bavarians designed to penetrate into the territories of Brisgaw with ten thousand men, and to have posted themselves upon the Rhine near Hunninguen, the princes of the empire were incensed to such a degree, that they forbade the ministers of the elector of Bavaria and Cologne to appear any more in the general diet. The emperor used all means to reduce the elector of Bavaria to his duty; but neither promises nor threats had any effect: for having made himself master of Ulm, he marched towards the forest-towns, with a design to join the French army: but not succeeding in that attempt, the Switzers having secured the passes, he was obliged to return to his own country; and the declaration of war by the empire was published and notified to the cardinal Lamberg, the emperor's commissioner at the diet, on the thirtieth of September, by the direction of the elector of Mentz, in the name of the diet. The reasons assigned were, "That France had attacked the empire by invading in his own and the duke of Anjou's name, several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbishopric of Cologne, and the bishopric of Liege; as also by disturbing the trade on the Rhine, and committing several other hostilities, which rendered this a necessary defensive war on the part of the empire‡.

In the mean time, prince Lewis of Baden being

* In most of the canals and rivers in the Low-Countries, boats are drawn by ropes fixed to horses that are driven along-side of the river.

† Burnet.

‡ Broderick's History of Europe, vol. vii.

weakened by several detachments he had made to prevent the junction of the French and Bavarians, had reduced his army to eight thousand men; in which situation he was surprized and attacked by marshal Villars on the 13th of October, near Friedlinguen*, where was fought a sharp and doubtful battle, in which both sides claimed the victory: Villars, because he took Friedlinguen the next day; and the prince, because he had gained his point in preventing the junction of the French and the Bavarians.

And now the empire having declared war against France, the diet came to a resolution to maintain an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, but fell miserably short, as will be too evident in the ensuing history.

The elector of Bavaria's declaring for France had so embarrassed the emperor, that he was unable to send those reinforcements into Italy which he had promised prince Eugene; and his army, the best by far the emperor had, was suffered to moulder away for want of recruits. The prince thus neglected, had the mortification to behold the duke of Vendôme relieve Mantua, without being able to interrupt his operations; nay, he was himself obliged to relinquish some other places he had taken: nor was this all; for Philip V. the new king of Spain, being desirous of finishing the Italian war in person, had set sail for Naples; and after some stay there joined the duke of Vendôme in Lombardy. However, prince Eugene attacked their united forces, though forty thousand strong, on the fifteenth of August, and, according to the German account, obtained the victory, though the French gave out that their army gained the day, and sung *Te Deum* for it as well as the Germans. It was certainly a very bloody battle, and both sides had so much of it that they did not chuse to renew the fight the next day. The French however made themselves masters of the town of Luzzara, and prince Eugene on his side maintained all the rest of his posts. There happened no farther action in Italy this campaign†.

The north of Germany was now united in the interest of the confederates; and the princes would have been in a condition to assist them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland determined them from parting from their forces. England and the States-general in vain endeavoured this year to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and of Poland. Charles XII. was now become enamoured of war, and his ambitious soul was continually meditating fresh conquests. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Prussia. Augustus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warsaw, and even ordered the cardinal primate to summon a diet for chusing a new king‡. The elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by Charles to spare his full proportion of troops to the allies, and the king of Prussia was overawed by the vicinity of the Swed-

ish conqueror; so that although this war did not so immediately concern the confederacy as tho'e already mentioned, it had an ill effect by the Swedes and Saxons not sending their quota of troops for service.

Another war broke out this year in the Cevennes mountains of Languedoc, chiefly inhabited by French protestants, who being grievously oppressed by the government on the score of their religion, had recourse to arms, and defended themselves for several years. This insurrection was so far advantageous to the allies, that it obliged the French king to keep ten or twelve thousand men in that province to observe their motions. It remains to observe, that towards the latter end of October count Tallard and the marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thousand men, reduced Triers§ and Traerbach¶, while the prince of Hesse-Cassel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French Zinch, Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach, towns on the Rhine.

While these things were transacting on the continent, the allies were not wanting in a proper attention to their naval preparations. The late king, a little before his death, had formed a design to reduce Cadiz; and this scheme was now proposed to be resumed, as the most likely means, if it succeeded, of putting an end to all the French designs, and obliging them to compromise matters to the satisfaction at least of the maritime powers. The plan was certainly very well laid, and conducted with surprising secrecy; for though the preparing so great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was so effectually concealed, that France, Spain, and Portugal too, then in alliance with France and Spain, had equal cause to be alarmed, which had consequences very favourable to the grand alliance in those countries, as will hereafter more fully appear.

After the queen's accession, sir George Rooke was declared admiral of the fleet, and the duke of Ormond general of the land-forces to be employed on this expedition; and the Dutch having joined our fleet with their squadron, which had also its quota of troops on board, the admiral hoisted the Union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the thirtieth of May; and on the first of June his royal highness the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral, and took a view of the fleet and army, which was soon in a condition to sail. It consisted of fifty ships of the line, thirty English, and twenty Dutch; the former commanded by sir George Rooke, who had under him the admirals Fairborne, Hopson, and Graydon; the latter, by the vice-admirals Allemond, Callemburgh, Vandergoes, Pieterfon, and Wassenauer. The transports had on board about fourteen thousand land-forces; the English headed by the generals Bellasis, O'Hara, and lord Portmore, the colonels Seymour, Hamilton, and Matthews; and the Dutch commanded by baron Sparre and brigadier Pa-

* A town of Suabia in Germany, five miles east of the Rhine, and six north of Basil. Busching.

† Voltaire. Broderick's Hist. of Europe.

‡ Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. vol. i.

§ Triers, or rather Treves, is a city of the Lower Rhine in Germany, situated on the Moselle, being the capital of the electorate of the same name. It is equal to most towns in Europe for antiquity, was once very considerable, but now neither large nor populous; has been often taken, being indeed

a place of no great strength, and lies sixty miles south of Cologne, and the same distance west of Mentz; latitude forty-nine degrees fifty-eight minutes north; longitude six degrees ten minutes east. Busching.

¶ A strong and important town of Spanheim, in the palatinate of the Rhine in Germany, situated on the Moselle, twenty miles north-east of Triers, subject to the elector-palatine; latitude fifty degrees ten minutes north; longitude six degrees forty-six minutes east. Busching.

Palandt *. The direction of the whole, as I have before observed, was committed to the duke of Ormond, who acted as commander in chief.

It was the first of July before the fleet set sail: on that day they put to sea, and standing to the westward, were joined off Plymouth by five other men of war; so that the whole fleet, including the transports, amounted to two hundred sail. On the seventh the fleet meeting with contrary winds, were forced to bear away for Torbay, where they lost their chief engineer colonel Brown. On the tenth of July they set sail again, and on the eighth of August they made the Rock of Lisbon; whereupon the admiral sent the Kent and Pembroke into the harbour, and the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, and Mr. Methuen the envoy's son, came into the fleet from Lisbon. They brought advice that there were in that harbour six French men of war and two galleys, and that the French commodore had desired leave of the governor to search her majesty's ships the Adventure and Leostoff, that brought the prince of Hesse and Mr. Methuen thither; but the governor answered, that the English were not their enemies, and they were obliged to protect them while they lay under their cannon. At the approach of the confederate fleet the Portuguese fired their beacons to alarm the country, being under some apprehensions. Their fears however were soon quieted; for on the eleventh of August a council of sea and land officers was held on board the admiral, and the next day sir George Rooke steered away for Cadiz, where the whole fleet arrived about five in the afternoon, and cast anchor in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues distance from the city.

In order to furnish the reader with a clearer idea of the operations of the fleet and army in this expedition, I shall here subjoin a description of the city and port of Cadiz, with its environs.

Cadiz is a famous trading city and sea-port of Andalusia, in Spain, on the north-west extremity of a long neck of land in an island extending from south-east to north-west, the west part of which is Cadiz, and the south-east the island of Leon, opposite to Port St. Mary's, being joined to the main land, from which it is separated by a narrow channel of the sea, by the bridge Suaco; both extremities of which are defended by redoubts and other works. This island, from fort St. Catherine's to the isle St. Pedro, is five miles long, and from the south point near the latter, to the north near Suaco bridge, two miles broad. The neck of land extending from this quadrangular island is at first very small, afterwards it becomes broader, has several windings and angles, and terminates in two capes, the principal of which, namely that to the west, is called St. Sebastian's. The island on which Cadiz stands and the opposite shore form a bay twelve miles long, and about six in breadth; but near the middle of the bay are two points of land, one on the continent and the other the island, five hundred fathoms asunder, on which are the forts Puntal and Matagorda, commanding the passage; and within the points is a large and very good harbour, which no enemy can enter till these forts are taken. This city contains about five thousand houses and fifty thousand inhabitants; it is the center of all the American trade,

where the galleons take in their loadings, and return with the treasures and rich merchandize of Peru and Mexico. Cadiz, which is of a pretty large circuit, is surrounded with walls and irregular bastions, and mostly inaccessible, by reason of a steep coast, rocks, and sand-banks.

An hour before day, on the thirteenth of August, the duke of Ormond sent sir Thomas Smith, quarter-master-general, with colonel Carls, chief engineer, and some other officers, to take a view of the back part of the island of Leon (on which Cadiz stands), next the ocean, and to sound the shore, proposing to have landed on that side. The admiral also sent out to get intelligence, and having gained what information they could, a council of war, consisting of all the admirals and generals, was held the next day, being the fourteenth. In this council the duke of Ormond strenuously insisted upon landing on the island (where, according to report, there were very convenient bays to make a descent), in order to a sudden and vigorous attack of the town, where the consternation was so great, that, in all probability, the enterprize would have succeeded; but several of the council, especially the sea-officers, opposed the duke's motion, upon information they had received, that the enemy had about four thousand well-disciplined foot in the town, and a thousand horse (veteran troops), besides the militia that was assembled for the guard of the coast; and as the fleet could give no assistance to the land-forces after they were on shore, nor even supply them with provisions, if it should prove blowing weather, the landing directly on the island of Leon was represented as an impracticable attempt: it was therefore resolved by the majority of the council, that the army should first take the fort of St. Catherine and the town and port of St. Mary's, on the opposite shore of the continent, which would facilitate a nearer approach to Cadiz. This resolution being agreed to, the same evening a boat was sent to Cadiz from the admiral, with a flag of truce and some declarations; and the next day the duke of Ormond sent a trumpet with a letter to the duke of Brancaccio, governor of fort St. Catherine's, summoning him to surrender, declaring, that if he did not accept his terms, he should be hanged, and none of his soldiers receive any quarter. To this the governor answered, with great spirit and justice, "That if he must be hanged, it was all one to him whether by the duke of Ormond or the governor of Cadiz, and therefore desired leave to send to him for his orders," which was refused †. These harsh measures, with the subsequent behaviour of the English troops, instead of drawing the Spaniards to declare for the house of Austria, rendered them averse to it.

On the fifteenth of August, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the Bay of Bulls, about a mile on the left of St. Catherine's fort, the cannon of which fired on his men, but with little execution. The first that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Palandt and the earl of Donnegal; but the wind was so high, and the sea beat on the shore with such violence, that several men were drowned, and the rest were obliged to wade up to their neck, which the enemy's horse observing, came down, and furiously attacked the English; but they were so warmly received, that

* Burchet's Naval History. Lives of Admirals. Burnet.

† Lamberti, tom. ii. p. 251.

they soon retired, leaving their general and several of their companions dead upon the place, and a Spanish captain and cornet, with some others, were made prisoners. Our foot were all happily landed that day, and marched within two miles of Rota, lying all night upon their arms in the field. Early the next morning the duke of Ormond continued his march towards Rota, and was met near the town by the alcaide, or chief magistrate, with the principal inhabitants, who offered to put it into his hands; whereupon the duke took up his quarters in the castle of Rota, while the army encamped before the town.

The duke now published a declaration, inviting the Spaniards to join the allies; and the prince of Hesse Darmstadt also published one, in the emperor's name, to the same purport, which he caused to be distributed in the neighbouring towns. The duke's declaration set forth, That the queen of Great Britain having been pleased to confer on his grace the command of her forces (in conjunction with those of the States-general), for asserting the rights of the house of Austria, in pursuance of their treaties of alliance with the emperor, his grace judged it necessary, before he made use of force, to declare that he did not come thither to possess himself of any place in Spain in the name of her majesty and the States-general, or to introduce the calamities of war by way of conquest, but rather to defend the good and loyal subjects of the said monarchy, and free them from the insupportable slavery of France, to whom they had been sold by some disaffected persons; concluding with an invitation of the Spaniards to join him, and they should thereupon be protected in their persons, estates, privileges, and religion; but if, contrary to expectation, they did not concur with the good intention of her majesty and the States, the hostilities committed by their forces must be ascribed to the Spaniards themselves, who having so fair an opportunity to shew their loyalty and pursue their own interests, refused to embrace it*."

While his grace continued at Rota, he summoned the governor of Port St. Mary's to surrender; to which the haughty Spaniard returned for answer, "Nos otros Espagnoles no mudamos de religion ni de rey. — We Spaniards neither change our religion nor our king." However, on the duke's advancing to Port St. Mary's on the twenty-first, the governor and his garrison, with most of the inhabitants, thought fit to abandon the city: the governor of St. Catherine's fort also retired out of the place, leaving only an ensign and a small party in it, which surrendered at discretion. Although the duke of Ormond, before the army reached Port St. Mary's had given strict orders against plundering, yet it was not in the power of the officers to restrain their famished and thirsty soldiers from forcing open the houses where they expected to find refreshments; nor was it long before they made their way to the cellars, which they found stored with rich and strong wines, where they caroused all the first night. The next day, their licentiousness being heightened by the fumes of their liquor, they proceeded to rifle and pillage the houses, and commit every other species of out-

rage; and even some of the officers, being intoxicated, joined with their men, and, calling in the sailors to their assistance, carried the spoils of the place on board the fleet, which are said to have amounted in value to above a million of money; for they even plundered the churches and altars of their plate and ornaments. These hostilities so enraged the Spaniards, that many, who before designed to have joined the confederates and declared in favour of the house of Austria, now adhered firmly to Philip V. The duke of Ormond was so incensed at these violences, committed in open defiance of his orders, that he commanded sir Henry Bellasis, and sir Charles O'Hara, who had the command of those troops that took possession of the place, to be put under arrest; and would have proceeded with greater severity, if the criminals had been less numerous.

The garrison of Cadiz having by this time recovered their consternation, and sunk three galleons at the entrance of the passage of Puntal, to prevent the confederate fleet from entering the harbour, and the marquis de las Fillidarias, governor of Andalusia, having received great reinforcements, and drew down his army between Xeres and Port St. Mary; hereupon the duke of Ormond marched his forces out of the latter on the twenty-fifth, and encamped at Santa Victoria, where he caused his declaration to be solemnly read through the town, and at the head of every regiment, whereby he forbade plundering on pain of death. But as the late excesses had made the Spaniards so much our enemies, that it was evident nothing could be expected in Spain, but what could be obtained by pure force, baron Sparre, the Dutch general, was ordered to invest the fort of Matagorda, which defended the entrance into the harbour of Cadiz; but the ground was so loose and swampy, that the batteries, which were raised without any madriers, or fascines, to support them, sunk at every discharge, and the taking that fort was found impracticable. The Spanish army also being daily augmented, and that of the confederates diminished by the flux, and provisions growing scarce, and the admiral being of opinion that the season was so far advanced, that he could not remain longer in those seas without great hazard to her majesty's fleet, it was determined to reinbark the troops, which was performed with little or no loss; and the fleet set sail for England, full of vexation for the disappointment they had met with*. Providence, however, put it in their power to do their country a more signal and effectual service than even the taking of Cadiz would have been.

Captain Hardy, commander of the Pembroke, having been detached with some ships to Lagos (a harbour on the Portuguese coast), to fetch water for the fleet, there heard that M. Chateau Renauld with a Squadron of French men of war and the Spanish flota were put into Vigo, a sea-port of Galicia, in Spain, situated in Bayonne Bay, at the mouth of a spacious harbour. Upon this news he sailed back to the grand fleet, and having fallen in with it on the sixth of October, gave the admiral an account of what he had learned. Sir George, delighted with the information, sent notice of it to the Dutch admiral, and declared it his opinion

* Lamberti, vol. ii. Burnet. Boyer.

† Burnet's Life of the Duke of Ormond. Burchet. Hist. of Europe, vol. vii.

that they all should steer directly for Vigo; to which purpose, the next day he called a council of flag and general-officers; when the admiral's proposal being unanimously approved, orders were given for bending their course to the said port with all the speed that might be. But the wind proving very contrary, it was the eleventh of the month before they could gain the port; and though it was not to be entered without great difficulty, that work was performed without any considerable disaster. The weather proved so hazy, that the town of Vigo never discovered the fleet till they were just upon it; and though they fired very smartly upon our ships, we took very little notice of it, but bore up for the harbour, where the French fleet and the galleons lay,

The passage into the harbour, which was not above three quarters of a mile over, was defended by batteries, forts, and breast-works, on each side; by a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, top-masts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy-gun ship; within this boom were moored five ships of the same force, with their broadsides to the entrance of the passage, so as to fire at any ship that should attempt to approach the boom, forts, and platform*.

As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, the admiral called a council of war of the general sea and land-officers, wherein it was concluded, that since the passage into the harbour was so narrow, that the whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ships and galleons without running foul of each other, a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ships, should be sent to take and destroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb-vessels should follow the rear of this detachment; and that the great ships should move after them, and go in if there was occasion: it was resolved also, that the land-forces should be put on shore at the same time, and attack the forts that defended the entrance of the harbour; and to give the better countenance to the service, it was farther resolved, that all the flag-officers should go in with the squadrons; but as the first and second rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals shifted their flags into smaller ships.

On the twelfth of October, the duke of Ormond, pursuant to the resolution of the council of war, landed early in the morning, in a sandy bay, about six miles from Vigo, with two thousand five hundred men; and not meeting with any opposition, he ordered the grenadiers to march, under the command of lord Shannon, directly to the fort that guarded the entrance of the harbour, where the boom lay, which he performed with the most intrepid gallantry; and though there appeared at the same time about eight thousand Spanish foot between the fort and the hills, they only made a shew, retiring, after some slight skirmishes with the grenadiers, who also drove before them another party of the enemy, followed them to the fort, and made themselves masters of the lower battery; whereupon lieutenant-general Churchill's (brother to the earl of Marlborough) regiment advanced upon the left, and took their posts. After the two batteries were taken, the enemy retired into an

old castle, or stone tower, and fired from thence upon the English for some small time; but opening the gate in order to make a sally, the grenadiers forced their way into the place sword in hand, and obliged the garrison, consisting of French and Spaniards, in number about three hundred and fifty, to surrender prisoners of war. This was a conquest of great importance in respect to the fleet, since our ships would have been excessively galled by the fire from the platform and fort†.

As soon as the land-forces were on shore, the admiral made a signal to weigh, which was accordingly done, the line formed, and the squadron was briskly bearing up to the boom; but when the van was got within cannon-shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were under a necessity to cast anchor; but a fresh gale springing up soon after, they cut their cables, and stood directly for the boom. Vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, broke through at once; but the rest of his division, and vice-admiral Vandergoes with his detachment, who sailed abreast to add a greater weight to the shock, all stuck, and were obliged to cut their way through. The passage being thus opened, the whole squadron entered the harbour through a terrible fire from the enemy's ships and batteries, which, however, in a little time they silenced, though vice-admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fire-ship, by which he was boarded: several of his men, during the first consternation, having thrown themselves into the sea, were drowned; and his ship was so much damaged, that he was obliged to shift his flag on board the Monmouth.

After a most desperate engagement, the French, finding themselves unable to contend against the superior force and valour of the assailants, resolved to set fire to their ships and galleons, to prevent their falling into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burnt eight ships and as many advice-boats; but ten French ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, though they had secured a considerable part of their plate and merchandize, on the appearance of the combined fleet. The value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished, but about half that value was brought off by the conquerors; so that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies. When the action was over, the duke of Ormond proposed to have made himself master of Vigo, and to have wintered in Spain, if the admiral could have spared him a squadron of men of war and provisions for his troops; but the admiral declaring he could not furnish the troops with provisions for more than two months, the land-forces were re embarked, and, on the nineteenth of October, sir George Rooke, with twenty sail of men of war, set sail for England, leaving sir Cloudesley Shovel, who joined the fleet two or three days before, to convoy home the prizes; whereupon sir Cloudesley, having burnt the ships that could not be got off, and taken one hundred and ten brass cannon out of the enemy's ships and batteries, followed the grand fleet a few days after, which arrived safely in the Downs on the seventh of November; from whence the great ships were, about the middle of the month, sent up to Chatham‡.

* Histoire Militaire, tom. iii. p. 717. Lives of Admirals. Burnet.

† Larrey. Memoires Historiques. Burnet. ‡ Burchet.

Among the successes of this year must not be forgot those we gained under that brave sea-officer commodore Leake, who took, in the French harbours in Newfoundland, this summer, twenty-nine sail of the enemy, and burnt twenty-two more, destroying all the stages and settlements of the French in and near Newfoundland. Admiral Bembow also protected the English trade in the West Indies, harassed the Spanish settlements, and made several prizes; but, unhappily, the glory of our arms was tarnished by the behaviour of a few treacherous miscreants, who owed their advancement to interest, without any personal merit.

The admiral understanding that monsieur du Casse, with a French squadron, was expected at Hispaniola, determined to go in quest of him. On the nineteenth day of August he came up with the enemy, near St. Martha. The French squadron consisted of ten sail, viz. four of seventy guns, one of forty, and the rest small frigates: admiral Bembow had with him seven sail, viz. the Breda (his own ship) of seventy guns; the Defiance of sixty-four; the Ruby, of fifty-four; the Pendennis, Greenwich, Windsor, and Falmouth, of fifty each. The admiral, in the Breda, with the Falmouth, captain Vincent, and Ruby, captain Walton, began the engagement; but the other four ships fell astern, and scarce fired a shot: however, admiral Bembow pursued the enemy, and continued a running fight for five days, when one of the enemy's men of war appeared quite disabled. But the French by this time discovering that the admiral was not seconded by the rest of his captains, fell furiously upon him, and he had the misfortune to have his leg shattered to pieces by a chain-shot; however, he ordered his cradle to be brought upon deck, and still continued the fight, till the captains who had so basely deserted him, coming on board, and alleging the French were too strong, and therefore desiring him to desist, the admiral, apprehensive, from what he had seen of their conduct, that if he withstood their importunities, they might desert to the enemy, returned to Jamaica; where, enraged at the treachery of his captains, he issued a commission to rear-admiral Whetstone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson, of the Pendennis, died before the trial; Kirby, of the Defiance, and Wade, of the Greenwich, were convicted, and sentenced to be shot; Constable, of the Windsor, was cashiered and imprisoned; Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, were convicted of having signed a paper that they would not fight on the present occasion; but as they had behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted on them no other punishment than that of a suspension, nor was that to take place till the lord high-admiral's pleasure should be known. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol, and, upon their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board the ship, by order of a dead-warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. Bembow himself was so deeply affected by this miscarriage, that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wound put a period to his life. The boisterous manners of Bembow had produced this base confederacy, which deprived England of one of the

bravest sea-officers that ever she produced*. When Du Casse arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to admiral Bembow to this effect:

"Sir,

"I had little hope on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin, but it pleased God to order it otherwise: I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by G--d they deserve it.

Your's,

Du Casse."

The last sea adventure I shall mention, is that in which admiral sir John Munden was engaged; and indeed, in point of time, it ought to have been taken notice of sooner. This gentleman, while the grand fleet lay at Spithead preparing for the Cadiz expedition, was detached, with a squadron of men of war, to intercept the same Du Casse whom Bembow afterwards so unfortunately engaged in the West Indies. Sir John Munden came up with the French admiral off the Groyn, on the coast of Spain, but did not think fit to attack him, for which he was tried by a court-martial; and though he was acquitted by his brethren the officers of the fleet, there appeared such marks of cowardice and treachery in his conduct, that the queen thought proper to cashier him. But notwithstanding, in some instances, we fell short of success in our sea-enterprizes this year, yet the advantages we gained furnished sufficient proofs how much it was the interest of this nation to make the sea the principal theatre of our martial efforts, both in Europe and America. Our successes in Flanders, however, were so dazzling, that we neglected the sea-war too much, to maintain vast armies in the Netherlands, where we were rather losers by the conquests we made for the Dutch and Germans on that side, our charges annually increasing in proportion to the acquisitions of our confederates.

Thus having surveyed the several scenes of war abroad, it is time now to return to England, where we find, that although the parliament ought regularly to have sat for six months after the king's decease, the queen dissolved it by proclamation on the second of July, and issued writs for calling another, which was to meet in the beginning of August. Her majesty's attachment to the Tories was so well known, and these latter had, by their writings and speeches, so prejudiced the nation against their adversaries the Whigs, that they obtained a considerable majority in the new parliament, which was afterwards prorogued to the eighth of October, and at last to the twentieth of that month.

In the mean time the queen was employed in securing the affections of her subjects: with this view she made a progress to Oxford, Bath, and Bristol, accompanied by her consort, prince George of Denmark, and was received with uncommon marks of loyalty and affection by the people in every place through which she passed. Her majesty, before her setting out on this progress, gave a public audience† to the count de Platens, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover; and about the same time she made some promotions in

* Naval History. History of Europe.

† On the sixth of July.

the army, and disposed of several places and preferments: and on the nineteenth of July her majesty, in council, made an order against selling of offices and places in the household and family.

On Wednesday the twentieth of October the new parliament (the first of this reign) met, and the commons having chosen Mr. Robert Harley for their speaker, the queen made a speech to both houses, wherein she observed, that she had called them together to assist her in carrying on the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged; that she was willing the commons should examine the accounts of the public receipts and payments; that if any abuses or mismanagements had been committed they might be detected, and the offenders brought to condign punishment. She told them, that the funds assigned by the last parliament, had fallen short of the sums proposed to be raised by them; although she had already paid and applied to the public service the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, which she had promised the last parliament; which, however, had not made up the deficiency. It was with great concern, she said, that she took notice to them of the disappointment of the expedition against Cadiz, as well as the abuses committed at Port St. Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for an enquiry into the particulars. She expressed her desire that the parliament would find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which she was determined to encourage. She declared herself fully convinced, that the affections of her subjects were the surest pledge of their duty and obedience; that she was resolved to maintain the church as by law established, and protect her subjects in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, considering their interest and her own as inseparable; and that she would always exert her utmost endeavours to make them a happy and flourishing people*.

The lords returned the usual address of thanks to this speech, congratulating her majesty on the success of her arms under the earl of Marlborough. The commons were more particular, and in their address made several invidious reflections on the late reign. Among other things, they remarked, "that the wonderful progress of her majesty's arms, under the earl of Marlborough, had signally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the English nation†." The word *retrieved* in this part of the commons address, occasioned several warm debates in the house, it being said to carry an evident reflection on the memory of the late king, as if the honour of the nation had been lost, or had greatly suffered, in his reign; and the word *maintained* was proposed to be inserted in the room of it: but the Tories, who introduced and supported the first expression, gained their point, and, upon a division, *retrieved* was carried, one hundred and eighty against eighty.

This being the first year of her majesty's reign, she was pleased to honour the city of London with her presence at dinner, on the Lord-mayor's day, where she was received with all possible demonstrations of joy and loyalty: and the next day, being the thirtieth of October, the lord Shannon

arrived from the confederate fleet, with the news of its signal success over the French and Spaniards at Vigo. The house of commons, very unanimously and with great dispatch, agreed to all the demands of the court, and voted all the supplies that were necessary for carrying on the war: they decreed forty thousand men to the sea-service; and that the proportion of forces for England, to act in conjunction with those of the allies, should be thirty-three thousand foot and seven thousand horse and dragoons; and that three hundred and fifty thousand pounds be granted for guards and garrisons for the year 1703: they also voted seventy thousand nine hundred and thirty-three pounds for ordnance; eight hundred thirty-three thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds for the pay of the land-forces; and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for subsidies to the allies: at the same time, however, the commons shewed so much regard to their own rights, that they resolved, that justice had not been done them upon the impeachments of the earl of Orford, and other three lords, before the house of peers, in the thirteenth year of the late reign; but this resolution was not followed by a revival of those prosecutions. The next thing that came under their consideration, was a complaint, exhibited by sir John Packington, against the bishop of Worcester and Mr. Lloyd, his son, for certain undue practices to prevent his election for the county of Worcester; and the house, having examined into that matter, resolved, "that sir John Packington had, by evidence, fully made out the charge he had brought against the lord bishop of Worcester." Whereupon the house addressed her majesty to remove the said bishop from being almoner to her majesty, and gave directions to Mr. Attorney-general to prosecute Mr. Lloyd, the bishop's son, for his share in that offence‡.

The lords, alarmed at these proceedings of the commons, which they looked upon as an infringement of the privileges of their house, presented a counter-address to her majesty, beseeching her not to remove the bishop of Worcester from his place of lord-almoner, until he should be found guilty of some crime by due course of law, it being the undoubted right of every lord of parliament, and of every subject of England, to have an opportunity of making his own defence, before he suffer any kind of punishment. This address being presented to the queen, she returned for answer, "that she had not as yet received any complaint against the bishop of Worcester, but that she looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any servant attending upon her own person, when she should think proper." The lords, piqued at this reply, resolved the same day unanimously, "That no lord of their house ought to suffer any kind of punishment by any proceedings of the house of commons, otherwise than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of parliament||." But sir Edward Seymour attending her majesty with the resolution of the house of commons for removing the bishop of Worcester, the queen answered, "that she was very sorry there was occasion for this address against the bishop; and she would direct that he should no longer continue to fill the office of almoner:" for which answer the commons

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 204.

|| Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. ii. p. 45.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 209.

returned her majesty their most humble thanks. Thus did the Tories triumph over all opposition; but, like most parties when uppermost, they made a very partial and arbitrary use of their power, of which I shall present the reader with the following glaring instance: Mr. John Howe, knight of the shire for Gloucester, had drawn up an address for that county to the queen on her accession, in which were the most bitter reflections on the memory of the late king. By this act, and his subsequent behaviour in the house of commons, he had incurred the censure and disgust of the more moderate and unprejudiced part of his constituents, insomuch that when, on the election for this new parliament, he stood for the shire, he was thrown out by a great majority: yet such was his credit in the house, that the return in favour of his competitor was adjudged illegal and insufficient, and Mr. Howe was declared duly elected.

The twelfth of November being appointed for a public thanksgiving for the successes of the campaign, the queen went to St. Paul's, attended by both houses of parliament and the great officers of state. The duke of Ormond, now returned from his expedition, happening to be one of the staff-officers in waiting, rode in one of the queen's coaches with the duke of Somerset, and was hailed with the loudest acclamations by the innumerable spectators assembled on this occasion; and from that day may be dated the great popularity which he afterwards acquired, and which in the end proved fatal to him. His grace coming into the house of lords the next day, the lord-keeper (sir Nathan Wright) in the name of the house, returned him thanks for his signal services performed at Vigo. On the other hand, the commons drew up an address to the queen, desiring she would cause the duke of Ormond and sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings, a request with which her majesty complied: but at the same time they gave those two officers the thanks of their house for their gallant achievements at Vigo. Sir George Rooke was afterwards, by the queen's order, sworn of the privy-council.

On the twenty-first of November the queen sent a message to the house of commons by Mr. secretary Hedges, importing, That her majesty, considering that there was but a very slender provision made for the prince her husband if he should survive her; and that she was restrained from increasing the same by the late act of parliament for settling the revenue, thought it necessary to recommend the making a further provision for the prince to their consideration. The commons having taken the message into consideration, it was unanimously resolved, That the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds be settled upon his royal highness, in case he should survive her majesty. About this time Thomas Colepepper, esq. one of the Kentish petitioners who had been so troublesome to the house in the late reign, presented a petition of another nature, acknowledging the just offence he had given to the house of commons, declaring his sorrow for the same, and humbly praying that the house would be pleased to interpose with her majesty in his behalf, to give orders to her attorney-general to surcease farther proceedings in

the prosecution against him. Upon this petition and his publicly acknowledging his offence, and craving pardon for the same at the commons' bar, that house was pleased to address the queen to stop the prosecution against him, which had been set on foot at their desire; and thus this matter ended.

And now the earl of Marlborough being returned from Holland, he also received the thanks of both houses for his signal services this campaign: and on the second of December her majesty declared in the committee of council, that she was so satisfied of the eminent services of lord Marlborough to the public and herself, both in the command of the army, and the entire confidence he had settled between her majesty and her allies the States-general, that she intended to create him a duke; and on the tenth of the same month she sent the following message to the house of commons:

A N N E R.

"The earl of Marlborough's services to her majesty and to the public have been so eminent, both in his command of the army and in his having established an entire confidence and good correspondence between her majesty and the States-general, that she has thought fit to grant the title of a duke of this kingdom to him and to the heirs-male of his body, and also a pension of five thousand pounds per annum upon the revenue of the Post-office, for the support of his honour during her majesty's life: if it had been in her majesty's power, she would have granted the same term in the pension as in the honour; and she hopes you will think it so reasonable in this case as to find some proper methods of doing it."

This message occasioned great debates in the house; and one member in particular said, that he would not derogate from the duke's eminent services, but insisted that he was very well paid for them, and then took notice of the profitable employments enjoyed by him and his duchess. The result was an address, shewing their inexpressible grief that her majesty's most dutiful and loyal commons saw any instances where they were unable to comply with what her majesty proposed to them; but they begged leave humbly to lay before her majesty the apprehension they had of making a precedent for the future alienation of the revenue of the crown, which had been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the last reign, and which had been so lately settled and secured by her majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness: they however declared themselves infinitely pleased to observe, by her majesty's late gracious acceptance of the duke of Marlborough's services, that the only way to obtain her majesty's favour was to deserve well of the public; and begged leave to assure her majesty, that whenever she should think fit to reward such merit, it would be to the entire satisfaction of her people*. To this address, which in many parts of it highly reflected on the late king's person and reign, the queen only answered, That she should always think herself much concerned to reward those who had deserved well of her, and that on this account she had bestowed some favours on the duke of Marlborough, and was glad to find they thought them well placed. As this proceeding of the queen demonstrates the great influence

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 210.

the duke and dutchess of Marlborough had then over her, so it is thought the refusal of the commons began to alienate the duke from the Tories. It is very remarkable, that neither bishop Burnet nor the dutchess of Marlborough, in the vindication of her conduct, make the least mention of this circumstance.

I must here observe, that a clause having been added to the bill for settling the prince of Denmark's revenue, exempting that prince from that part of the act of succession, by which strangers, though naturalized, were rendered incapable of holding employments, it occasioned very warm debates. The clause related only to those who should be naturalized in a future reign, and was calculated as a restriction on the house of Hanover. Many members argued against this clause of exemption, because it seemed to imply that persons already naturalized would be excluded from employments in the next reign, though already possessed of the right of natural-born subjects; a consequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act. Others opposed it, because the lords had already resolved by a vote, that they would never pass any money-bill sent up from the commons, to which a clause foreign to the bill should be tacked; and this clause they affirmed to be a tack, as an incapacity to hold employments was a circumstance altogether different from a settlement in money. The queen expressed uncommon eagerness in behalf of this bill; and the court-influence was managed so successfully, that it passed through both houses, though not without an obstinate opposition, and a formal protest entered by seven-and-twenty peers*.

The commissioners for stating the public accounts having, by order of the house of commons, examined the accounts of the earl of Ranelagh, pay-master of the army, laid them before the house, with their own observations, in which they bore very hard upon that earl. The commons, after a full hearing of all parties, came to the following resolutions, viz. 1. That it appeared to the house, that the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for taking, examining, and stating the public accounts of the kingdom, had very good grounds for making the observations in their narrative or representation laid before the house. 2. That all monies issued to the pay-master-general of the army ought to be applied to the use of the army and forces only, and to no other purpose whatsoever. 3. That all privy-seals, orders of the Treasury, or other warrants to the pay-master-general of the army, to apply the money in his hands to other than the use of the army and forces, are illegal and void. 4. That all privy-seals or warrants of the auditors of the imprest to pass accounts without proper vouchers, or to make any allowances other than according to the law and course of the Exchequer, are illegal and void. 5. That the said commissioners had made good the allega-

tions in their narrative: and, 6. That the pay-master-general of the army had misapplied several sums of the public money.

The earl of Ranelagh, to avoid any farther animadversions on his management, thought fit to resign his place, which was afterwards supplied by sir Stephen Fox and Mr. Howe as joint pay-masters: but it appears that the noble lord's resignation was not sufficient to appease the commons; for they expelled him their house, of which he was a member, and even addressed her majesty to order the attorney-general to prosecute him. Herein, however, her majesty did not chuse to oblige them. The commons also resolved, that the borrowing of money and striking of tallies, with interest, before the public occasions required, had been one cause of the great debt which the nation had incurred, and that the applying of the public money to the use of the civil list, which was otherwise provided for, was another cause of that debt.

This enquiry into the public accounts produced most violent animosities between the two houses; for the commons having passed several severe resolutions against Charles lord Halifax, auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, as having been guilty of a breach of trust, and thereupon addressed the queen to direct her attorney-general to prosecute him for the said offence†; which her majesty, as in the other instance, refused to comply with; the lords, exasperated at the proceedings of the commons, which displayed so much party-rancour and malice, appointed a committee to examine all the observations which the commissioners of accounts had offered to both houses. The result was, that their lordships resolved, That Charles lord Halifax, auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, had performed the duty of his office according to the antient custom of the Exchequer and the late act of king William III. and that he had not been guilty of any breach of trust: at the same time, they ordered their proceedings to be printed and published. This difference blew up a fierce flame of discord between the two houses, which manifested their mutual animosity in speeches, votes, resolutions, and conferences. The commons affirmed, That no cognizance the lords could take of the public accounts would enable them to supply any deficiency, or appropriate any surplusage of the public money: that they could neither acquit nor condemn any person whatsoever upon any enquiry arising originally in their own house; and that their attempt to acquit lord Halifax was unparliamentary. The lords insisted on their right to take cognizance originally of all public accounts: they affirmed, that in their resolutions with respect to lord Halifax, they had proceeded according to the rules of justice: they owned, however, that their resolutions did not amount to any judgment or acquittal; but that, finding a vote of the house of commons reflected upon a member of their

* Burnet. Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 210. Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 46.

† The particulars of the resolutions against this noble peer were as follow, viz, " That Charles lord Halifax, auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, had neglected his duty, and was guilty of a breach of trust in not transmitting the imprest-rolls half-yearly to the king's remembrancer, according to the late statute made in the reign of king William III. that the auditors of the imprest had been guilty of great neglect in not certifying the king's remembrancer of the neglect of the several annual

accountants, and that process ought to go against them: that it appeared to the house that there had been a general mismanagement of the public money, by not obliging the accountants to make up their accounts in due time, which was another cause of the national debt: that Charles lord Halifax had been guilty of a breach of trust in not examining, every three months, the tellers vouchers for the payments upon the annuities which he allowed in his weekly certificates, according to the late act,

house, they thought fit to give their opinion in their legislative authority. The queen interposed by a message to the lords, desiring they would dispatch the business in which they were engaged; but the disputes between the two houses still continuing, with a warmth that left little hopes of an accommodation, the queen resolved to check their farther progress by putting an end to the session*.

Another thing had occasioned a misunderstanding between the two houses, and took up a great deal of time this session: this was a bill for preventing Occasional Conformity. The Tories affected to distinguish themselves as the only true friends of the church and monarchy, and vehemently inveighed against the dissenters, who constituted great part of the Whig faction, as encroaching schismatics, that disgraced and endangered hierarchy; and in order effectually to humble them, on the fourth of November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, were ordered by the house of commons to bring in the above-mentioned bill†, in the preamble to which all prosecution for conscience sake was condemned. Nevertheless it was enacted, "That all those who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments, after having been at any such meeting." They were also rendered incapable of holding any other employment till after one whole year's conformity, and upon a relapse the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled.

The promoters of this bill alleged in support of it, that it was intended only to restrain a very scandalous practice, which is a reproach to religion, gives offence to all good christians, and to the best amongst the dissenters themselves: that this bill enacted nothing new, and was only intended to make the laws in being more effectual: that those laws were thought sufficient to secure our establishment; but since the invention and iniquity of men had found out ways to elude them, it was proper to let those men see the legislature would not be wanting on their parts to prevent those mischiefs which must prove destructive to the church and monarchy; both which the commons declared themselves resolved to maintain and support. It was affirmed, That an established religion and a national church are absolutely necessary, when so many *ill* men pretend to inspiration, and when there are so many *weak* men to follow them: that if a national church be necessary, the only effectual way to preserve it is by keeping the civil power in the hands of those whose practices and principles are conformable thereto: that when the corporation-act was made, the parliament had fresh in their minds the confusion and calamities that had been brought upon the nation, by such as pretended to be at the same time in the interest of religion and of their country: that the parliament by that act,

and afterwards by the test-act, thought it had secured our establishment both in church and state, and that they had provided a sufficient barrier to defeat and disappoint any attempt against them, never imagining that a set of men would rise up, "whose consciences were too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough to break them:" that as upon the Revolution the last reign had begun with an act in favour of the dissenters, so the commons did desire that in the beginning of her majesty's auspicious reign, an act might pass in favour of the church of England; that the laws which had been evaded might now be effectually enforced; and that those men might be kept out of offices, who have shewn they never wanted the will, when they had the power, to destroy the church; and that nothing had been more misrepresented than this bill, which did not in any respect encroach on the act of toleration, or take from the dissenters any one privilege they have by law, or give any one privilege to the church of England which was not at least intended her by the laws as they now stand. It was moreover said, that a separation from the church, to which a man's conscience will allow him *occasionally* to conform, is a mere schism, which in itself was sinful, without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence, and that conforming and nonconforming were contradictions; for nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of communion required are sinful can justify the one, and this plainly condemns the other.

The members who opposed the bill argued, That the dissenters were generally well-affected to the present constitution: that in the last and greatest danger to which the church was exposed, they zealously asserted her against the papists, their common enemies, and have ever since continued to shew every mark of affection and submission to the government in church and state: that to bring any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with dangerous consequences: that the toleration had greatly contributed to the safety and reputation of the church, and plainly proved that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for encreasing the votaries of the church, and diminishing the number of dissenters: that the dissenters could not properly be termed schismatics without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were even more severe than those imposed by law upon the papists for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration and tenderness had been always productive of peace and union, whereas persecution had never failed to excite discord and extend superstition.

The bill passed the lower house by a considerable majority, but met with a very warm opposition from the peers, many of whom were in the Whig

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 247, 260.

† The bill began thus: "As nothing is more contrary to the persuasion of the Christian religion, and particularly to the doctrine of the church of England, than persecution for conscience only, and in due consideration of it, an act passed

in the first year of king William and queen Mary, for the exempting ther majesty's protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws; which act ought inviolably to be observed, and ease given to consciences truly scrupulous.

interest. Apprehensive that the commons would tack it to some money-bill, they voted, That the annexing any clause to a money-bill was contrary to the constitution of the English government and the usage of parliament. Their lordships, upon perusal of the bill, made several amendments, as, That Jacobite meetings should be included: that one hundred pounds penalty should be reduced to twenty pounds; and that the whole incapacitating clauses should be omitted. They also shortened the terms for information and prosecution, exempted dissenters from holding offices for which they could not be qualified without taking the sacrament, provided that the act should not extend to the university-churches, or to the French and Dutch churches, or to the governors of hospitals, or the assistants of corporations or work-houses for relieving or employing the poor. The commons taking their lordships amendments into consideration, agreed to some of them, but disagreed to others, which occasioned several conferences between the two houses, the managers on the part of the commons being Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, Mr. Finch, Mr. Solicitor-general, and sir Thomas Powis. On the part of the lords, the duke of Devonshire, the earl of Peterborough, the bishop of Salisbury, the lords Somers and Halifax. After long debates the lords adhered to their amendments: the commons persisted in rejecting them; so that conferences broke up, both parties publishing their proceedings as a vindication of their conduct. The court put their whole strength to carry this bill; even prince George came and voted for it, though he was himself an occasional conformist, for he had received the sacrament as lord high-admiral, and yet kept his chapel in the Lutheran way; but when it came to the final vote, the bishops made in the last reign, to the surprize of every one, fell with their whole weight into the scale of the Whigs, and the bill was lost by one voice only *.

A bill was now brought into the lower house, granting another year's consideration to those who had taken the oath abjuring the pretended prince of Wales. This being sent up to the lords, they added three clauses, importing, 1. That those persons who should take the oath within the limited time might return to their benefices and employments, provided they were not already filled. 2. That any person endeavouring to defeat the succession to the crown, as now limited by law, should be deemed guilty of high-treason. 3. That the oath of abjuration should be imposed upon the subjects of Ireland. These amendments occasioned some warm debates in the house of commons, where it was carried only by one voice to agree with the lords, and the bill passed both houses, by which a new security was provided both in England and Ireland for a protestant successor.

I must not forget that the duke of Ormond having, at his return from the Cadiz expedition, thrown out some reflections upon sir George Rooke's conduct, and hinting a design to subject him to a public accusation, the house of lords ordered the admiral's instructions and journals to be laid before a committee appointed for that purpose; and the

majority of the house afterwards voted, That sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation. On the other hand, sir Henry Bellasis was tried by a court-martial of general officers, broke, and dismissed the service: but major-general O'Hara was acquitted by the same court, and his suspension thereupon taken off by her majesty.

About this time the earl of Rochester, finding himself out-weighed in the council by the interest of the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin, had become sullen and untractable; upon which the queen thought fit to order him to his government of Ireland, which he had never visited since his having been appointed lord-lieutenant. The earl, however, chose rather to resign than comply with this injunction, and that office was bestowed upon the duke of Ormond, who had now acquired great popularity, and was indeed a very accomplished nobleman.

In the beginning of January the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that the States-general had pressed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The commons immediately resolved that ten thousand men should be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies: but at the same time, in an address, they intreated her majesty would make it a point with the States-general that they should put an immediate stop to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain, which the commons said was so absolutely necessary for carrying on the war, to the interrupting the enemy's trade, and reducing them to the greatest straits, that they desired England might not be charged with the pay of such additional troops, but from the day that such step should be made by the States. The lords also addressed her majesty to the same effect, who readily acknowledged the justness of their precautions, and promised to comply with their requests. She was as good as her word, and the States-general, fore against their will, were obliged to publish a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain.

The public business being now dispatched, her majesty came to the house of peers the twenty-seventh of February, and gave the royal assent to the land-tax (four shillings in the pound); to the act for enabling her majesty to settle a revenue (one hundred thousand pounds per annum) on the prince of Denmark, in case he survived her; to the malt-tax; to an act for continuing the duties upon coals; to an act for granting an aid to her majesty by the sale of annuities (by this act every contributor was to have fourteen pounds per annum, for ninety-nine years, for every two hundred and ten pounds paid in); to an act for preventing escapes out of the King's-Bench and Fleet prisons; to an act for finishing and adorning the cathedral of St. Paul's; to an act for the punishment of accessories to felonies, and the receivers of stolen goods; to an act for enlarging the time for taking the abjuration-oath, and for the future securing the succession in the protestant line, and extinguishing

the hopes of the pretender; to an act for stating and examining the public accounts; and to an act for advancing the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland, with some others. After which her majesty made a speech to both houses, thanking them for the dispatch they had given to the public affairs, for the large supplies that had been granted, and the provision that had been made for the prince. She said, she hoped the dissenters would rest satisfied with the act of toleration, which she was resolved to maintain; and that those of the church would consider she had her education in it, and had run great hazards for it; and that therefore they ought to be sure she would make it her peculiar care to encourage and maintain the church, and transmit it securely settled to posterity. She thought some farther laws were necessary for restraining the licence of the press, and hoped they would endeavour to suppress pernicious libels; but above all she recommended union among themselves; and concluded with acquainting them, that she would apply her share of the prizes taken during the war to the public service.

Then the lord-keeper, by her majesty's command, prorogued the parliament.

To the transactions of this session it may not be improper to subjoin an account of the proceedings of the convocation, which sat at the same time as the parliament, and which was distracted by the same feuds and animosities that prevailed in that assembly.

It had been customary for a convocation to be summoned with every new parliament; but after the first convocation in 1689, had, as I have already related, discovered their aversion to the scheme of comprehension set on foot by king William; the king had ordered the convocation to be regularly prorogued, and never suffered them to sit till February 1701, when they were, after a vacation of ten years, allowed to meet and act. Then the contests about the right of adjourning were revived between the higher and lower houses, and so continued till William's death. When the convocation determined in consequence of that event, the advocates for the new claims set up by the lower house affected to call themselves a parliamentary body, and therefore insisted they had a right to sit as long as the parliament; but the archbishop and bishop affirmed, that the convocation being assembled by the bishop's mandate, in obedience to the king's writ, could no longer subsist than while the royal writ remained in force, and so the convocation broke up.

On the queen's accession, and the calling a new parliament, the convocation was again summoned, and Dr. Aldrich, dean of Christ-church, was chosen prolocutor; when the lower house, in imitation of the commons, proposed an address, reflecting on the memory of the late king, and even glancing obliquely at the conduct of the bishops; but the upper house refusing to concur, the lower receded, and both at length agreed in a joint address to her majesty, in which they congratulated her accession to the throne, thanked her for the assurances she had given of her fixed resolution to support the church of England as by law established, and to maintain the succession in the protestant

line; and expressed their hopes, that whatever was wanting to restore the church to its just rights and privileges would be supplied by her majesty, and would be transmitted safe to the latest posterity. The queen in her answer told them, that she was highly pleased with this dutiful address, and considered their concurrence in this particular as a good presage of their union in every thing that should come before them.

Her majesty however found herself disappointed in her expectations; their former contests were immediately revived. The bishops offered to grant the lower house any thing that could possibly be granted without giving up their character and authority: they proposed, that in the intervals of session, the lower house might appoint committees to prepare matters; and when business should be regularly brought before them, the archbishop would regulate the prorogation in such a manner, that they might have sufficient time to sit and deliberate upon the subject. The lower house were not satisfied with this answer: they had many friends among the ministry, and therefore they resolved upon an address to the queen, which was presented on the twenty-third of December, 1702, begging she would call the question into her royal audience, and award such a sentence as to her should seem proper. Orders were hereupon given to the queen's counsel to examine how the matter stood in point of law between the two houses, which was thus stated to them, and from whence the reader will be best informed of the true nature of the dispute between the two houses of convocation. The constant practice, as far as there were books or records, was, That the archbishop prorogued the convocation by a schedule: of this the form was so fixed, that it could not be altered but by act of parliament. There was a clause in the schedule that continued all matters before the convocation in the state they were, to the day to which he prorogued them. Hence it was evident that there could be no intermediate session; for a session in the lower house could, by passing a vote in any matter, alter the state that matter was in.

The lower house on their part did not pretend to question the archbishop's power to prorogue the *whole* convocation, that is, to appoint a further day, on which the whole body should attend; but they conceived that such power was no ways inconsistent with the right claimed by the lower house, viz. the right of holding their assemblies, and continuing to act as an house, in the intervals of his grace's ordinary prorogations; which right, in their opinion, was so indisputably necessary to the being of the lower house, that they could not answer the trust reposed in them, unless they continued to insist on the claim of it. What the report made by the judges was, is not known; but it should seem, however, that it was unfavourable to the lower house, for the queen made no answer to their address. The dispute still subsisted, when the session was finished by the prorogation of the parliament*.

Those contests, however, gave rise to divisions through the whole body of the clergy, who ranged themselves into different parties, distinguished by the names of HIGH CHURCH and LOW CHURCH,

who branded each other with the most invidious epithets: the former branded the latter with the appellation of Presbyterians and Republicans; and those in return stigmatized their adversaries as enemies to the Revolution, Jacobites, and Schismatics. Upon the whole, I cannot more aptly distinguish them than by giving to the former the term of Ecclesiastical Tories, and to the latter that of Ecclesiastical Whigs.

The latter end of February several promotions were made in the army; and on the seventh of March sir John Levison Gower, baronet, was created baron Gower of Sittenham, in the county of York; John Granville, esquire, baron Granville of Potheridge, in the county of Devon; He-neage Finch, esquire, baron of Guernsey, in the county of Hants; Francis Seymour Conway, esq. younger son of sir Edward Seymour by a second venter, baron Conway of Ragley, in the county of Warwick; and John Harvey, esquire, was created baron Harvey of Ickworth, in the county of Suffolk. At the same time, Sheffield marquis of Normanby was created duke of that name, and afterwards honoured with the additional title of duke of Buckinghamshire.

I shall close the transactions of this year with an account of some occurrences relating to our trade, which could not so conveniently be introduced in the course of the former pages.

In this year an attempt was made by the English from Carolina, under colonel Moore, governor of that settlement, against St. Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida; but although we took and held the town for a whole month, we were not able to reduce the castle for want of mortars (which certainly should have been duly considered before) and were therefore obliged to withdraw, on the arrival of two Spanish men of war, and abandon the ships, ammunition, &c. to the enemy*.

In this year also the land-proprietors of the two provinces of East and West New-Jersey, in English America, who had purchased of the first proprietors, not readily finding purchasers of under-shares thereof, and being likewise at variance amongst themselves, agreed to surrender into the queen's hands both the charters for those two separate governments, reserving their particular rights and properties of the lands and settlements therein: whereupon her majesty consolidated the said two provinces into one, and appointed the lord Cornbury to be the first regal governor. This colony of New-Jersey has since prospered very well, and has been extremely useful in supplying our sugar-colonies with provisions, lumber, &c. Its two best towns are Burlington and Elizabeth town; but that of Perth-Amboy is reckoned to have the best harbour, and most commodious in point of situation†.

General Codrington, governor of the Leeward-Islands, having received advice that war was declared by England against France, attacked the French island of Guadaloupe, where, after some loss, he made himself master of the great town called Bassé-terre, and forced the enemy to retire into the castle and fort, which they defended for some

time, and then blowing them up, retired to the mountains; after which the English burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, took the best of the guns on board, and made their retreat without the loss of a man; then embarking, they returned to St. Christopher's‡.

We have seen, under the preceding reign, the indispensable necessity there was for uniting the old and new English East India companies, even if it had been for no other reason but the sake of public tranquillity. This coalition was finally effected this year under an act of arbitration, wherein lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and Charles Montagu lord Halifax for the new; and on the twenty-second of July, an indenture tripartite was entered into by the queen and the said two companies, in substance as follows, viz. That the old company's stock in the funds should be transferred to the new, and that the old company should purchase of the new as much of their stock as, with that which was transferred by the old, should make up a moiety of the whole capital of the united companies. The old company was likewise to give an equivalent for the new company's dead stock. During seven years, each company was to have an equal power in the administration of the fund and trade, and to that end twelve persons were to be yearly appointed by the general court of each company respectively, who were to be stiled Managers of the United Trade to India; and after those seven years were expired, the old company were to surrender their charter, and the new company was henceforward to change its stile, and to be called "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," whose affairs were afterwards to be conducted by their own sole directors, agreeable to the charter of the tenth of king William. Thus a prudent stop was put to much contention on account of those two bodies of traders; and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has subsisted, with so great credit to themselves and benefit to the nation, ever since§.

The order of time leads me now to take a view of what passed in Scotland and Ireland, at the beginning of the second year of queen Ann's reign.

A change had been made in the ministry of Scotland, which seemed favourable to the episcopalians and antirevolutionists of that kingdom. The earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hindford, were laid aside: the earl of Seafield was appointed chancellor, and the duke of Queensberry and the lord viscount Tarbat were declared secretaries of state; the marquis of Annandale was made president of the council, and the earl of Tullibardin lord privy-seal. The episcopal clergy, encouraged by these proceedings, which appeared so favourable to them, drew up an address to the queen, imploring her protection, and humbly beseeching her to allow those parishes in which there was a majority of episcopal freeholders, to bestow the benefices on ministers of their principles. This petition was presented to the queen on the thirteenth of March, 1703, by Dr. Skeen and Dr. Scot, introduced by the duke of Queensberry and lord Tarbat: her

* History of Europe, vol. vii.

† British Empire in America, vol. ii.

‡ Ibid.

§ Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

majesty, in her answer, assured them of her protection and endeavours to supply their necessities as far as conveniently she could, and recommended to them to live in peace and christian love with the clergy who were by law invested with the church-government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland*.

The convention of estates that had met in Scotland at the Revolution, had been continued as a legal parliament all the reign of king William, the presbyterians not daring to hazard the establishment of their kirk by a new election. The continuance of this convention was complained of as a great grievance, as unprecedented in that nation, and an invasion of their old constitution, by which a parliament was annually to be chosen: her majesty was pleased, therefore, this year, 1703, to gratify the people of Scotland by calling a new parliament; but, previous to relating its transactions, it will be necessary to present the reader with a short sketch of the state of parties in Scotland at this time.

A proclamation of indemnity having been lately published, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretending to have changed their sentiments, and took the oaths, that they might be qualified to sit in parliament: these joined with the more rigid episcopalians and the antirevolutionists, who by this accession of strength, hoped to secure such a majority as might be able to vote down presbytery, and to restore patronages, or at least to carry a toleration so as their own clergy might be called to benefices as well as the presbyterians. This, however, proved to be an union without harmony, and consequently possessed of very little real strength. The presbyterians and revolutionists were headed by the duke of Argyle; the earl of Hume declared himself the chief of the antirevolutionists; the country-party of malecontents, which took its rise from the disappointments of the Darien settlement, acted under the management of the duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweddale. The majority of the country-party were friends to the Revolution, and endeavoured only a redress of the grievances which the nation had sustained during the late reign. The antirevolutionists, though declared enemies to the name or memory of king William, yet thought all parties were safe under the shelter of the queen's indemnity. The Jacobites, even those who had taken the oaths, made no scruple openly to confess, that they had sworn to her only as tutrix or regent during the minority of the prince of Wales her brother. By this it will appear, that the whole kingdom of Scotland was in a ferment at the sitting down of the parliament †.

In this disposition of affairs the new parliament met at Edinburgh on the sixth of May, 1703, and the duke of Queensberry, who had been appointed her majesty's high-commissioner, having taking his seat on the throne, the queen's letter was read, in which she demanded a supply for the maintenance of the forces; advised them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wisdom, prudence, and unanimity. After the queen's letter was read, the high-commissioner and the earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor, each of them made a speech of the same purport with the letter. Then the duke of

Hamilton offered the draught of an act for recognizing her majesty's authority, and her undoubted right and title to the imperial crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the estates of the kingdom, containing the claim of right. This was immediately received; and at the second reading, the queen's advocate offered an additional clause, denouncing the penalties of treason against any person who should quarrel (dispute) her majesty's right and title to the crown, or the exercise of her government from her actual entry on the same. This clause duke Hamilton and his party warmly opposed, alleging, that the ministry only proposed it as being conscious they had, contrary to law, been instrumental in advising her majesty to exercise some acts of administration, such as calling together the parliament which had continued all the late reign, and promoting in it some commissions, laws, and powers, which determined the being of the parliament, and circumscribed its powers. After a long and warm debate, however, it was carried to add the advocate's clause, by the concurrence of the antirevolutionists.

The earl of Hume, after this, offered the draught of a bill for the supply; and immediately after it was read, the marquis of Tweddale moved, that, previous to entering upon any other business, the parliament would establish such conditions and regulations respecting the constitution of the kingdom, to take place after the decease of her majesty and the heirs of her body, as should be thought most likely to tend to the security and preservation of their liberty and religion. This overture and the bill were ordered to lie upon the table. In the mean time, however, the high-commissioner found himself greatly perplexed how to proceed. He had been told by the duke of Argyle and the other chiefs of the presbyterian party, that they were determined to obtain an act for ratifying the Revolution, and confirming the kirk-government, before they would enter upon the business of a supply, intimating at the same time, that they were certain of a majority in their favour. This was a confounding explanation to the commissioner, who now plainly saw he must either give up the supplies, which were at this time particularly needful, or abandon the antirevolutionists, with whom he had hitherto been connected: he clearly perceived, that on this occasion the Whigs would throw all their weight into the scale of duke Hamilton and the country-party, which would then outweigh that of the antirevolutionists. He had nothing then left, but to endeavour to cajole both parties, in which, however, he found himself unsuccessful. He desired in parliament, that the act for the supply might be read, promising that he would allow the house sufficient time afterwards to discuss all other subjects. The marquis of Tweddale insisted on his overture or motion; and, after some warm debates, it was carried in favour of the overture. The marquis of Athol presented the heads of a bill for the security of the kingdom, in case of her majesty's decease; but before they were read, Argyle offered his draught of a bill for ratifying the Revolution, and all the acts consequent thereupon. Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun, also produced an act for limiting the succession after the death of her majesty,

* Hist of Europe, vol. vii. Lockhart's Memoirs.

† Burnet. Tindal.

and the heirs of her body; as did the earl of Rothes another, importing, that no person coming to the crown of Scotland after her majesty's death, and the failure of issue, and being at the same time king or queen of England, should, as king or queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of the Scottish parliament. The earl of Marchmont moved for an act to secure the true protestant religion and presbyterian government, the heads of which he recited: and sir Patrick Johnston proposed another for admitting the importation of wines and other foreign liquors. All these bills were ordered to lie upon the table.

After this the earl of Strathmore proposed an act for the toleration of all protestants in the exercise of religious worship; whereupon a most violent remonstrance was offered against it, in the name, and at the appointment of the general assembly of the kirk, wherein they insist there could be no just ground to grant a toleration to the episcopal persuasion, since there was no *sinful communion* required of them; and difference in opinion about church-government was not a sufficient reason for separation in worship: they likewise insisted, that in the present case and circumstances of that nation, to enact a toleration in favour of the episcopalians, would be to establish *iniquity by law*. And here it might be demanded of these tenacious gentlemen, whether the English might not, with equal justice, be said to have *established iniquity by a law*, in tolerating the dissenters among them at the Revolution? I shall leave it to others to determine how far this indulgence on our parts was wicked or laudable; but surely, to an unprejudiced mind, it will appear equally just and innocent to have tolerated episcopacy in Scotland, as it was to tolerate presbytery in England. But to proceed: the kirk so managed matters, that the act of toleration was dropped. Some time after the parliament passed the act for preserving the true reformed religion, and confirming presbyterian church-government; as also the duke of Argyle's act for ratifying and perpetuating the first act of king William's parliament, for declaring it high-treason to disown the authority of the then parliament, or to alter or innovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. The queen's high-commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, giving the royal assent to those acts, so far embroiled him with the cavaliers, or antirevolutionists, that they renounced his interest, resolving to separate from the court, and jointly pursue such measures as might be for the interest of their party, which was now strengthened by the accession of the marquis of Athol and the viscount Tarbat, who had protested against the foregoing acts.

But of all the bills that were produced in the course of this remarkable session, no one raised such a violent dispute as the act of security, proposed by the duke of Argyle and his party, in which it was provided, in order to secure the ancient independency of the Scots, that in default of issue of her majesty, the same person should in no event be capable to be king or queen both of England and Scotland, unless a free communion of trade, the freedom of navigation, and the liberty of plantations, &c. were fully agreed to by the parliament of England; and several other provisions were likewise made therein, all calculated to abridge the prerogative of the crown, to limit the successor, and throw a vast additional power into the hands

of the parliament. It would be equally tiresome and ungrateful to the reader, was I to go about to recite the many inflammatory speeches and bitter sarcasms that were bandied between party and party on this occasion; let it then suffice to say, that notwithstanding the most obstinate opposition from the ministry and the antirevolutionists, the bill was passed on the thirteenth of August, by a majority of fifty-nine voices, and the commissioner was warmly importuned to give it the royal assent; but he declined from time to time to give any answer: at length, on the tenth of September, he made a speech to the house, in which he gave them to understand, that he had received her majesty's orders, empowering him to give the royal assent to all the acts voted in this session, except the act of security, which they might easily believe required her majesty's farther consideration; at the same time her majesty expected they would mind their own safety, in making the necessary provisions for the troops, and that they would put the trade and customs upon that foot, that the civil list might be supported; and he intreated them to finish these matters as soon as possible. The earl of Marchmont afterwards proposed the settling the succession in the house of Hanover; but his motion was rejected, not so much it should seem from any aversion the majority in parliament entertained to the said succession, as that they were resolved to avoid a nomination, until such conditions of government should be previously stipulated, as might secure them against the influence of an English ministry. Some members of the house, among whom Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of professed republican principles, was the chief, began to question, whether the crown had a negative or not: they said till of late a negative had never been interposed, and that but in very few cases; and in the end the majority peremptorily refused to go upon the supply till the act of security had received the royal assent: in short, the ferment grew so high, that the commissioner, apprehensive of the most fatal consequences, called for such acts as he was empowered to pass, and then, on the sixteenth of September, adjourned the parliament to the twelfth of October following.

Although the queen refused to pass the act of security, the royal assent was granted to an act of limitation on the successor, in which it was declared, that no king or queen of Scotland should have power to make peace or war without consent of parliament. Another law was enacted, to allow French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms; it being alleged, that without this expedient the revenue would have been insufficient to maintain the government. An act passed in favour of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commission concerning the public accounts; another for punishing slanderous speeches and writings: the commission for treating of an union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to grant any other commission for that purpose without consent of parliament. As no supplies had been provided for before the adjournment, the pay of the army, with the charge of the government, was left to run upon credit; and such was the national humour among the Scots at this period, to render themselves a free and independent people, that they seemed capable of the most extravagant things that could be suggested to them.

Thus.

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† Burnet. Tindal.

and the heirs of her body; as did the earl of Rothes another, importing, that no person coming to the crown of Scotland after her majesty's death, and the failure of issue, and being at the same time king or queen of England, should, as king or queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of the Scottish parliament. The earl of Marchmont moved for an act to secure the true protestant religion and presbyterian government, the heads of which he recited: and sir Patrick Johnston proposed another for admitting the importation of wines and other foreign liquors. All these bills were ordered to lie upon the table.

After this the earl of Strathmore proposed an act for the toleration of all protestants in the exercise of religious worship; whereupon a most violent remonstrance was offered against it, in the name, and at the appointment of the general assembly of the kirk, wherein they insist there could be no just ground to grant a toleration to the episcopal persuasion, since there was no *sinful communion* required of them; and difference in opinion about church-government was not a sufficient reason for separation in worship: they likewise insisted, that in the present case and circumstances of that nation, to enact a toleration in favour of the episcopalians, would be to establish *iniquity by law*. And here it might be demanded of these tenacious gentlemen, whether the English might not, with equal justice, be said to have *established iniquity by a law*, in tolerating the dissenters among them at the Revolution? I shall leave it to others to determine how far this indulgence on our parts was wicked or laudable; but surely, to an unprejudiced mind, it will appear equally just and innocent to have tolerated episcopacy in Scotland, as it was to tolerate presbytery in England. But to proceed: the kirk so managed matters, that the act of toleration was dropped. Some time after the parliament passed the act for preserving the true reformed religion, and confirming presbyterian church-government; as also the duke of Argyle's act for ratifying and perpetuating the first act of king William's parliament, for declaring it high-treason to disown the authority of the then parliament, or to alter or innovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. The queen's high-commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, giving the royal assent to those acts, so far embroiled him with the cavaliers, or antirevolutionists, that they renounced his interest, resolving to separate from the court, and jointly pursue such measures as might be for the interest of their party, which was now strengthened by the accession of the marquis of Athol and the viscount Tarbat, who had protested against the foregoing acts.

But of all the bills that were produced in the course of this remarkable session, no one raised such a violent dispute as the act of security, proposed by the duke of Argyle and his party, in which it was provided, in order to secure the ancient independency of the Scots, that in default of issue of her majesty, the same person should in no event be capable to be king or queen both of England and Scotland, unless a free communion of trade, the freedom of navigation, and the liberty of plantations, &c. were fully agreed to by the parliament of England; and several other provisions were likewise made therein, all calculated to abridge the prerogative of the crown, to limit the successor, and throw a vast additional power into the hands

of the parliament. It would be equally tiresome and ungrateful to the reader, was I to go about to recite the many inflammatory speeches and bitter sarcasms that were bandied between party and party on this occasion; let it then suffice to say, that notwithstanding the most obstinate opposition from the ministry and the antirevolutionists, the bill was passed on the thirteenth of August, by a majority of fifty-nine voices, and the commissioner was warmly importuned to give it the royal assent; but he declined from time to time to give any answer: at length, on the tenth of September, he made a speech to the house, in which he gave them to understand, that he had received her majesty's orders, empowering him to give the royal assent to all the acts voted in this session, except the act of security, which they might easily believe required her majesty's farther consideration; at the same time her majesty expected they would mind their own safety, in making the necessary provisions for the troops, and that they would put the trade and customs upon that foot, that the civil list might be supported; and he intreated them to finish these matters as soon as possible. The earl of Marchmont afterwards proposed the settling the succession in the house of Hanover; but his motion was rejected, not so much it should seem from any aversion the majority in parliament entertained to the said succession, as that they were resolved to avoid a nomination, until such conditions of government should be previously stipulated, as might secure them against the influence of an English ministry. Some members of the house, among whom Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of professed republican principles, was the chief, began to question, whether the crown had a negative or not: they said till of late a negative had never been interposed, and that but in very few cases; and in the end the majority peremptorily refused to go upon the supply till the act of security had received the royal assent: in short, the ferment grew so high, that the commissioner, apprehensive of the most fatal consequences, called for such acts as he was empowered to pass, and then, on the sixteenth of September, adjourned the parliament to the twelfth of October following.

Although the queen refused to pass the act of security, the royal assent was granted to an act of limitation on the successor, in which it was declared, that no king or queen of Scotland should have power to make peace or war without consent of parliament. Another law was enacted, to allow French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms; it being alleged, that without this expedient the revenue would have been insufficient to maintain the government. An act passed in favour of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commission concerning the public accounts; another for punishing slanderous speeches and writings: the commission for treating of an union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to grant any other commission for that purpose without consent of parliament. As no supplies had been provided for before the adjournment, the pay of the army, with the charge of the government, was left to run upon credit; and such was the national humour among the Scots at this period, to render themselves a free and independent people, that they seemed capable of the most extravagant things that could be suggested to them.

Thus

Thus ended this famous session of parliament, in which the greatest part of the ministry had abandoned the duke of Queensberry, and particularly the earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor, the marquis of Athol, lord privy-seal, and the viscount of Tarbat, secretary of state, with all their followers. Nevertheless, the queen thought proper to confer honours upon several who appeared to have influence in the nation, and who, though in opposition to her ministry, were thought to have an attachment to her person and government: the marquis of Athol was made a duke, and the lord Tarbat earl of Cromarty; the marquis of Douglas, though a minor, was also created a duke; the viscounts of Stair and Roseberry were created earls of the same name; the lord Boyle, earl of Glasgow; James Stewart, of Bute, earl of Bute; Charles Hope of Hoptoun, earl of Hoptoun; John Crawford, of Kilbruce, viscount of Garnock; and sir James Primrose of Carrington, viscount of Primrose. Soon after, her majesty revived the order of the Thistle, which had been dropped by the late king; it was to be carried in a green ribband, as the George is in a blue; the glory was in the form of a St. Andrew's cross. The dukes of Argyll and Athol, the marquis of Annandale, the earls of Orkney and Seafield, were the first who had it, the number being limited to twelve*.

Whilst things were in this situation in Scotland, there were also high discontents in Ireland, where an animosity now came to be raised, as well as in England, between Whig and Tory. The duke of Ormond having been constituted lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, as has been observed already, held a parliament there the latter end of the year, when it appeared that this nation looked upon themselves to be under very great hardships; for the commons having chosen Alan Broderick, esq. solicitor-general, to be their speaker, one of the first things they did, was to resolve, "That all the protestant freeholders of that kingdom had been falsely and maliciously traduced, misrepresented, and abused, in a representation made of them in a book entitled, 'The Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Irish Forfeitures,' in which it is asserted, that the said freeholders, through length of time, and by contracting new friendships with the Irish, or by inter-purchasing with one another, but chiefly through a dislike of the dispositions of the forfeitures, are scarce willing to find any person guilty of the late rebellion, even upon the fullest evidence." And it appearing to the house, that Francis Annesley, a member of the house, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they farther resolved, that Annesley should be expelled the house: Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. It seems they had finished the enquiry about the forfeitures before the meeting of this parliament, and had sold the best of the estates to the Sword-blade company of London, at an under-value; and that company had petitioned for a bill to enable them to take possession, make conveyances in consequence thereof, &c. but the parliament refused to confirm the bargain, and expelled John Apgill, one of their members, who, as agent to the said company, had offered to lend the Irish government money, on condition an act

was procured to confirm the company's purchase of the forfeited estates.

The commons pursued the trustees of the forfeited estates still farther, for they resolved to offer a representation of the state and grievances of the nation to the queen, in which they gave her majesty to understand, "that the constitution of the kingdom of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken, and the lives, liberties, and estates, of the subjects called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors: that the charge they had been put to by the trustees for forfeited estates, in defending their just rights (which, after many and expensive delays, had been allowed by the said trustees) exceeded the value of the current cash of that kingdom: that they could not, without the greatest grief of heart, reflect on the loss of their trade, and of being deprived of the means of earning their livelihood, and maintaining their own manufactures, whereby their poor were become very numerous, especially the poor industrious protestants: that very many protestant families had been forced to leave the kingdom, and remove into foreign countries: that their foreign trade was under such restrictions and discouragements, that it became in a manner unprofitable: that the want of frequent parliaments had given encouragement to evil men, who minded nothing but their own gain, though tending to the ruin and oppression of her majesty's subjects: that the rapacious covetousness of some civil officers was insupportable, who amassed together vast estates in a short time, in that poor country: that others resided for the most part out of the kingdom, and neglected their duties, to the great detriment of her majesty's subjects, and failure of justice: and that it was from her majesty's gracious interposition alone in their favour, that they hoped for relief from these their manifold griefs and oppressions."

The commons afterwards voted the necessary supplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the necessary branches of the establishment. They also voted a provision for the half-pay officers, and abolished pensions to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds a year, as unnecessary branches of the establishment. They passed an act for settling the succession of the crown after the pattern sent them from England. A very severe bill was also passed against the papists, by which it was enacted, that all estates of papists should be equally divided among their children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons to whom they might be settled, should qualify themselves by taking the oaths, and communicating with the church of England. They were proceeding with great zeal against popery and the pretender, when they were suddenly adjourned by the command of the lord lieutenant, and broke up greatly irritated against that nobleman, whom they severely reflected upon as the adviser of this measure; though in truth his excellency, on the bill "to prevent the growth of popery" being offered to him by the house, had transmitted it to the English ministry, warmly recommended by himself; but the latter, being in expectation of very considerable presents from the papists, strenuously opposed the sending back the bill with the

royal assent, on pretence that as the queen was then earnestly interceding with the emperor for favour to the protestants in his dominions, it seemed not seasonable, and was scarce decent, to pass so severe a law against those of his religion*. It is now time to return to the military operations of this year.

The emperor had agreed with the allies, that his son, the archduke Charles, should assume the title of king of Spain, by the name of Charles III. demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake some enterprize of importance in conjunction with the maritime powers. Leopold had likewise promised to send such an army into the field, as would in a little time be able to expel the elector of Bavaria from his dominions; but he was so dilatory in his preparations, that the French king broke all his measures by sending powerful reinforcements to the elector; accordingly marshal Villars, who lay with an army of thirty thousand men at Strasburgh, had orders to join the elector. The marshal passed the Rhine, and invested Kehl, an important fort, over-against Strasburgh, which was surrendered to him after a short resistance. The emperor, alarmed at this event, ordered count Schlick to enter Bavaria on the side of Saltzburgh, with an army; and count Stirum, on the side of Newmark, with another. The Imperial generals committed great ravages in the electorate, but were frequently met with and defeated by the elector's troops, who, encouraged by these successes, advanced to Ratisbon†, where the diet of the empire was assembled, and demanded that he should be immediately put in possession of the bridge, and one of the gates of the city. The burghers, overawed by so powerful a force in their neighbourhood, thought proper to comply, and on the eighth of April his electoral highness entered the town; however, he signed an instrument, by which he engaged to withdraw his forces as soon as the emperor should ratify the resolution of the diet for the neutrality of Ratisbon.

In the mean time marshal Villars having received orders to join the elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under count Tallard, determined to break through the lines which prince Lewis of Baden had formed at Stollhoffen, which he at last effected, after having been repulsed several times, and penetrating through the vale of Kintzig, he joined the elector in the beginning of May; and it was resolved between them, that the marshal should watch the motions of the prince of Baden, whilst the elector invaded the county of Tyrol, in order to open a communication with the French in Italy. Bavaria's motions were so swift, and such his success, that it alarmed the court of Vienna; for in six days time he made

himself master of the whole Tyrolese, and took as many strong places as might have stopped a numerous army for as many months, had they been in such a condition as they ought: at length the elector made a triumphant entry into Inspruck, the capital of that country, from which he demanded homage, and a monthly contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand florins. But the elector marching afterwards to the mountain Brenner, in order to join the duke of Vendosme in Italy, upon which junction the ruin of the house of Austria would have probably followed; the boors in Tyrol rose, and retook several of the places he had reduced, and cut in pieces the garrisons he had left to guard them; and though the elector afterwards revenged himself upon the peasants, yet understanding that some of the Imperial generals were marching against him, and that his country had suffered very much during his absence, he was obliged to abandon Tyrol, and his design of joining Vendosme, and return to Munich. Being afterwards rejoined by marshal Villars, they both together fell upon Stirum, who, with a considerable body of the Imperialists, was marching to join prince Lewis of Baden, and defeated him near Hochster. In the mean time count Tallard besieged and took Old Brisac‡; and on the seventh of October invested Landau. The defence made by the governor of Brisac was so slender, that he was condemned in a council of war to be beheaded, and all the officers who signed the capitulation were punished.

The confederates, sensible of what importance the preservation of Landau was, after they had disposed the rest of the army into winter-quarters, ordered the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel to attempt the raising of the siege; to which purpose he set forward from the Netherlands with twelve battalions and twenty-nine squadrons; and having reached Altzey, in the Palatinate, by means of very long marches, was there met by the prince of Nassau Weilburg, general of the Palatinate forces, in order to concert proper measures for the relieving of Landau. The French having notice of this march immediately detached M. Pracontal, with a body of ten thousand men, to follow the prince closely, or rather, if possible, to get before him. Pracontal used such diligence that he joined count Tallard before the confederates had any notice of his march. The prince of Hesse being arrived at Spires, within four leagues of Landau, the French generals surprized him on the 15th of November, and obtained a complete victory, after a very bloody and obstinate engagement, in which the prince of Hesse behaved with exemplary courage and conduct; he had three horses killed under him, and slew a French officer with his own hand: but after

* This parliament, besides the bills already mentioned, passed an act for an additional excise on beer, ale, and other liquors; another encouraging the importation of iron and slaves; a third for preventing Popish priests from coming into the kingdom; a fourth for securing the liberty of the subject, and for preventing imprisonment beyond seas; and a fifth for naturalizing all protestant strangers. Burnet. Hist. of Europe, vol. vii. Oldmixon. Tindal.

† Ratisbon is a very large and strong city of Germany, in the circle and dukedom of Bavaria, and a bishopric, under the archbishop of Saltzburg. It is free and imperial; famous for the general diets of the empire. Although it was seized by the elector of Bavaria this campaign, he lost it (as well as his own dominions), in 1704, soon after the action of Schellen-

berg, near Donawert. It has a fair stone bridge over the Danube, one thousand and ninety-one feet long, and thirty-two feet broad, supported by pillars, and adorned with three towers; here is also a magnificent old cathedral, and a stately castle, where the imperial diets are commonly held.

‡ Brisac is a very considerable city and castle of Germany, and esteemed one of the strongest places in Europe, whether its situation upon a high hill be considered, or what art has contributed to render it regular. The fortifications are a French league in compass; the bastions are filled with earth, faced with brick, and secured with a large broad ditch full of water, and it will require (in time of war) eight or ten thousand men to defend it. It stands on the river Rhine, twenty-six miles north of Basil, and thirty-fourth of Strasburg.

incredible efforts, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of some thousand men. The French, however, gained not a bloodless victory; Pracontal, and several other officers of distinction, being slain in the action; nevertheless they resumed the siege of Landau, which the count de Frize, its governor, despairing of relief, surrendered on the nineteenth, upon honourable terms. Count Marlin being sent, about the same time, to command the French army in conjunction with the elector of Bavaria, in the room of marshal Villars, whose haughty and assuming behaviour the elector could not bear, they invested the city of Augsburg*, with their united forces, on the sixth of December, which was surrendered on the fourteenth.

To add to the distractions of the empire, this winter the Hungarians broke out into open rebellion, under prince Ragotski, who published a declaration, setting forth, that, provided they might enjoy their religion, liberties, and estates, and the government of Hungary might be put into the hands of a native, they would return to their allegiance. The emperor hereupon sent prince Eugene to Presburgh, to give the necessary orders for the security of the frontiers, and to endeavour to bring the malecontents to some accommodation†. Having thus given some account of the state of the war in Germany, let us now turn to the Netherlands, where the arms of the allies were attended with better success.

The duke of Marlborough's departure from England had been delayed for some time by the death of his only son, the marquis of Blandford, who died of the small-pox in the beginning of the year: so equally are good and evil intermixed. The duke no sooner saw himself happy in his sovereign's favour, and confessed by all the powers in Europe one of the greatest generals of his age, than he found himself deprived of the only heir of his wealth and grandeur, by whom he hoped to transmit his great name down to posterity. His grace, however, having somewhat recovered this heavy stroke of fate, crossed the sea about the middle of April, 1703, and, assembling the allied army, opened the campaign in Flanders with the siege of Bonne, which was invested on the third of May, N. S. This town is situated on the Lower Rhine‡, about fourteen miles south of Cologne, the usual residence of that elector, and the only place of strength he had left, so fatal was his alliance with France. This place was attacked in three different quarters; in one by the prince of Hesse Cassel, in another by general Coehorn, the celebrated Dutch engineer, and in the third by lieutenant-general Fagel. The garrison made a stout and vigorous defence, and continued to hold out for a week, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches being practicable, the marquis d'Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat; hostages were immediately exchanged, and two

days after, the garrison marched out, and were sent to Luxemburgh.

While the greatest part of the confederate army was employed before Bonne, the French king, imagining that city would make a longer resistance, sent orders to the marshals Boufflers and Villeroy to lay siege to the city of Liege; which they were preparing to do, when they received advice from the marquis d'Alegre, that he could no longer defend Bonne. Hereupon the two marshals advanced suddenly into the neighbourhood of Tongeren||, with an army of forty thousand men, which they surprised, and made the garrison prisoners. Bonne being surrendered, the duke of Marlborough marched towards the French army, with a design to have given them battle; but, upon his approach, marshal Villeroy thought proper to retire within the lines, having first blown up the works about Tongeren. Hereupon it was resolved to attack the French lines; which service was effectually performed by general Coehorn and baron Spaar, though not without considerable loss in the attack.

The joy for this success was not a little abated by the arrival of an express from general Opdam, with an account that the French, under marshal Boufflers, had come out of their lines, near Antwerp, and being joined by a considerable detachment from the grand army, had surrounded the confederate forces under his command, and entirely routed them, and that he had escaped to Breda, with only thirty horse: but while the States were under some consternation at this misfortune, another express arrived from mynheer Hop, treasurer-general of the States, and their deputy in that army, giving an account, that the army was indeed surrounded by a superior force, but had repulsed the enemy, and effected an honourable retreat to Lillo. The truth was, that general Opdam had the misfortune to be cut off from the rest of his army at the beginning of the engagement, and looking upon all as lost, fled with precipitation to Breda: the rest of the Dutch generals, however, behaved themselves with such bravery and conduct, that the French were repulsed. General Schlangenburg, who commanded in the absence of Opdam, gained immortal honour in this action, and received the thanks of his masters for saving their army, when it had been given over for lost. On the other hand, general Opdam, though he had served his country above thirty years without any imputation on his courage, and his being cut off from his army was purely accidental, yet could he never afterwards recover any tolerable reputation in the field. This battle, which was extremely bloody, was called the Battle of Eckeren, from the name of the place where it was fought.

The duke of Marlborough finding it impossible to bring the French to an engagement, sat down before Huy§, of which he made himself master in about ten days time, the garrison capitulating to be

* Augsburg is a large and one of the most considerable cities of Germany, adorned with magnificent churches, palaces, magazines admirably well provided, and several excellent hospitals. It is famous for several Imperial diets that are usually held in it. It stands on the river Leck, on the borders of Bavaria.

† Burnet. Oldmixon. Hist. of Europe. Lamberti. Feaquieres.

‡ The Lower Rhine and Upper Rhine are two circles of Germany: the former consists of the electorate and palatinate

of the Rhine, with the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, all which lie on the river Rhine. The latter comprehends the landgraviates of Alsace and Hesse, including the Wetteraw; but at present only that of Hesse can be reckoned a part of Germany, Alsace being united with France.

|| A town of Liege, in the Austrian Netherlands, situated on the little river Jeckar, ten miles north-west of Liege.

§ Huy is a considerable town in the Low Countries, with four churches and a castle. It was garrisoned by the French in 1702,

be exchanged for that which was surprized at Tongeren. The tenth of September, the confederates invested Limburgh †, and on the twenty-eighth of the same month the garrison surrendered, and were made prisoners of war. Thus ended the campaign in Flanders. The town of Gueldres surrendered on the seventeenth of December following, having been blocked up for some months by a detachment of the Prussian troops, by the surrender whereof the Dutch became masters of all the Spanish Guelderland, as they were before of Limburgh, another of the provinces of the Spanish Netherlands; so that their frontiers were now sufficiently enlarged, and the enemy removed to a convenient distance ‡.

The naval operations of this year were not attended with all the success that might have been wished. The making prince George lord high-admiral proved, in many instances, very unhappy to the nation: men of bad designs imposed upon him; he understood sea-affairs very little; and they sheltered themselves under his name, to which great submission was paid: but the complaints rose the higher for that our main fleet was ready to go to sea in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over to join us; and therefore sir George Rooke was ordered on a cruize upon the French coast, in order to keep the enemy in an alarm. The admiral, however, being taken ill, George Churchill, esq. admiral of the blue, was sent to take upon him the command of the fleet; but he not arriving in time, and sir George Rooke finding himself better, put to sea, and continued out for something more than a month. Sir George had proposed a scheme for distressing the enemy, by sailing very early into the bay of Biscay, where he thought, if they had any men of war without Port Louis and Rochefort, they might be surprized and taken; but by the unavoidable delays in our fleet putting to sea, the French had got notice of the design, and most of their squadron had failed. Sir George therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no service by remaining longer on the French coast, returned home about the middle of June, but not till he had first taken and sent in a French East India ship, worth one hundred thousand pounds, one of their men of war of thirty-six guns, and a West India merchant-ship worth forty thousand pounds, with several other prizes of inferior value. Bishop Burnet, indeed, is pleased to assert, that sir George's illness was only a pretence to avoid going to sea; and that when he did, he at last returned without attempting any thing. As the above facts are related from the best authorities §, I shall leave the reader to comment upon the candour and veracity of this right reverend historian, who has been too implicitly followed by several of our late writers.

In the spring of this year vice-admiral Graydon was sent to the West Indies with a pretty strong

squadron to attack the island of Placentia, and expel the French from the Newfoundland fishery. In his passage he fell in with monsieur Du Caffé, as he was returning from Carthagena, with four ships only, and those very foul, having on board a large treasure. The Montagu, one of Graydon's squadron, engaged the sternmost of those ships; but he was called off by the admiral, who said he had orders not to lose any time by chasing or speaking with any ship whatsoever. This affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral: the admiralty, however, took the whole blame upon themselves, and inserted a paragraph in the Gazette to justify this officer's conduct, by declaring his orders to have been what he said they were, assigning for a reason, that the contrary winds having kept him in port much longer than was intended, and the service upon which he was bound very much requiring his presence, with the regiment that was with him, it was thought proper to lay him under strict restrictions from losing any time in his passage, by chasing or engaging any vessels he might meet at sea. After this rencounter admiral Graydon proceeded with all imaginable diligence on his voyage; but when he came off the coast of Newfoundland, about the beginning of August, he received certain advice that the enemy at Placentia were not only superior in number, and consequently able to make a good resistance, but that the avenues to the place were extremely difficult, the grounds marshy, and that there were no planks or other materials for mounting the guns on the batteries. These circumstances being duly weighed, together with the assistance the enemy might receive from their privateers and other shipping then at Placentia, a council of war, which was held on board the admiral, were unanimously of opinion, that it would be in vain to make any attempt on the place with the ships and forces at such an advanced season of the year: and that instead of success, they should only subject her majesty's arms to disgrace and defeat; upon which it was resolved to return to England *.

Sir George Rooke, on his return home, was again attacked by his disorder, which rendered him so weak and infirm, that he asked and obtained leave to go to Bath, and the command of the grand fleet this year was bestowed upon sir Cloudesley Shovel. It consisted of 35 ships of the line, and the admiral had under him sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red; sir George Byng, rear-admiral of the red; and sir John Leake, vice-admiral of the blue. One principal design of sending out this fleet was, to encourage the king of Portugal (who, as we shall see, had by this time joined the grand alliance) to remain firm to the confederates, and to protect his coasts against the French. Another was, to make a descent in Spain, and try the affections of the Spaniards for the emperor's family;

1702, and taken by the confederate army, under the duke of Marlborough this campaign: It was retaken by the French in 1705, and again repossessed by the confederates that same year, in whose hands it now continues. It stands on the river Maese, fourteen miles almost south of Liege, and seventeen almost north-east of Namur.

† Limburgh is a strong but no very large city of the Low Countries, the capital of the dukedom of the territory of Limburgh. It is situated upon a rock, among shady woods, on the river Wesdret, sixteen miles south-west of Aix la Chapelle, nineteen almost east of Liege, forty-three almost south-west of

Cologne, fifty-four north of Luxemburg, and seventeen almost east of Brussels.

‡ Lamberti, vol. viii. Hist. of Europe. Tindal. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

§ Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Gazettes of May 23, and June 15, and 22, 1703.

* This account is taken from Campbell, who says, that he had it from a MS. defence of admiral Graydon's, in which are particular certificates as to the truth of the facts; and as the admiral was never prosecuted, though his conduct was afterwards enquired into by the house of lords, it is to be presumed it was found satisfactory.

but the scheme was so ill laid, that nothing could be expected from it. The fleet was not ready to sail till the beginning of July, and the admiral had orders to leave the Streights by the end of September; a strange inconsistency! Sir Cloudesley represented the impossibility of performing any essential service in so short a time; but the admiralty-board enforcing their orders, he had nothing left but to comply.

He waited till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ships of the line, under Allemonde, and two other flags. On the first day of July he sailed from St. Helen's with the combined squadrons, amounting to fifty-seven ships, having also a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchantmen under his convoy. On the twenty-fourth he arrived off the Rock of Lisbon, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea-bay, on the coast of Valencia. There the whole fleet arrived on the thirty-first of August; and having made a descent with two thousand five hundred marines, they sent a message to the governor, that they did not come as enemies, but friends. The general answered, he had a great esteem for the English, but he was sorry he was not in a condition to oppose their landing. Sir Cloudesley and the Dutch admiral then published a short manifesto, importing, that, pursuant to the orders of her majesty the queen of Great Britain, and the States-general, they were come to protect such of the good subjects of Spain as were willing to return to the obedience of their lawful sovereign the archduke Charles, and endeavour to shake off the yoke of France. This manifesto seemed to have no other effect but that the Spaniards, seeing no injury was offered them, brought in plenty of all refreshments and provisions, for which they were paid in ready money. The fleet having taken in water and fresh provisions, the marines were reimbarcked, and the admiral sailed again the third of September for Leghorn, where count Lamberg, the imperial ambassador at Rome, came on board sir Cloudesley's ship, and acquainted him that the archduke was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna the twelfth of September, by the name of Charles III. † Hereupon fifteen guns were fired by every ship in the fleet, and his Catholic majesty's health drank.

The admiral, on his leaving England, had received orders to send some assistance to the Cevennois, or inhabitants of the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the south part of Languedoc in France; and who having, in the course of the preceding year, been persecuted into a revolt on account of religion, had implored the protection of

England and the States-general. Agreeable to his instructions, therefore, sir Cloudesley, before he left Altea-bay, had sent the Pembroke and Tartar into the Gulph of Narbonne, with arms and ammunition for those malecontents; but the court of Versailles had been so fully apprized of the expedition, that they had taken effectual methods to render it abortive: whereupon the two ships left the French coast, and sailed for Leghorn, where they arrived the twenty-third of September, and joined the grand fleet that had put in there three or four days before. Such of our readers who are desirous of seeing a more particular account of the insurrections of the Cevennois, and our attempt in their favour, may consult M. de Voltaire's Essay on General History, and his Age of Lewis XIV. as also Mr. Oldmixon's History of England, it being foreign to our purpose: I shall therefore only observe, that the time being now expired to which the admiral was limited, he sailed from Leghorn on the twenty-second of October; and having ordered a squadron of ships to Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, to renew the peace with those piratical states, he came again into Altea-bay, where several of the natives declared for king Charles, and entered as volunteers to serve on board our fleet; after which the admiral, having victualled and watered, set sail for England, and arrived in the Downs on the seventeenth of November following, not having had an opportunity of engaging the French fleet, which kept close in Toulon while the confederates were in the Mediterranean. This expedition did not reflect much honour upon the nation, and therefore created some murmurs; but these fell, very undeservedly, upon the admiral, who certainly did all that was in his power, and not on those who gave him his orders, and were thought to have rather more power than parts ‡.

But while the grand fleet was at sea, Thomas Dilkes, esq. rear-admiral of the white, did the nation a very acceptable service in distressing the French trade. Intelligence was brought to the lord high-admiral's council, that a considerable fleet of French merchant ships, with their convoy, were in Cancalle bay, on the coast of Normandy; upon which the rear-admiral, who was then at Spithead with a small squadron, had orders to sail immediately in pursuit of them, which he did on the twenty-second of July, and executed his commission with such success, that he took, burnt, and sunk, upwards of forty sail, three of which were equipped as men of war. This service was thought of such importance, that the queen ordered a gold medal to be struck on the occasion, and delivered to the rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly dis-

† The ceremony of proclaiming the archduke was performed in the following manner: the privy-council, to the number of thirty-five, and all the foreign ministers, having met in the council-chamber, by an invitation from the emperor, his imperial majesty made a long speech to the assembly, in which he declared, that, after the example of his predecessor, the emperor Charles V. he made a formal resignation of all his claims and pretensions to the crown of Spain, in favour of his eldest son, Joseph, king of the Romans. And at the same instant the king of the Romans, on his part, made the like resignation in favour of his brother the archduke, who thereupon made his acknowledgements to the emperor and the king of the Romans for the same. The usual oaths were then administered to him on the Gospel, by cardinal Collonitsch, before a crucifix placed on a large table, in the midst of four wax ta-

pers; and the new king received the compliments of the whole court. After this he entertained the emperor his father and all the imperial family at dinner; and in the evening he himself was entertained at supper by his brother the king of the Romans. Never had there been a more magnificent festival seen at Vienna. All the Neapolitan nobility, who were in the Austrian interest, kept open house; at night there were public balls, fireworks, and illuminations. The new king made an offering at the shrine of the Holy Virgin, in the church of Marienzel, of a large cross richly adorned with jewels. On this occasion the states of Lower Austria made his Spanish majesty a present of fifty thousand ducats. Chavauette's Nouvelle Hist. d'Angleterre, 1765, tome iv. p. 259, 260.

‡ Burnet. Burchet. Hist. of Europe.

tinguished themselves greatly by their courage and conduct in this expedition §.

In the midst of these battles, and the sieges of so many towns and cities, and whilst the confederate fleets lorded it on the Ocean, Lewis XIV. straining every nerve of government, still appeared in a capacity to make head against the united efforts of the grand alliance: it was therefore resolved to weaken him, by detaching from his interest two of his principal allies, the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal, in hopes, by means of the latter, to cut out sufficient work for him and his grandson in Italy, and by the assistance of the other to open an easy entry into Spain, whither the archduke Charles had now in view to transport himself in person. The project succeeded to admiration; and in the summer of this year Lewis, to his infinite surprize, learnt for certain that the duke of Savoy was on the point of quitting the Bourbon interest, and was actually in treaty with the emperor. The duke had been treated with great insolence by the generals of France: this, joined to the advantageous offer made him by the emperor, and that versatility which was so truly the characteristic of his family, determined him to abandon the interest of his son-in-law Philip V. and to espouse the cause of the allies. The event proved that he was not at all wanting to the rules of policy in the treaty he made, but he was wanting in another very essential point of politics; I mean the leaving his troops at the mercy of the French while he was treating with the emperor; for though he used the utmost circumspection to conceal his intentions till the end of the campaign; yet the court of Versailles having, as observed, got intelligence of the duke's proceedings, immediately sent orders to the duke of Vendosme to seize and disarm the troops of Savoy that were in his service, to the number of twenty-two thousand men. The duke, by way of reprisal, commanded several French officers that were in Turin, and the French ambassador himself, to be put under arrest. This proceeding produced another order from the French king to the duke of Vendosme, to invade Savoy immediately, and to transmit the following letter, in his Most Christian majesty's name, to his royal highness:

“ S I R,

“ Since neither religion, honour, interest, alliance, or even your own hand-writing, are of any force between us, I send my cousin the duke of Vendosme at the head of my armies, to make known to you my intentions. He will allow you but twenty-four hours to resolve what you have to do.

L E W I S.”

The duke in return published a manifesto, setting forth the necessity and justice of his proceeding, and sent expresses to the confederated powers

to solicit their assistance against the impending storm. Queen Anne, knowing his importance, as well as his selfish disposition, assured him of her protection; and both she and the States sent ambassadors to the court of Turin. In the mean time, the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna, who promised him all that France and Spain had refused him, viz. Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po* and the Tanaro†, with more money than he received from France in subsidies. The money was to be furnished by England, for the emperor had hardly sufficient to pay his troops. England, the richest of all the allies, contributed more than any of them towards the common cause: she ever has done so. The duke of Savoy in return acknowledged the archduke Charles as king of Spain, and prepared for the worst. Leopold, however, sensible in what a delicate situation this new ally was placed, ordered count Staremberg to march from the Secchia‡ with a body of fifteen thousand men to join the duke. This march is said to have been the best concerted and the best executed of any that was performed during the whole war. He advanced from the Modenese in the worst season of the year, through an enemy's country, and ways that were deemed impassable, having the French both in front and rear. He surmounted, however, all these difficulties, and at length joined the duke at Canelli, so as to succour the country of Piedmont ¶.

No sooner had the house of Bourbon lost this ally than she heard that Portugal had likewise declared against her. Mr. Methuen, our ambassador at that court, had spared no pains to detach his Most Faithful majesty from his unnatural connections with the Grand Monarch. He represented to him, with no less spirit than truth, that should the crowns of France and Spain ever devolve upon the same person, he must not expect to remain long a king. He alarmed his apprehensions for his present safety, by painting to him in the most striking colours, the acknowledged superiority of the confederates by sea, the weight of whose power he must expect certainly to feel, should he at any time, in consequence of an alliance with France, refuse them the free use of his ports; and that his compliance with such a demand would, on the other hand, render his friendship to France of little account. These arguments had their due weight with his Portuguese majesty, who was moreover allured by the prospect of a match between the Infanta his daughter and the archduke Charles, to whom the emperor and the king of the Romans should transfer all their pretensions to the crown of Spain: in fine, a treaty was set on foot and soon concluded at Lisbon, between the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Portugal, and the States-general. In this treaty

§ See Lond. Gaz. No. 3937, 3938. Burchet. Campbel.

* A considerable river of Italy, rising in mount Viso, one of the Alps, from whence it runs, in several meanders, to Turin, where it receives the Doria; and continuing a north course to Chiasso, turns east; and passing through Piedmont, Milan, Montferrat, Parma, Mantua, Ferrara, and Venice, empties itself, by several channels, into the Adriatic. In its course, besides the two Dorias, it receives the Lesser Tanaro, the Oglio, the Adige, and the Mincio, and waters the towns of Verue, Casal, Valenza, Placentia, and Cremona.

† A river of Italy, rising between the Appennines and Ligurian Alps, in the south of Piedmont, from whence it runs north-east through that principality, and, passing by Alba, Asti, and Alessandria, falls into the Po at Bassignano, below Volza.

‡ A river of Italy, which, after running through the Modenese, and part of the Mantuan, falls into the Po below St. Benedetto.

¶ Hist. of Europe. Voltaire. Burnet.

it was stipulated, that king Charles (for so I shall henceforward stile the archduke) should be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, and that twenty-eight thousand Portuguese should be ready to join him immediately at Lisbon §.

In consequence of these arrangements, the archduke Charles having been proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, the emperor his father made preparations for sending him to Portugal by way of Holland and England, and at the same time dispatched letters to his Portuguese majesty and the queen of Great Britain, recommending him to their protection. About the middle of September king Charles set out from Vienna for Holland; and passing through the territories of the elector of Hanover, was met by that prince, and complimented on his accession. At Dusseldop * he was visited by the elector-palatine and the duke of Marlborough, the latter of whom made him compliments of congratulation in the name of our queen. Charles received the duke with the most obliging courtesy. In the course of their conversation, taking off his sword from his side (which was very rich, and provided for that purpose) he presented it to the duke, telling him, in French, he was but a poor prince; adding, "Je n'ai que le cape et l'épée; I have nothing but my cloak and my sword: the latter may be of use to your grace, and I hope you will not think it the worse for my having wore it one day." "On the contrary," replied the duke, it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom." His majesty arrived at the Hague the second of November, where he represented to the States, that the province of Lemburgh appertained to him as king of Spain, and desired he might have the civil government thereof; which the States complying with, his majesty appointed count Zinzendorf to take possession of the town and province of Lemburgh in his name †.

To return to England.

The duke of Marlborough, at the end of the campaign in Flanders, returned to England the thirtieth of October: the queen and prince George of Denmark having been at the Bath seven weeks, came back to Windsor the same month, and on the ninth of November the parliament met: but before we enter upon a detail of its proceedings, I must take notice of the most violent storm, both by sea and land, that had ever been known in the memory of man; I mean the dreadful tempest which arose on the twenty-sixth of November, 1703, about eleven o'clock at night, attended with such flashes of lightning and peals of thunder as filled every mind with the utmost terror and consternation throughout the kingdom. The houses in London shook from their foundations, and several of them falling, overwhelmed the inhabitants in their ruins. The Thames overflowed several streets, and rose to a considerable height in Westminster-Hall. London-bridge was almost choaked up by the wreck of vessels that were beat in pieces in the river. The loss sustained by the capital alone was computed at near two millions, and the city of Bristol suffered to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds: but the greatest loss fell upon our navy, of which there perished no less than thirteen ships: upwards of fifteen hundred seamen were drowned, among whom was Beaumont, rear-admiral of the blue, who had been employed all this year in observing the Dunkirk Squadron. These losses, however, greatly as they might affect us at home, served in some measure to raise our reputation abroad; for orders were immediately issued for building a greater number of ships than were destroyed; and the queen, by several gracious bounties, gave such speedy relief to those seamen who escaped with their lives, and to the distressed widows of such as were drowned, as gained her full possession of the hearts and affections of her subjects. The reader will see in the notes the particulars of this great loss, as taken from the best accounts ‡.

And

§ Besides this treaty, which was ratified on the fourteenth of July, O. S. 1703, Mr. Methuen concluded, on the part of our court, a treaty of commerce with his Portuguese majesty, much to the benefit of both nations, viz.

"Article I. The king of Portugal, on his part, stipulates, both in his own name and that of his successors, to admit for ever hereafter into Portugal the woollen cloths, and the rest of the woollen manufactures of the Britons [these are the very words of the treaty, as found in the fourth volume of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, printed in the year 1732] as they were accustomed, till they were prohibited by the laws. Nevertheless, upon this condition,

"That her royal majesty of Great Britain, in her own name and that of her successors, be obliged, for ever hereafter, to admit the wines of the growth of Portugal into Britain and France; so that at no time, whether there shall be peace or war between the kingdoms of France and Britain, any thing more shall be demanded for those wines, by the name of customs or duty, or by whatsoever other title, directly or indirectly, whether they shall be imported into Great Britain in pipes or hogheads, or other casks, than what shall be demanded for the like quantity or measure of French wines, deducting or abating one third part of the customs or duty. But if at any time this deduction or abatement of customs, which is to be made as aforesaid, shall in any manner be attempted and prejudiced, it shall be just and lawful for his sacred majesty of Portugal, again to prohibit the woollen cloths, and the rest of the British manufactures." Dated at Lisbon, December 27, 1703.

This most just and beneficial convention has remained inviolable to this day, which has preserved an uninterrupted friendship and alliance between the two nations. After England had declared war against France and Spain, it was by no means her interest to use the wines of those two countries, which doubtless could have been imported by neutral ships; and as the red wines of Portugal were therefore in some sort the only kind we could then conveniently and reasonably come at, this treaty was and is still beneficial to both countries, especially as Portugal has, in return for our taking such vast quantities of their wine, constantly taken off a greater quantity of our manufactures, so as to occasion a considerable yearly balance in our favour; and our palates being long so well reconciled to Portugal wines, the Portuguese for our supply have turned great quantities of their lands into vineyards.

* The capital city of the duchy of Berg, in Westphalia, in Germany, situated on the east bank of the Rhine, twenty-four miles north of Cologne, now subject to the Palatinate, and the place where the prince resides.

† Burnet. History of Europe. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

‡ I. The Reserve, a fourth rate, captain John Anderson commander, lost at Yarmouth. The captain, the surgeon, the clerk, and forty-four men, saved; the rest of the crew drowned, being one hundred and seventy-five.

II. The Vanguard, a second rate, sunk in Chatham harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

III. The Northumberland, a third-rate, captain Greenaway, lost

And now for parliamentary affairs. The session, as I said before, beginning the ninth of November, the queen opened it with a speech, in which she took notice of the declaration by the duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumstances very advantageous to the allies: she told them, that though no provision was made for the expedition to Lisbon, and the augmentation of the land-forces, the funds had answered so well, and the prizes had turned out so valuable, that the public had not incurred any debt by those additional services. She observed, that she had contributed out of her own revenue to support the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the allies deserved her seasonable assistance. She assured them that she would not engage in any unnecessary expence of her own, that she might have the more to spare towards the ease of her subjects. She recommended union amongst themselves, and dispatch in the business before them; and above all pressed them to avoid all heats or bickerings that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state.

It was thought by many that the admonition with which her majesty closed her speech, was intended to prevent the resuming the occasional conformity bill. It appears, however, by a letter of her's to the duchess of Marlborough, that she was no enemy to that bill*. However this might be, the commons would not lose sight of their favourite scheme, and the bill was revived early in the session, though the penalties indeed were somewhat lowered. In the mean time, however, the commons attended her majesty with an address of thanks for her speech, and for engaging the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy in the alliance; for contributing part of her own revenue to the public service; and for her assistance to the circle of Suabia; and they assured her that they would support her majesty in her alliances, and enable her to carry on the war with vigour†. The lords also presented an address on their parts, much to the same effect.

About a fortnight after the meeting of the parliament, a new draught of an occasional confor-

mity-bill was offered to the lower house. In this the preamble against "persecution for conscience only" was now left out; and in the enacting part, whereas the former bill allowed but four, besides the family, where a conventicle was held, this allowed nine, and inflicted no punishment, unless there were ten or more besides the family. It was hoped by these softenings to make the bill more readily go down. It occasioned, however, very warm debates; but after a violent opposition from the few Whig members that were in the house, it was put to the vote, and was carried by a great majority. The bill being finished on the seventh of December, it was the same day ordered up to the lords for their concurrence, who on the eighth expected it in a full house; but the same not having been sent up, neither on that day nor on the ninth in the morning, lord Hartington, eldest son to the duke of Devonshire, who sat in the house of commons, moved to know the reason why the bill was not carried up according to order, which occasioned a very hot debate in the house about the matter. At length the question being put, whether the house should adjourn till Tuesday the fourteenth, and it being carried in the affirmative, the bill was then sent to the house of lords, who read it the first time; and great debates arising thereupon, there were many learned speeches made for and against the bill; but at last the house divided, whether it should be read a second time, and carried it in the negative, seventy-one to fifty-nine. It is not easy to account for so great a majority this year against the bill, in comparison of last year, when there was not above one or two odds: one would have supposed that the new-made Tory lords might have added such a weight to the balance on the other side as to have carried the point; but the event proved the contrary, and so there we will leave it.

This disappointment, however, did not prevent the commons from making provision for the prosecution of the war. The treaty with Portugal having been laid before them, and being duly considered, they voted forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, for the sea-service of the en-

lost on the Goodwin Sands. All her company was lost, being two hundred and twenty men, including twenty-four marines.

IV. The Stirling-Castle, a third-rate, captain Johnson, on the Goodwin Sands, seventy men of which, and four marine officers, were saved; the rest were drowned, being two hundred and six.

V. The Mary, a fourth-rate, rear-admiral Beaumont, captain Edward Hopson, on the Goodwin Sands; the captain and purser ashore. One man, whose name was Thomas Atkinson, was saved, though the rest, to the number of two hundred and sixty-nine, were drowned. The escape of this Atkins is very remarkable: he saw the rear-admiral, when the ship was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter-deck, from which he was soon washed off; and about the same time Atkins was tossed by a wave into the Stirling-Castle, which sinking soon after, he was thrown the third time into her boat by a wave that washed him from the wreck.

VI. The York, a fourth-rate, captain Smith, lost at Harwich; all her men saved except four.

VII. The Mortar Bomb, a fifth-rate, captain Raymond, on the Goodwin Sands. All her crew lost, being sixty-five.

VIII. The Eagle advice-boat, a sixth-rate, captain Bostock, lost on the coast of Sussex. All her crew, being forty-five, saved.

IX. The Resolution, a third-rate, captain Lisle, on the coast of Sussex. All her company, being two hundred and twenty-one, saved.

X. The Litchfield Prize, a fifth-rate, captain Chamberlain,

on the coast of Sussex. All her company, being one hundred and eight, saved.

XI. The Newcastle, a fourth-rate, captain Carrer, lost at Spithead. The carpenter and thirty-nine men were saved. The rest, being one hundred and ninety-three, drowned.

XII. The Vesuvius fire-ship, a fifth-rate, captain Paddon, at Spithead. All her company, being forty-eight, saved.

XIII. The Restoration, a third-rate, captain Emms, three hundred and eighty-seven men, on the Goodwin Sands. Not one saved.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was just returned from the Mediterranean, was then at anchor in the Gunfleet with several great ships, which were all in the utmost danger. He cut his main-mast by the board, which saved the ship from running on the Galloper, of the beach of which she was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying in the Association, in which he was driven to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home till next year. The Revenge was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving some time on the coast of Holland, got into the river Medway. The Russell, captain Townshend, was forced over to Holland; and the Dorset, captain Edward Whitaker, after striking thrice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at sea, and then got safe to the Nore. Burnet. Campbell. London Gazettes.

* Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 154.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 278.

fuing year; the like number of land-forces to act in conjunction with the allies, besides the additional ten thousand; and they resolved that the proportion to be employed in Portugal should amount to eight thousand. For the maintenance of these armaments, as well as for the discharge of the subsidies payable to her majesty's allies, they granted the sum of three millions eight hundred eighty-one thousand six pounds fifteen shillings. They likewise presented an address to the queen, in which they assured her that they would provide for the support of such alliances as she had made or should make with the duke of Savoy.

At this period the nation was alarmed by the detection of a conspiracy, said to be set on foot in Scotland. It appears that both the French and the pretender entertained great hopes of his restoration to the crown of that kingdom at least, when they saw the Scots would neither settle the succession in the Hanover line, nor grant the necessary supplies for the support of the war; and thereupon Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, with two other persons, were sent over from St. Germain's to Scotland, with instructions to learn the strength and sentiments of the clans, and endeavour to persuade some of the nobility and leading men to engage in the design. Frazer had on his part undertaken to raise a body of twelve thousand Highlanders to act in favour of the pretender, if the court of France would assist them with a body of troops: this Lewis had promised to do. As soon as Frazer landed in Scotland, he waited privately upon the duke of Queensberry, and acquainted him with the whole transaction, at the same time putting into his hands a letter from the late king James's queen, directed to the marquis of Athol. This letter was couched in general terms that might have been addressed to any of the nobility, and the direction was written in a different hand; so that it was generally believed Frazer, who was a man of a most infamous character, had forged it, in order to wreak his vengeance upon the marquis, who had prosecuted him for having violated the chastity of his sister. Queensberry, in consequence of this service, and of the informer's promising to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the pretender and his friends in Scotland, provided him with a pass, under favour of which he made a progress through the Highlands, to sound the inclinations of the chieftains. He afterwards proposed a second journey to France, pretending that he should then be able to make more material discoveries; and the duke procured a pass for him to go to Holland from the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, though under a borrowed name. The duke had already imparted the discovery to the queen, but had concealed the name of the informer, at his own earnest request. Her majesty was the more readily induced to credit the particulars, on account of the evidence given by sir John Maclean, who had lately come over from France to England, and had been apprehended at Folkestone in Kent, and afterwards brought up in custody of the queen's messengers to London. One Keith, whose uncle had accompanied Frazer over to England, was also taken up at the same time; as was Mr. Lindsey, who had been under-secretary to king James and the pretender. One James Boucher also, who had been aid-de-camp to the duke of Berwick, was taken on the coast of Sussex coming over from

France. The flocking over of such a number of rebels and out-laws tended still farther to confirm the truth of a conspiracy being in agitation, though they all asserted that their only design was to live peaceably at home under her majesty's government for the future. Sir John Maclean being examined at the earl of Nottingham's office, who was then secretary of state, said, that he was going to Scotland to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; but afterwards both he and Keith, being more closely interrogated, did acknowledge that they had heard of some consultations at St. Germain's, concerning the sending a body of troops to join the malcontents in Scotland, but declared there was no other design on foot at this time, but to pave the way for the pretender's ascending the throne after the queen's decease. On the other hand, one Ferguson, who had been much famed for having a hand in every Jacobite plot, came in voluntarily, and declared that Frazer had been employed by the duke of Queensberry, her majesty's high-commissioner in Scotland, to draw some persons whom he hated into a plot, but that there was in reality no such thing in agitation.

Little credit however was given to these assurances; and the house of lords taking these matters into consideration, resolved, that a committee should be appointed to examine into the particulars; and ordered that sir John Maclean, and the other emissaries, should be taken into the custody of the black-rod, and no person admitted to speak to them. The queen being displeased with this step, as thinking it too officious an interposition to take them out of the hands of her messengers, gave the lords to understand by message, that she thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun, and that she would in a short time inform the house of the whole affair. On the seventeenth day of December the queen went to the house to pass the bill for the land-tax, when she made a speech to both houses, in which she declared that she had unquestionable information of the practices and designs carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland, "which might have proved extremely dangerous to the peace of these kingdoms, as they would see by the particulars, which would be laid before them as soon as the examinations could be fully perfected and made public without prejudice; and that in the mean time, she doubted not but by this seasonable discovery she should be able to give such directions for their security as would effectually prevent any ill consequences from these pernicious designs."

The lords, however, persisting in their resolution to bring the enquiry into their own house, proceeded to name their committee by ballot, and the choice fell upon the dukes of Somerset and Devon, the earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the lords Somers, Townshend, and Wharton; and on the twentieth of December they presented the following address to her majesty:

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, return our most humble acknowledgements to your majesty for your gracious condescension in promising to communicate to us those informations you have received of the ill practices of your majesty's and our enemies in Scotland.

"And we doubt not but the zeal this house hath shewed for having the persons secured, and their designs

signs brought to light, has been very acceptable to your majesty.

"We rely upon your majesty that you will give such directions as may effectually prevent all pernicious designs; and we trust in God Almighty's goodness, that that watchful providence which has discovered the wicked plot so seasonably, will likewise prosper all your majesty's councils and good intentions.

"We reckon all our concerns, but chiefly the greatest of all, the protestant religion, to be very safe under your majesty's tender care and wise administration; and we will, by our utmost zeal, maintain the rights of the crown and the church of England, all such ways as may best answer your majesty's pious designs, and may most promote the good and happiness of all your subjects. We desire not to let our thoughts go beyond your majesty's person to a future security, but as it is necessary for your majesty's preservation, as well as for settling the minds of all your good subjects, who look on the protestant succession as your majesty's best security, as well as their own."

The commons also addressed the queen, and thanked her for her speech and communicating the plot to them, whereby they had an opportunity to repeat their unanimous resolution to stand by and support her majesty and the protestant succession against all pretenders, and all her majesty's enemies whatsoever. They said, they could never have the least distrust of her majesty's vigilance and care for the preservation of the protestant interest in general, and of the monarchy and church of England, as by law established; and they assured her majesty that they would never be discouraged, but would continue incessant in their endeavours by all proper methods to transmit them securely to posterity. In answer to which the queen assured them they might depend upon her willingness to join her endeavours with them in securing the protestant succession and the church of England.

Things had begun now to veer about at court: the earl of Nottingham found himself tottering, the lord-treasurer and the Marlborough family having obtained the ascendancy. Those things, together with the rejection of the occasional conformity bill by the lords, created a misunderstanding between them and the commons, and the latter were glad to find an opportunity to vent their disgust: they took it for granted that the queen was displeased with the proceedings of the upper house, in taking the suspected persons out of the hands of her messengers (though upon the queen's message to them, already related, they had returned them back to their former custody) they therefore presented another address on the twenty-third of December, in which they expressed the just concern they were under to see her royal prerogative violated. They said, they were surprized to find, that when several persons, suspected of treasonable practices, were taken into custody by her majesty's messengers in order to be examined, the lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of her majesty's hands, and without her leave or knowledge, in a most extraordinary manner, taken the examination of them solely to

themselves, whereby a due enquiry into the evil practices and designs against her majesty's person and government might in great measure be obstructed. They desire her majesty that she will suffer no diminution of her prerogative, in the exercise whereof they were resolved to support her, as well as in the carrying on the war. The queen thanked them for their concern and assurances, and did not seem ill pleased at the nature of the address; though the charge against the peers of *violating the known laws of the realm* was certainly over-stretched, since there did not want precedents of their house having assumed such a right of enquiry: and the attack of the commons seems to have been rather unparliamentary: for the usual method established was, that when the one house was affected with any thing done in the other, conferences were demanded, in which the objected matters were freely debated: but indeed this behaviour in the commons was the pure result of party-pique and artifice. The Tories, or High-Church men, as they were called, who carried all before them in that house, thought no conjuncture so favourable as the present for ingratiating themselves with the queen, by appearing zealous assertors of the royal prerogative.

The lords, however, burning with indignation at the charge brought against them, which they thought most cruel and malicious, resolved to vindicate their honour, and assert their privileges. Accordingly, they came to the following resolution, That by the known laws and customs of parliament they had an undoubted right, whenever they conceive it to be for the safety of the crown and the kingdom, to take examination of persons charged with criminal matters, whether they be in custody or not; and to order that persons to be examined be taken into custody by the sworn officers of the crown attending that house; and that the said address of the commons was unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, &c. This resolve they backed by a remonstrance to her majesty, which for beauty, decency, and energy of style, was esteemed one of the most capital pieces of the kind that were in all the records of parliament; for which reason, as well as for its containing a precise account of the nature of the dispute between the two houses, we shall give it to our readers verbatim, together with the reply of the commons thereto, though somewhat long*.

"May it please your most excellent majesty,

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, find ourselves under an unhappy necessity of making this our humble application to the throne, upon occasion of an address presented to your majesty by the house of commons the twenty-third day of December last, and since that time published to the whole nation in print; by which the house of lords is charged with the violation of your royal prerogative, and of the known laws of the land; with wresting persons suspected of treasonable practices, and taken into custody by messengers, out of your majesty's hands, without your leave or knowledge, in a most extraordinary man-

* It was drawn up by the lord Somers, one of the ablest lawyers, uncorrupt judge, and accomplished statesman, that England ever produced.

ner; taking the examination of them solely to themselves, whereby a due enquiry into the real practices and designs against your majesty's person and government might in great measure be obstructed; and they conclude their address by most earnestly desiring your majesty to suffer no diminution of your prerogative, and promise to support you in the asserting it against all invasions whatsoever. It is not possible for us to remain silent under this heavy charge, so unjustly, and without the least ground or colour, endeavoured to be fixed upon the whole body of peers, which, tending directly to create an ill opinion of us to your majesty, puts us under an inevitable necessity of vindicating both the legality and dutiful manner of our proceeding.

"The expressions in the address of the house of commons are so very harsh and indecent, that we may truly affirm the like were never used of the house of peers, in any age, not even by that assembly which, under the name of the house of commons, took upon them not only to abolish the house of lords, but to destroy the monarchy. We shall carefully avoid making returns of that kind: we consider too much what we owe to ourselves, and we know too well the profound respect due to your royal person, to let any provocation transport us so as to use words unfit to be offered by us to our sovereign.

"The matter of this address is no less injurious to us, than the terms. There was not the least occasion for a just objection to any part of our conduct in the business to which the address relates. The proceeding was strictly justifiable by the known laws and customs of parliament: it was carried on with the utmost respect to your majesty, and with true zeal for the safety of your person and government. All that was done, was agreed to by the concurrent opinion of the house, without the least objection from any of our members, who have the honour of serving your majesty in your great offices and employments.

"We humbly represent to your majesty, that by the known laws and customs of parliament, the house of peers has an undoubted right, in cases where they conceive it to be for the good and safety of your majesty and the kingdom, to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether such persons be then in custody or not: and also to order the persons so to be examined to be taken into custody of your majesty's sworn officers, attending the house, during such examinations; or to commit them to any other safe custody, that they shall think proper; and to restrain others, if they see cause, from having access to, or communication with them. The house of lords have exercised this right from time to time, as occasions have required, without objection: our records are filled with precedents which warrant our claim, in every part of it; and we presume to affirm to your majesty, that the drawing this right into question, at any time, cannot but be of dangerous consequence to the liberties and safety of the people, and to the constitution of the government, as tending to avoid or render in a great measure ineffectual, the enquiries of parliaments; which are so absolutely necessary, especially where many and great persons are engaged in dangerous designs against the government, or where ill ministers abuse their

favour, towards the oppressing and enslaving of the people. Your majesty's wisdom and goodness makes us secure at present against all influences of that kind; and we unanimously and heartily pray we may long enjoy the blessing of your reign; but if it happens in future times, that ill men should gain too great a degree of favour with our princes, how easily will it be for them to stifle or defeat all parliamentary enquiries into their crimes: for if being in prison, or in the hands of a messenger, will protect men from being examined in the house of lords, or from being put into the custody of proper officers of the house, during the examination, and debarred from conversing with others, it will certainly be always in the power of favourites, to cause those who can be witnesses against them, as well as accomplices of their designs, to be taken into custody; and if persons in custody are out of the reach of the house of lords, who are the hereditary counsellors of the crown, and in whom a judicial power is lodged by the constitution, it is not to be imagined that the commons can pretend to a greater power of examining, committing, or restraining them.

"No house of commons, till now, has given countenance to this dangerous opinion, which does so directly tend to the rendering ill ministers safe from the examination of parliament; and we are persuaded no house of commons hereafter will assert such a notion; because they are not wont easily to part with a power they have assumed; and it is certain that they have several times taken upon them to exercise an authority like that which they have so severely reflected on in their address. This consideration gave us the greater astonishment, to find our proceeding represented in the strange terms of wresting prisoners out of your majesty's hands, and taking the examination of them solely to ourselves. We believe the ordering persons to be examined in that high court, where your majesty is always present in consideration of law, and in the great council where you may be present in your royal person as often as you please, will never be thought an exclusion of your majesty from the examinations, if that was intended to be insinuated, by saying we had taken the examinations solely to ourselves. Having thus laid before your majesty what it is we claim, and must insist on as the indisputable right of the house of peers, which was never thought, in the time of your royal ancestors, to be prejudicial to the just prerogative of the crown, and which is manifestly necessary for the securing the liberties of the people, whereof we are assured your majesty will have an equal care; we humbly beg leave to lay before you a short state of the particular matter of fact relating to these prisoners, not doubting but when the whole proceeding is known to your majesty, it will be approved, not only as lawful, but every way respectful to your majesty.

"On Tuesday the fourteenth of December, the house of lords was informed, that several persons had been seized by the custom-house officers on the coast of Sussex, as they came from France; and that among them there was one Boucher, who was capable of making considerable discoveries, having been in arms in the French service for many years, and gentleman of the house and aid du camp to the late duke of Berwick, who stands attainted of high-treason, and who had been secretly in England several times before. That it was probable, if he

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was strictly examined, he might be brought to confess, since he saw his life was in apparent danger; but that he was a bold man, and likely to attempt an escape, on that very account, if he was not carefully looked after. And the house was also told, that there was a general remissness, both in the taking, searching, and looking to such prisoners; which did afterwards appear very evidently in the examinations that were taken. Upon this information, the earl of Nottingham, your majesty's principal secretary of state, acquainted the house, that he had not heard of Boucher's name particularly; but had sent messengers to bring one Ogilby, and the other prisoners, who had been apprehended by the custom-house officers, to town; and that he believed that the messengers would do their duty; but he would not be answerable for them.

"After this account of the prisoners, and what had been done in order to secure them, the house thought themselves obliged, in duty to your majesty and the public safety, at a time when the kingdom is engaged in a war with France, and that there are too just grounds to apprehend the dangerous practices of French emissaries, to make a humble address to your majesty, that particular care might be taken for securing the persons of Boucher, and of those who were taken with him; and that none might be suffered to speak with them till they were examined.

"The next day your majesty's gracious answer to this address was represented to the house, that care had been taken to secure the prisoners, and that your majesty would give orders, that nobody should speak with them till they were examined. Thereupon the lords entered into a farther consideration of the importance of this matter; and conceiving nothing to be more likely to bring prisoners, who had forfeited their lives, to a full discovery of the truth, than to find themselves under the enquiry of a parliament, they thought it would be a public service for them to make examinations of these persons; and accordingly an order was made, that no persons should speak with the prisoners till they had appeared at the bar of the house.

"On the sixteenth day, the earl of Nottingham informing the house of lords, that the prisoners were brought to town, the usher of the black-rod was ordered to take them into custody, in order to their examination, and to keep them separate and in close custody (as your majesty had before directed); and it being thought most proper, for the nature of the thing, that the examination should be by a committee of lords rather than by the whole house, it was resolved accordingly.

"We beg leave to mention to your majesty a matter of fact, which satisfied the lords that their resolution to examine Boucher and the persons apprehended with him, was neither unknown nor disagreeable to your majesty. On the same day when that was ordered, being the fifteenth of December, the lords resolved to examine sir John Maclean, a very dangerous person, as was represented to the house, who then stood committed in the hands of a messenger; and for that purpose ordered him to be brought to the house the next day, having, as they then thought, very good grounds to believe it might prove of great service to your majesty. Sir John Maclean was brought to the house,

according to the order; but your majesty being pleased so far to take notice of this order, as to signify to the house, by the lord-steward, that sir John Maclean had been in part examined already, and that your majesty thought it not proper to have that business taken out of the way of examination it was then in, but that your majesty would, in a short time, communicate it to the house; the lords immediately acquiesced in your majesty's opinion, and sent back sir John Maclean to the place from whence he was brought. It was with this disposition of mind the lords acted in this whole matter; and if your majesty, who no doubt had the same notice of both orders, had thought any other method of examination of Boucher, and the persons taken with him, more proper than that of the lords, they had reason to conclude your majesty would have intimated it at the same time; and most certainly the house would have paid a like deference for your royal judgment in that instance also.

"The lords committees appointed to examine the prisoners, proceeded with all possible dispatch, and made their report to the house on the twenty-first of December. Upon consideration of the report, the house found it requisite to commit Boucher to the prison of Newgate, for high-treason; and the lords committees having submitted to the judgment of the house, whether several parts of the examinations referred to in their report, should be laid open to the house, or put into any other way of being farther enquired into, or prosecuted; the house, out of a full assurance they had, that when the matter of fact should be laid before your majesty, you would certainly give such orders thereupon as were every way suitable to your royal prudence and tender care of the public safety; did unanimously resolve, without so much as suffering those parts of the report to be laid open to the house, that an humble address should be made from the house to your majesty, by the lord-steward and the duke of Somerset (two of the lords committees to whom the examination had been referred), laying before your majesty the whole report, with all the matters relating thereto; and humbly desiring your majesty to give orders, that Boucher should be prosecuted by Mr. Attorney-general for high-treason: and that as for the commitment, prosecution, or discharge of the other prisoners, mentioned in the report, you would be pleased to give such directions as should seem most proper to your royal wisdom. Thus, as the whole affair was entered upon out of zeal for your majesty's preservation, and the safety of the kingdom, and was carried on and concluded with all possible respect to you, so we had the comfort to rest assured, that our behaviour was no less graciously accepted by your majesty, from the answer you were pleased to make, the same day, to our last address on that subject, and which was reported to us, on the twenty-second of December, by the duke of Somerset, whereby your majesty was pleased to signify to the house, with your accustomed goodness, that you would give order for every thing as the lords had desired it.

"Madam,

"This is a true and just account of our proceedings, which have been so strangely misrepresented, and to which no exception can possibly be taken by any persons, rightfully informed: for as we had your royal approbation of all that was done,

so the house of commons would have had no pretence of objection, if they had taken the usual parliamentary methods of desiring to be informed of what we had done, and of the grounds of our proceedings, before they had approached your majesty with such a representation of them.

" Their carrying this unprecedented address to your majesty in so hasty a manner, gives us almost as great trouble as the hard usage we find in it. The ancient known, and only effectual method of preserving a good correspondence between the two houses of parliament, has been by conferences: if, at any time, either house conceived they had a reasonable ground to object against the proceedings of the other, conferences have been desired, and the matter in debate with them fairly discussed; and thereby mistakes have been cleared, for the most part, a good understanding cultivated, and a mutual respect preserved, which is always highly requisite in the nature of our constitution, but more especially necessary in the time of war and danger.

" Had the house of commons thought fit to have pursued this method, upon this occasion, we should have been able to have given them entire satisfaction, not only of the lawfulness of all we have done, but of the just and weighty grounds upon which we took the examination of these persons into our hands; or, at least, if they could have convinced us of any mistake, we should have given them any reasonable satisfaction.

" But without taking any such previous step, the house of commons have made an appeal directly to the throne against the house of lords, and charged them most unjustly with attempts of the highest nature. Nothing like this was ever done before; and, out of hearty concern for the preservation of our happy constitution, we hope the same will never be done again. We know your royal heart is unmoveably fixed for the preservation of the liberties of your people, and transmitting them entire to posterity; but if in after-time the house of parliament should be appealing against one another to the crown (for if such a course be justifiable in the house of commons, the same methods may be taken by the lords), as your majesty is now sensible how great difficulties it necessarily brings upon a good prince, so it is easy to foresee (and we cannot think upon it without terror) how fatal the consequences may be in the reign of an ill-designing prince, and what advantages may be taken from it, for utterly subverting the best ordered form of government in the world. There are examples abroad, where proceedings of this kind have ended in the overthrow of the liberties of the people, which makes us the more apprehend the beginning of them among ourselves. Your majesty's great judgment cannot but readily discern, whether it does naturally tend for one house of parliament to be exciting and earnestly desiring the sovereign to exert a real, or supposed, prerogative against the other house. It is not easy to imagine what the commons could expect from your majesty, from such an application. The lords have never entertained a thought of using this dangerous method, whatever occasions may have been given within the compass of late years; and we promise your majesty, we will alway endeavour to preserve a good understanding with the house of commons, and shall never think it too dear to pro-

cure that union at any rate, unless that of delivering up those rights and powers which are lodged in us by law, and without which the constitution cannot subsist.

" We shall never be guilty of the presumption of prescribing to your majesty when, and against whom, you should exert your prerogative; but we will be always ready to assist you in the support of all the just rights of the crown, as well as in the maintaining the liberties of the subjects, which we know are no less dear to your majesty.

" It may, with modesty and truth, be affirmed, that the lords have, in all times, been the surest and most natural bulwark of the prerogatives of the crown; they being (as your grand-father, of ever blessed memory, was pleased to express it) an excellent skreen and bank between the princes and people, to assist each other against any encroachment of the other.

" We will never contribute, by any act of ours, to the diminution of the rights of the crown; nor, as far as we are able, will suffer it in others: we cannot act otherwise, without hurting ourselves in the highest degree, being thoroughly convinced, that the preservation of the legal prerogative is not only the surest way to secure our own privileges, but of absolute necessity for the happy and rightful administration of the government; and we hope the house of commons will, in all times to come, speak and act with that regard to the prerogative which they seem to have taken up lately.

" There remains one particular more, which we only name to your majesty, because we rest satisfied it cannot have weight any where; that is, the insinuation in the address, as if the examination of these prisoners by the lords, was in order to obstruct the enquiry into the designs against your majesty's person and government; or, at least, that it was likely to produce such an effect. Our dutiful zeal for your majesty's government, and our warm concern to discover all designs, and oppose all practices, against it, are too well known to the world, that any suggestions of that sort should make the least impression to our disadvantage; and we are very sure it was no suspicion of that nature, which gave the true rise to this very sharp address. It is easy to determine, whether a hearty and forward undertaking to search into the designs of your enemies, or the seeking occasions to object to, and to interrupt, such endeavours, be most likely to obstruct the discovery of the pernicious practices of traitors.

" Most gracious sovereign,

" We most humbly ask pardon for presuming to give your majesty the trouble of this long representation, which has proceeded from the passionate concern we have to stand, not only acquitted, but entirely approved, in the judgment of so excellent a queen, and so justly beloved of all her subjects.

" We depend upon your justice, as well as your goodness, that nothing can do us prejudice (from whatsoever hands it comes) in your royal opinion, while we continue to act, in that station where we are placed by the form of the English government, according to the laws and customs of parliament, with all imaginable respect and duty to yourself, and all possible zeal for the safety and happiness of your kingdom.

" Give us leave to conclude this our humble address with this firm promise, that no dangers,
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no reproaches, nor any artifices whatever, shall deter or divert us from using our utmost endeavours, from time to time, in discovering and opposing all contrivances and attempts against your royal person and government, and the protestant religion as by law established."

To this remonstrance her majesty was pleased to return for answer, "that she was sorry for any misunderstandings that happen between the two houses of parliament, which was so inconvenient for the public service, and so uneasy to her, that she could not but take notice, with satisfaction, of the assurances their lordships gave her, that they would carefully avoid all occasions of them. She thanked them for the concern they expressed for the rights of the crown and her prerogative, which she should never exert so willingly as for the good of her subjects and the protection of their liberties."

The remonstrance of the lords occasioned another from the commons in answer thereto, and in vindication of their own conduct: but this was the language of irritated faction, by which, indeed, both sides were too much actuated. The commons therein said, "their lordships had thought fit to take offence at the manner and words of their address; but that they had made use of no terms but what were suitable to the occasion, and such as had been frequently and reciprocally used by both houses to each other; and whatever expressions their zeal for her majesty and the public might have inspired, they could never have offered their sovereign so ungrateful a remembrance as the destruction of the monarchy, by a detestable assembly composed of members of both houses, who, being alike partakers of the guilt, ought equally to share the reproach."

"That they might, with more reason, observe that their lordships, not contented with preferring their own examinations to her majesty's, and not content with excluding her and the commons (to whom parliamentary enquiries properly belong) had appropriated to their house only the name of a Parliament; an instance, they observed, not to be paralleled, unless by that very assembly that subverted the monarchy."

"The question, they said, was not, Whether their lordships had a right to take into custody persons under examination for matters cognizable in parliament? but, Whether the peers had a right to take the prisoners of the crown, and the examination of them solely into their hands, without her majesty's consent, and in such a manner as must necessarily prove an exclusion of her majesty and the commons? This is a proposition which the commons deny, and for which their lordships have produced no precedent."

"They observed, that when her majesty communicated to the lords the Scottish conspiracy, with an exception only of some matters not yet proper to be made public, and with which her majesty assured them they should be acquainted, as soon as it could be done without prejudice, their lordships immediately addressed her majesty to lay before them the whole matter. This could not but sensibly affect her faithful commons, who earnestly desired that both houses of parliament, and the nation in general, would agree to pay the just deference due to her majesty's wisdom, to confide in her care, and maintain her honour and dignity."

"That the lords, not satisfied with assuming this unprecedented power, had endeavoured to persuade her majesty of the necessity of it, to prevent the ill designs of bad princes and their favourites. But the commons thought it unreasonable to begin to practise upon a good prince those methods which were calculated only to guard against a bad one; and it was their opinion, that the danger might be much greater by admitting this precedent, should the lords at any time combine to defend one another from enquiries or prosecutions."

"Had the lords, say they, consulted their own Journals, they would not have affirmed, that a direct application to the throne, without any previous conference, was an unprecedented practice; nor could they soon forget their address presented to her majesty last session, on behalf of the bishop of Worcester, and their address to the late king, on behalf of the four lords impeached by the commons of high crimes and misdemeanors."

"The commons declared for themselves, that they should be careful, as far as was consistent with their own necessary justification, of reviving animosities; and how great soever the provocation had been, her majesty having declared her uneasiness at these misunderstandings, they should make no difficulty of laying aside their resentment; but hoped they should stand acquitted to the world, and her majesty, since the zeal they had shewn, and the reproaches they had borne, had been owing to no other cause but the defence of our excellent queen, in whose hands God had placed the executive authority over these nations *."

The queen returned an answer to this, much in the same terms as she had done to the lords remonstrance.

The commons also addressed her majesty again, that she would reassume the just exercise of her prerogative, and take to herself the examination of the said conspiracy, declaring, that the establishing a committee of seven lords, for the sole examination of the conspiracy, was of dangerous consequence, and might tend to the subversion of the government.

The lords, however, proceeded with their examinations of the Scottish plot, and on the twenty-ninth of January, 1704, the earl of Nottingham acquainted the lords, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers, containing all the particulars hitherto discovered, in relation to that affair; but that there was one circumstance which could not be properly communicated, without running the risque of preventing a discovery of greater importance. It seems that Keith had tampered with his uncle to disclose the whole secret of the correspondence between the court of St. Germain's and the Scottish Jacobites; and this was the circumstance the queen declined imparting to the lords, until she should know the success of her endeavours, which happened at last to prove ineffectual. The lords, however, not satisfied with this reserve, or perhaps suspecting Nottingham's integrity, presented an address, desiring that all the papers, without distinction, might be submitted to their inspection, that they might be better enabled to go to the bottom of this conspiracy before the end of the session. This application the queen took as an affront, indeed not with-

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. Martis die Februarii 20^o, 1704.

out reason; and returned for answer, that she did not expect to be pressed in this manner immediately after the declaration she had made; but she hoped, that before the end of the session she should be able to inform them of those particulars, which could not at present be published without manifest inconvenience. Nevertheless, Nottingham in a few days delivered the papers, sealed, to the house, and all the lords were summoned to attend on the eighth of February, that they might be opened and perused.

Accordingly, on the day appointed the lords began with the most material of them, which was drawn up by the earl of Nottingham, entitled, An Account of the Conspiracy in Scotland. It was an abstract of all the examinations the council had taken. Some of the Whigs took great exception at it, as drawn with a design to make the affair appear more inconsiderable than they believed it to be. They then proceeded to examine sir John Maclean, who mentioned several circumstances that were not to be found in Nottingham's paper. He named the persons who sat in council at St. Germain's: he said the command of the troops to be sent over to Scotland from France was offered to the duke of Berwick, who thought proper to refuse it till trial should be made whether the duke of Hamilton, whom he judged the more proper person, would accept it. He likewise explained the particular directions which had been sent to Scotland, in order to prevent the establishing the succession in that kingdom. These, with some other very interesting facts, which were entirely omitted in Nottingham's papers, together with his having discharged an officer belonging to the late king James, who had been seized by the governor of Berwick, and who, had he been detained, might have been of great use in detecting the conspiracy, brought several severe reflections from the house of lords upon that nobleman. It was even moved to pass a censure on the account he had given; but the question being put, it was carried in the negative by eleven voices. The lords were highly offended with Ferguson's report already mentioned, and passed a severe vote against those who had received such scandalous papers, and had not ordered him to be prosecuted, which they now directed the attorney-general to do: but Ferguson never received the least punishment. During the debates one thing very extraordinary happened: the earl of Nottingham affirmed, that upon three or four occasions some things had been ordered in the cabinet-council which the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, who were likewise of that council, did not agree with him in.

The lords having finished the examinations, and glowing with all the flame of faction, voted, That there had been dangerous plots between some persons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germain's; and that the encouragement for this plotting arose from the not settling the succession to the crown of Scotland in the house of Hanover. These votes were signified to the queen in an address; and they promised that when the succession should be thus settled, they would en-

deavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon just and honourable terms. Then they composed another representation in answer to the second address of the commons, which was filled with reflections and insinuations against the commons, and contained some farther justifications of their own conduct. Among other things, they take notice that the commons stopped the issuing of writs for filling up the vacancies in their house, whereby, they said, they made themselves an imperfect representation, which was a wound to the constitution; that there were very few things less excusable in that unhappy house of commons who began the rebellion, than their refusing to fill up their body, and compleat the representation; and that an ill prince might take advantage of these precedents, and think himself justified in withholding his writs from some places, by as good law as the commons could shew for pretending to stop them from issuing to others; and concluded with expressing a just sense of her majesty's moderation in not suffering herself to be prevailed upon to do any thing to the prejudice of the constitution, from whatever hands the invitation came.

The queen answered, she hoped none of her subjects desired to lessen her prerogative, since she should use it only for their protection and advantage: that any misunderstanding between the two houses must be to the prejudice of the public; therefore she should not omit any thing in her power to prevent the occasions of them.

In the mean while a complaint having been made in the house of commons against the earl of Nottingham, as having endeavoured to stifle the conspiracy, a warm debate ensued, which at length, through the prevailing interest of the Tory party, ended in a resolve, "That the said earl, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the queen and her government, and for his steady adhering to the church of England, as by law established, highly merited the trust her majesty reposed in him." They ordered the speaker to present this resolution to the queen, who said in reply, that she was pleased to find the commons so well satisfied with the earl of Nottingham, who was trusted by her in so considerable an office. They then perused the examination of the witnesses which was laid before them, but through the whole of their proceedings gave plain testimony of their disbelief of the reality of a plot: however, they thanked her majesty for having communicated those particulars, as well as for her wisdom and care of the nation*.

The lords and commons, actuated by such different principles, eagerly sought every occasion of arraigning each other's conduct. Unhappily they found but too many: I shall instance one in particular, as being of the most importance to the constitution. The case was as follows †:

An action was brought by one Matthew Ashby against William White, and three other constables of the borough of Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire ‡, for refusing his vote at the last election of burge-

* Burnet. Coke. Salmon. Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 71, &c. Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 279, 280, &c.

† Burnet. Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 79. Pro-

ceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 308.

‡ In Aylesbury the return was made by four constables of that borough.

ses to serve in parliament for that borough. The cause was tried at the assizes, and the constables were cast, with damages; but the defendants moved the court of Queen's-Bench in arrest of judgment. Three of the judges, Powel, Gould, and Powis, were of opinion the action could not lie, for that the judging of elections belonged solely to the house of commons; adding, that this was the first action of the kind that had been brought, and if these suits were encouraged, it would make the returning officers liable to an infinite number of vexatious prosecutions. Lord chief-justice Holt, however, was of a very different opinion: he said, this was a matter of the utmost importance, as well to the whole nation in general, as to every individual in particular: that there was a great difference between an election for a member and a right to vote in that election: that the house of commons were undoubtedly the only judges of the former; but that the right of voting at an election was an original right, founded on certain specified legal titles, and as such were cognizable only in a court of law. His opinion, however, could not prevail against that of the three other judges, and an order of the court was accordingly issued to quash all the proceedings in consequence of the decree at the assizes. Ashby, disappointed in this quarter, moved the cause by writ of error into the house of lords, where the matter was argued with great warmth, and all the judges were ordered to deliver their opinions: whereupon sir Thomas Trevor, lord chief-justice of the Common-pleas, and several others of his brethren, declared it was their opinion, That the house of commons only had a right to judge of elections, and consequently of the qualifications of the electors; and observed, that petitions to that house were frequently founded on allegations: that some of the voters had no right, and that others were refused that had a right; nor had it ever been disputed that the commons were the only proper judges of this matter, alleging, that if two independent jurisdictions should be allowed in the same case, this might frequently occasion contrary judgments, and create great confusion in the execution of such judgments. To this it was answered, that a voter had no other remedy but in a court of law; for supposing the person was returned he would have voted for, he had no pretence to complain to the house of commons; and if they could admit of such a complaint, they could give him no damages to make him satisfaction for the officers denying his vote; and since this was a right inherent in every voter, it was reasonable an action should be brought for it in the courts of law where all other rights were tried. It was farther urged, that if this determination of the court of Queen's-Bench was confirmed, it would amount to an indemnity for the returning officers, how partial or unjust soever they should prove, and exceedingly multiply those disorders. Many other arguments were employed on both sides the question; but their lordships adhering to the latter opinion, confirmed the verdict given for Ashby the plaintiff at the assizes, and ordered the determination of the court of Queen's Bench to be set aside.

The commons were grievously offended at this decision of the lords, which they looked upon as an encroachment on their privileges, and in the first transports of their resentment passed the fol-

lowing five resolutions, 1. That according to the known laws and usage of parliament, it was the sole right of the commons (except in cases otherwise provided for by act of parliament) to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of election of their own members. 2. That neither the qualification of any elector, or the right of any person, is cognizable or determinable elsewhere than before the commons, except as aforesaid. 3. That the examining and determining the right of qualification, or right of any elector, or any person elected in any court of law, or elsewhere than before the commons, except as aforesaid, will expose all mayors and other returning officers to multiplicity of actions and vexatious suits, and subject them to different and independant jurisdictions, and inconsistent determinations. 4. That Matthew Ashby having brought his action against White, &c. for not receiving his vote, was guilty of a breach of privilege. 5. That whoever shall commence or prosecute any action, indictment, or information, which shall bring the right of electors or elected to the determination of any other jurisdiction than the house of commons, except as aforesaid, such persons, and all attornies, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, soliciting, pleading, or prosecuting in any such case, are guilty of a high breach of the privilege of this house. These resolutions, signed by the clerk, were ordered to be fixed upon Westminster-hall gate.

The lords were not a little alarmed at these vigorous proceedings of the lower house, and thought it behoved them to support their decrees with the utmost firmness. To this end they appointed a committee to draw up the state of the case; and the committee having made their report, their lordships came to the following resolutions; 1. That by the known laws of this kingdom, every freeholder, or other person having a right to vote at the election of members to serve in parliament, and being wilfully denied or hindered so to do by the officers who ought to receive the same, may maintain his action against such officer, and recover damages for the injury. 2. That the asserting that a person having a right to give his vote at an election, and being hindered so to do by the officer who ought to take the same, is without remedy for such wrong by the ordinary course of law, is destructive of the property of the subject, against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tends to encourage corruption and partiality in officers who are to make returns to parliament, and to subject freeholders and other electors to their arbitrary will and pleasure. 3. That the declaring Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the house of commons for prosecuting his action against the constables of Aylesbury, &c. after he had obtained a judgment in parliament for recovery of his damages, is an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature in parliament, and is in effect to subject the law of England to the votes of the house of commons. 4. That the deterring electors from prosecuting actions in the ordinary course of law, where they are deprived of their right of voting; and the terrifying attornies, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, from soliciting, prosecuting, and pleading in such cases, by voting their so doing to be a breach of privilege of the house of commons, is a manifest assuming a power to controul the law,

to hinder the course of justice, and subject the property of Englishmen to the arbitrary votes of the house of commons.

Printed copies of the case and of these resolutions were sent by the lord-keeper (by the command of the house) to the sheriffs of all the counties of England, to be circulated by them through the different boroughs of their respective counties; and this being the first question of the kind that had ever been agitated, the nation was divided in its sentiments between the two parties.

During these differences between the two houses, her majesty performed an act of generosity which greatly endeared her to her subjects, and was a strong proof of the regard she had to God and religion, by conferring on the poor clergy a more extensive and magnificent bounty than any of her predecessors had done, and which at this day amounts to upwards of twenty thousand pounds per annum, and is still increasing. On the seventh day of February, 1704, her majesty sent a message to the commons, importing, that having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the said poor clergy; that she would grant her whole revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance; and that if the house of commons could find any methods by which her good intentions to the poor clergy could be rendered more effectual, it would be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her majesty.

The commons, upon receiving this message, addressed her majesty, expressing their thanks for her gracious message, and her pious concern for increasing the maintenance of the poor clergy out of her own revenue; and assured her majesty they would do their utmost to make her majesty's charitable intentions more effectual; and accordingly a bill was brought in "for the making more effectual her majesty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her majesty to grant in perpetuity the revenue of the first-fruits and tenths*." To this they added a repeal of the statute of mortmain, so far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their last wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmentation of benefices. This addition was opposed with great warmth by some of the lords, who alleged it would be opening a door for the clergy to practise on the weakness of dying men: but after some debate

the bill was carried by a great majority, and was passed into a law.

The lords have always been considered as the chief support of the rights of the crown; and the commons, as the principal bulwark of the people. At this juncture, however, they appear to have shifted sides; at least the commons had been very remiss in their station. Prince George of Denmark, the lord high-admiral of England, knew nothing of sea affairs, and was moreover so afflicted with an asthma, that he was incapacitated from attending to public business of almost any kind. The management of the navy was therefore committed to a council, who acted under the authority of his name. They had been guilty of shameful neglects and mismanagements, which however had been passed over unnoticed by the commons; but the lords, who now seemed resolved to drag every abuse forth to public view, on the second of March entered upon an enquiry into the condition of the navy†; in which, as I observed before, they found things very indifferently managed: for instance, complaints had been made to the lord high-admiral of bad provisions, by which the seamen were poisoned, as well as the nation cheated; yet a survey of the provisions complained of was delayed for three months, which gave a great opportunity for making such removes and changes, as rendered the proof of this charge altogether impracticable. The merchants complained that they were ill served with convoys, and that so little care was taken of the Newcastle trade, as occasioned an excessive rise of coals. The neglect of providing for such seamen as were prisoners in France was likewise rendered very evident, as was the danger of Jamaica, and the betraying our naval councils to the enemy. These were all digested into an address, which was presented by the house of lords to the queen, who endeavoured to pacify the house by a soft answer, though perhaps the rightest step she could have taken would have been to have dismissed his royal highness's council as lord high-admiral, and either restored the earl of Pembroke, or appointed other commissioners. The lords still continuing their enquiries, soon after resolved, That admiral Graydon, with a squadron of men of war, meeting four French ships and not attacking them, on pretence of his instructions to make the best of his way to the West Indies, was a prejudice to the queen's service, and a dishonour to the nation; and also that his disorderly pressing men at Jamaica, and his severe usage of the masters of merchantmen and transports under his convoy, was a discouragement to the inhabitants

* The first-fruits and tenths was an imposition begun by the popes in the time of the holy wars, and it was raised as a fund to support those expeditions; but when taxes are once raised by such an arbitrary power as the popes then assumed, and after there has been a submission, and the payments have been settled into a custom, they are always continued, even after the pretence upon which they were first raised, subsists no more. Thus this became a standing branch of the papal revenue, till Henry VIII. seemed resolved to take it away. It was first abolished for a year, probably to draw in the clergy to consent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from such heavy impositions: but in the succeeding session of parliament this revenue was again settled as part of the revenue of the crown for ever. It is true, it was the more easily borne, because the rates were still at the old value, which in some places was not

the tenth, and in most not above the fifth part of the true value; and the clergy had been often threatened with a new valuation, in which the rates should be rigorously set to their full extent. The tenths amounted to about eleven thousand pounds a year, and the first-fruits, which were more casual, rose one year with another to five thousand pounds; so that the whole amounted to between sixteen and seventeen thousand pounds a-year. This was not brought into the Treasury as the other branches of the revenue were; but the bishops, who had been the pope's collectors, were now the king's, and persons in favour obtained assignments on them for life, or for a term of years. Tindal. Collier. Burnet.

† Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 71. Burnet. Campbell. Burchet.

of that island, and prejudicial to the queen's service, and thereupon addressed her majesty that the said admiral might be no more employed. Graydon was accordingly laid aside.

The lords at the same time resumed the examination of the earl of Orford's accounts, in relation to his victualling the fleet while it wintered at Cadiz. This matter had been much canvassed in king William's time; their lordships now were of opinion, that the remarks which had been made on them by the commissioners for auditing the public accounts, were frivolous and trifling; and they confirmed an order the lords of the Treasury had made to pass the said accounts. The commons proposed, and sent up a bill for continuing the commission; the lords made some alterations, especially in the nomination of the commissioners; but these were rejected by the commons. The peers adhered to their amendments; the commons refused to admit them: the bill was dropped, and the commission of consequence expired. No other bill of importance passed in this session, except that for raising recruits, which empowered justices of the peace to impress idle persons for soldiers and mariners. On this occasion the lords addressed against any persons being put in the commission of the peace who had refused the oaths to king William.

The parliament having finished the business before them, her majesty came to the house of peers on the third of April; and the commons being sent for up, she made a speech to both houses, on the usual topics of acknowledgement, unity, and moderation, and prorogued the parliament to the fourth day of July. The acts passed this session, besides the land-tax already mentioned, were, the malt-tax; an act for granting an aid to her majesty by the sale of annuities; an act for registering deeds in the West Riding of the county of York*; an act for the increase of seamen and encouraging navigation, and for the security of the coal-trade; an act for granting to her majesty an additional subsidy of tonnage and poundage for three years; and the act for the augmentation of poor livings, by granting the revenues of the first-fruits and tenths, &c. Thus ended this session of parliament, in which all the rancour of party had been displayed on both sides; and the merit of the cause was less considered than the ends which a particular faction had to answer by it.

I shall just observe, that the two houses of convocation sat at the same time with the parliament;

* By this law, a memorial of all the deeds and conveyances, and of all wills and devises in writing, whereby any honours, manors, and the like, in the said West Riding, may be any way effected in law or equity, may at the election of the party or parties concerned, be registered in the manner as after directed.—And that after such register, every subsequent deed or conveyance of the said honours, manors, and the like, so registered, or any part thereof, shall be adjudged fraudulent and void, unless a memorial thereof shall also be registered; and the like of wills and such matters.—The Register-office to be kept at Wakefield.—This act not to extend to copyhold estates, nor to leases at rack-rent, nor to any lease not exceeding twenty-one years.

The preamble to this law assigns the following very good grounds and reasons for enacting it, viz. "That this West Riding is the principal place in the North for the cloth manufacture, and that most of the traders therein are freeholders, and have frequent occasions to borrow money upon their estates for managing their said trade; but for want of a register find it difficult to give security to the satisfaction of the money-lenders (although the security they offer be really good) by means whereof the said trade is very much obstructed, and many families ruined." See stat. 2 & 3 Annæ reginæ.

It is certainly much to be wished that such a register could be rendered practicable all over England, since many frauds

and the division still continuing between the upper and lower house, nothing of any moment was transacted in that assembly, except their address to the queen, upon her granting the first-fruits and tenths for the poor clergy †.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, the earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually pressed the queen to discard the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, who thwarted him in all his measures, waited on her majesty, and told her that he could no longer serve in councils to which those lords were admitted, and thereupon resigned the seals as secretary of state. The earl of Jerley and sir Edward Seymour, the former lord-chamberlain, and the other comptroller of the household, resigned their staves of office; upon which the earl of Kent was made chamberlain; Mr. Mansel, a gentleman of a very considerable family in Wales, comptroller; Mr. Harley, secretary of state; and Mr. Henry St. John was appointed secretary at war, in the room of Mr. Blathwayte.

Upon these removes, which seemed to throw the weight once more into the scale of the Whigs, that party became so elated, that they quickly after published a paper, entitled, Legion's humble Address to the Lords; in which they reflected with more acrimony than decency on the house of commons, whom they charged with having betrayed their trust, and giving up the rights of the people. They had even the boldness to assert, that the commons were become an unlawful assembly, and ought to be deposed, by the same rule that oppressed subjects may, and in all ages have, deposed bloody and tyrannical princes: that the tyranny of five hundred usurpers was no more to be endured than that of one, since no number or quality of persons could make that lawful, which in its own nature was not so.

They complained that the town of Maidstone had not been permitted to chuse representatives the last session: they inveighed against the notorious partiality shewn by the committees of the commons appointed to examine into and decide concerning controverted elections: they exclaimed against that house for its proceedings in the Aylesbury affair, and having deprived the electors of the right of election; of their complimenting the queen with an hereditary right, when her title was purely parliamentary; and of their addressing her majesty to exert her prerogative against the peers.

They highly commended the lords for having

would undoubtedly be prevented thereby, and this too without exposing the circumstances of persons families (the great objection to such an establishment) farther than the nature of such registers absolutely require.

† By this act the queen was empowered to incorporate such persons as she should think fit, and to settle upon such corporation the first-fruits of all benefices for the maintenance of the ministers of the church of England, not sufficiently provided for: and it was farther enacted, That any person by deed or will might grant to the said corporation their estate or interest in any lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and their property in any goods or chattels, for the augmentation of the maintenance of such ministers, having no settled competent pension, to be applied according to the appointment of the benefactor; and in default of such appointment, then in such manner as by her majesty's letters-patent shall be appointed: and the said corporation are enabled to purchase, take, and hold, for the purposes aforesaid, any lands, tenements, goods or chattels, as shall be given or granted to them. An act also passed this session for discharging out of prison such insolvent debtors as should serve, or procure a person to serve, in her majesty's fleets or armies: and another act for the further explanation and regulation of privilege of parliament, in relation to persons in public offices. See stat. 2 & 3 Annæ reginæ.

so nobly vindicated their undoubted rights against the encroachments and invasions of the commons, and asserting the rights and liberties of the people of England: they acknowledged their lordships to be the sanctuary and safeguard of the nation, and the glorious instruments of preserving her majesty and their undoubted rights, and assure them that they will adhere to and faithfully defend their lordships, both in their persons and authority, in vindicating their just rights, defending her majesty's person and their own liberties, and that they would live and die with them. This very extraordinary address was subscribed, "Our Name is MILLION, and we are more."

It can hardly be supposed that so flagrant an outrage upon so illustrious an assembly as that of the house of commons, would pass uncensured by any government that had the least regard to its own dignity and authority, or indeed safety. Accordingly, the queen issued a proclamation, offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the discovery of the authors, and fifty pounds for the printer of this libel. However, I cannot find that any one was punished for it.

As soon as it was known in France that the Scottish conspiracy was discovered, Frazer was, by Lewis's order, confined in the Bastille, where he remained several years. In England, Lindsay being sentenced to die for having corresponded with the French court, was told that no hopes of mercy remained for him, unless he would reveal the whole mystery of the conspiracy. Nevertheless, he persisted in denying all knowledge of any such conspiracy, even at the gallows, whither he was carried with all the dreadful parade of death, the near prospect of which, it was imagined, would have extorted a confession from him; but this not having the desired effect, he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained some years. He was afterwards banished the kingdom, and at length died of hunger in Holland. As to sir John Maclean, the lords, after examining him, had come to a resolution to address the queen in his favour, on account, they said, of his ingenuous confession. He was then discharged from prison, and even received a considerable pension from the crown, though in the queen's time he secretly, and after her death openly, continued in the interest of the pretender, and died in the rebellion against king George I. in 1715.

The ministry had been so very remiss in their enquiries into this plot, that it afforded a very plausible handle to their adversaries the Whigs, to load them with the popular odium of Jacobitism; nor did they scruple to insinuate that the queen herself was influenced by a sisterly affection for the court of St. Germain's. What seemed to confirm this allegation was, the disgrace of the duke of Queensberry, who had been particularly active in investigating the secret machinations of the French court with the pretender's friends in Scotland, though his being laid aside at this time appears to have been really occasioned by the manifest decline of his interest in Scotland, which incapacitated him to do the government any essential service in that kingdom.

The Scots had given repeated proofs of being greatly dissatisfied with their neighbours of England, who, they thought, had too much exerted

their influence in their affairs; and they seemed only to wait for an opportunity of shewing their resentment. Their refusal to come into the Hanover succession, or to give supplies for the war in the last parliament, had given occasion to many to conclude that they aimed at a change of government, and to put themselves under the protection of France again, and bring in the pretender. Our court therefore was very desirous to obtain a majority in the Scottish parliament, in order to secure to itself the nomination of a successor to the crown, and obtain those supplies which had been refused last session. Mr. James Johnston, who had been secretary of state for Scotland under king William, had, in concert with the marquis of Tweddale, engaged to carry those points, on condition that the successor to be nominated should be subjected to certain limitations and restrictions; to which the queen agreed. Hereupon Johnston was taken into the administration, and made lord-register, in the room of sir James Murray of Philiphaugh; the duke of Queensberry was displaced, and his post of high-commissioner given to the marquis of Tweddale, and the earl of Cromarty remained sole secretary of state; the earl of Leven was installed governor of Edinburgh castle, in the room of the earl of March; the earl of Glasgow was removed from being lord-treasurer depute, and his place remained vacant.

These alterations being made in the Scottish ministry, the parliament was convened on the sixth day of July this year, when the new lord-commissioner presented them a letter from her majesty, wherein she observed, that their unhappy divisions had proceeded to such an height, as had not only given her the greatest concern, but had also encouraged her enemies abroad to employ their emissaries to debauch them from their allegiance, and render that kingdom a scene of war; but she was willing to hope that none but men who were obnoxious to the laws, or of mean and desperate fortunes, had given ear to them. She said, she was always inclined to believe that the late mistakes did not proceed from any want of duty or respect to her, but only from difference of opinions as to measures of government: that she was resolved to give every satisfaction to her people that they could desire, in regard to the rectifying abuses, and for that end had named the marquis of Tweddale her high-commissioner, of whose capacity and disposition to serve his country there could be no doubt; that she had given him authority to consent to such laws as they should think yet wanting to secure their government in church and state; and having done her part, she hoped they would lay hold of this opportunity of shewing the world the sincerity of the professions they had made her. The remaining part of the letter turned upon the necessity of their granting a supply, the discouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the usual recommendation of moderation and unanimity*.

This letter was backed by a speech from the lord-commissioner and the lord-chancellor, who each of them assured the parliament, that the whole affair of the Scottish plot should be laid before them, and that her majesty trusted in their prudence and loyalty to take such measures as would effectually prevent the like machinations on the

* Burnet. Life of Queen Anne. Tindal.

part of her enemies for the future. It would be equally uninteresting and unentertaining to the reader, was I to detain him here with relating the various modes of opposition set up against the ministry on this occasion by the several parties in Scotland, who were at this time adverse to the English government. Suffice it then to observe, that the court, with all the interest it could make, was not able to carry any one of its points. The Scottish parliament resolved not to name a successor to that crown until they had concluded a previous treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. The populace without doors seconded, in tumultuous assemblies, the resolutions of their advocates within: and the commissioner and his friends finding it impossible to oppose the torrent, and under some apprehension for their own safety, the marquis, with the concurrence of the other ministers, wrote a letter to the queen, representing the disagreeable situation of affairs, and advising her majesty to pass the bill of security, as it was called, without which she must not expect that the parliament would grant any supplies. The lord-treasurer Godolphin, on whose counsel the queen chiefly relied, considering that the army, which was already greatly creditor for arrears, must of necessity be disbanded, and that this would expose the kingdom to imminent danger of an invasion, seconded the advice of the Scottish ministers; upon which the queen authorized the commissioner to pass the bill which was then depending, under the title of a bill "for securing the religion, liberty, and independency of the Scottish nation."

This act provided, that in case of the death of the queen, her heirs and successors, the parliament then in being should immediately meet, and nominate the successor to the crown, different from the person possessing the throne of England, unless during her majesty's reign, there be such conditions of government enacted as may secure the honour and sovereignty of the crown and kingdom, the freedom of the parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence: and until the meeting of the estates on such death as aforesaid, the administration of the government shall be by such of the members of the said estates, and such of the privy-council as are then at Edinburgh. And all civil commissions granted during pleasure shall be void, except sheriffs, stewards, and justices of the peace. And for a farther security to the kingdom, it was enacted, that the whole protestant heritors, and all the burghs, shall provide themselves with arms for all the fencible men who are protestants; and the said heritors and burghs shall discipline their said fencible men once a month at least.

The Scottish parliament having obtained this act of security, on which the minds of the nation had been so strongly bent, granted the supply without farther hesitation: but not yet satisfied with this concession on the part of the English court, they began to canvass the affair of the conspiracy, and the proceedings of the house of lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in

their concerns, and an encroachment upon the sovereignty and independency of the nation: but while they were proceeding in their debates upon this matter, the high-commissioner, who, from the specimen he had already received of their ungovernable ferocity, dreaded the effects of this enquiry, came to the house on the twenty-seventh of August, and, after a soothing speech, prorogued the parliament to the seventh day of October following. However, before they separated, they drew up an address to the queen, desiring that the witnesses, and all the papers relating to the plot, might be sent down, in order to be subjected to their examination in the next session. Immediately after the adjournment of the parliament, an entire change was made in the Scottish ministry. Tweddale was made chancellor of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Seafield, who, with the earl of Roxburgh, was appointed joint secretaries of state; the privy-seal was given to the earl of Rothes; the post of justice-general, to the earl of Cromarty; the management of the Treasury was vested in the hands of the earl of Selkirk, lord Belhaven, and sir John Hume; Bailie of Jerviswood was made treasurer-depute; and at the same time a commission was sent down to Edinburgh, by which most of the cavaliers or Jacobite party, and all the duke of Queensberry's faction, were outed, and their places supplied by such as it was known would concur with the measures pursued at that time by the court of England, where the Whig interest seemed now to become every day more prevalent*.

From the cabinet and civil affairs of these kingdoms, I shall now proceed to take a view of the operations of the war abroad. The emperor's affairs were at this time in a most deplorable situation, and the house of Austria beheld itself on the verge of ruin, without a timely and powerful assistance. The elector of Bavaria was master of Passau†: thirty thousand French, under the command of marshal Marsin, who had succeeded Villars, overspread the country on the other side the Danube. There were several flying parties in Austria. Vienna itself was threatened on one side by the French and Bavarians, and on the other side by prince Ragotski, at the head of the mutinous Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supplied with money by the French and Turks. In this forlorn condition, Leopold had no resource left but to implore the assistance of her Britannic majesty; accordingly, in the beginning of April this year, count Wratislaw, the imperial envoy here, presented a memorial to the queen, setting forth the imminent danger which threatened Germany, and earnestly requesting her relief. This memorial was strongly enforced by the duke of Marlborough, who represented the absolute necessity of speedily succouring the emperor. The queen, entirely guided by that general, returned a favourable answer to the memorial; and the duke embarking for Holland, arrived at the Hague about the beginning of May, where he had a conference with the States-general; and having represented in the strongest terms the danger that the

* Lockhart. Hist. of Europe. Tindal.

† Passau, an imperial city of Bavaria, and the capital of the bishopric of the same name, in Germany, standing on both sides of the Danube, at the junction of the Inn with it on the one hand, and the Ilz on the other; so that these rivers di-

vide it into three parts. It is a rich, populous, and trading place, and naturally strong, being fenced on all sides with rocks and rivers. It lies fifteen miles north-west of Lintz, and sixty south east of Ratibon.

empire and all Europe were threatened with, if an immediate check was not given to the French and Bavarians in Germany; and having shewn that the allies, being now masters of the Maese and all Spanish Guelderland, their frontiers were sufficiently secured, the Dutch at length came into the project for sending a body of troops immediately for the relief of the empire. The forces for the expedition being ordered to rendezvous, and all proper measures being concerted, the duke set forward for Maestricht, and on the sixteenth of May joined the detachment commanded by brigadier Ferguson; and on the eighteenth the English forces commanded by his own brother, general Churchill, assisted by lieutenant-general Lumley, the earl of Orkney, and other officers of distinction. In the mean time, the States regulated the posts of their general officers: Mynheer Auverquerque, their veldt (or field) marshal, was appointed to command their forces on the Maese, having under him the counts de Tilly and Noyelles; Slangenberg, those on the Moselle; Salisch, in Brabant; and Spaar and Fagel in Flanders. As the duke now seemed to bend his march towards Coblenz, the French in Flanders imagined he designed to open the campaign with the siege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moselle; whereupon they laid siege to Huy, in order to divert him from that enterprize: but this consummate general had a much more important scheme in view; no less than that of marching into the heart of the empire, and delivering the house of Austria from impending ruin. This design he had imparted to a few only, in whose discretion he could safely confide. It was approved by the pensionary and deputy Gueldermallen, who procured the approbation of the States-general thereto. The duke, paying little regard to the motions of the French against Huy, proceeded in his march by Bedburgh, Kerpenord, Kassecken, and visited the frontiers of Bonne, where he received advice that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined that elector at Villingen. The duke now redoubled his diligence, and on the ninth of June got to Miltenheim, where he was visited by prince Eugene, and next day prince Lewis of Baden arrived at the camp. These three celebrated generals held a long consultation; the result of which was, that the duke and prince Lewis should command alternately from day to day, and that prince Eugene should head a separate army on the Rhine. Accordingly, prince Eugene set out for Philipsburgh, and on the sixteenth the duke marched with the horse from Eberspach to Grossen-Seinsen; his other troops proceeding in two columns under the command of the prince of Hesse and general Bulow, but encamped in such a manner that the whole might join prince Lewis in a day's march. On the twenty-second the army made a motion, and joined that prince at Wassertel. In the mean while, the duke had notified to the States-general her Britannic majesty's orders to march to the relief of the empire, expressing his hope that they would approve of the design, and allow their troops to

share the honour of the enterprize. By the return of the courier he received their High Mightinesses approbation of the project, and full power to command their forces*.

The English general having his hands now at full liberty, and being left to act as he pleased by his queen and her allies the Dutch, prosecuted his march into the heart of the empire, and by forced stages arrived on the banks of the Danube near Donawert†, opposite to the Bavarian lines, where about eight thousand French, and as many Bavarians, lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. On the first of July Marlborough encamped with his right at Amerdghem, and his left at Onderingen. The elector of Bavaria hereupon sent a detachment of his best troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was posted at Schellenberg, a rising ground on the Danube, near Donawert, where for several days he had been raising entrenchments, as being a post of vast importance. The duke, however, knowing that the works were not compleated, resolved to attempt driving the enemy from their post; and, willing to have the sole glory of this important piece of service, he chose the day on which he had the command, which, as I have already mentioned, he was to share alternately with the prince of Baden, and gave orders for attacking the enemy without the assistance of his colleague. Accordingly, on the second of July his grace advanced at three o'clock in the morning, with a detachment of six hundred foot, thirty squadrons of English and Dutch, and three battalions of imperial grenadiers, the rest of the army following him with all possible diligence: but the way being bad and long, and other unavoidable accidents intervening, it was near three o'clock in the afternoon before he could get over the river Wermitz, which runs by Donawert, with our artillery. The attack was at length begun with an unparalleled intrepidity by the English and Dutch, before the Imperialists could come up. The enemy on their side made a most vigorous defence; but after an engagement of about an hour and an half, in which time the Imperialists came up, the entrenchments were forced, and the allies made a terrible slaughter of the enemy, who, as soon as they saw us in possession of their works, ran away in great confusion towards Donawert and the Danube; but being closely pursued by our horse and dragoons, the greatest part followed the example of count d'Arco and the rest of their generals, who flung themselves into that river and swam over it. Few actions were more bloody than this for the time it lasted. As the attack was begun by a battalion of the English foot-guards, and the regiments of Orkney and Ingoldsby, they suffered more than any others. Upon the whole, we lost about six thousand men, including many gallant officers. The loss of the enemy was computed at about eight thousand. We took sixteen pieces of cannon, and thirteen colours and standards. The duke gained great honour by the action; but he was once in imminent danger of being routed, had not prince Lewis of Baden arrived with his Imperialists in the critical moment to his assistance,

* Broderick. Life of the Duke of Marlborough. Lambert, vol. ii.

† Donawert is a city of Germany, on the confines of Swa-

bia, Neuburg, and Bavaria. It stands on the Danube, twenty-five miles north of Augsburg, seventeen west of Neuburg, and forty-four east of Ulm.

in which piece of service he was wounded. The day after this action, the army marched towards Donawert, of which the duke took possession, the Bavarian garrison quitting it upon his approach, after breaking down all the bridges; but they had not time to destroy the ammunition and provisions, as they were ordered to do. The elector of Bavaria hearing of the defeat of his troops, repassed the Danube with the utmost precipitation, in order to march to the river Leche, lest the victors should cut off his retreat to his own country. On the fifth of July the confederate army passed the Danube over several bridges of pontoons near Donawert, and encamped at Mertingen, in the elector of Bavaria's country, and the sixth was observed as a thanksgiving in the army for their success. Marlborough, not to give the enemy time to recover from their consternation, immediately ordered his troops to pass the Leche; whereupon the garrison of Neuburg abandoned that place, and retired to Ingoldstadt. Neuburg was immediately secured by the confederates; and the enemy having left a small party in Rain *, the siege of that town was immediately formed. The elector of Bavaria encamped under the cannon of Augsburg †.

On the thirteenth of July the count de Vehlen, general of the Palatine horse, arrived in the confederate army from prince Eugene, with advice that the marshals Villeroy and Tallard, with forty-five thousand men, had passed the Rhine above fort Kehl, in order to join the elector of Bavaria; and therefore his highness desired a reinforcement of horse to observe the enemy's motions. Thereupon prince Maximilian of Hanover was detached with 30 squadrons of Imperialists as a reinforcement for Eugene. On the 16th the garrison of Rain capitulated, and were conducted by a party of horse to the elector of Bavaria's camp; and orders were given for providing magazines at Neuburg and Rain for the subsistence of the confederate forces. The army then resumed its march, and on the twenty-third encamped with the right at Wolfurtzhausen, and the left at Oostmaring (the town of Friedberg being in the center of the line) within a league of Augsburg, whereby the elector of Bavaria saw all communication with his own country entirely cut off.

The duke of Marlborough having now reduced the elector to the last extremity, proposed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French interest and join the Imperialists in Italy. The elector seemed at first inclinable to accept the proposals, and even agreed to a negotiation, which was in a manner brought to a conclusion; but upon advice that marshal Tallard had passed the Black Forest, and was in full march to join him, he suddenly receded from the treaty, and declared, that since the French king made such powerful efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged in honour to remain firm

to his alliance. His wretched subjects, however, paid dear for this temporizing conduct of their prince. The confederate generals so resented his procedure, that they detached thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons to plunder and burn the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of Munich, its capital.

In the mean time marshal Tallard, notwithstanding all the vigilance and precaution of prince Eugene, joined the elector of Bavaria at Biberach, near Ulm, with an army of twenty-two thousand men, about the end of July; of which the duke of Marlborough having received intelligence, decamped on the fourth of August from Friedberg, and marched that night to Kippach. The next morning the army continued its route, and went to Hokenwert, where it continued two days; during which time the duke of Marlborough, prince Lewis of Baden, and prince Eugene, held a council of war, in which it was agreed that prince Lewis should besiege Ingoldstadt, while the other two were to observe the elector of Bavaria. On the eighth the army decamped from Hokenwert, and marched to St. Sanditzell, and on the ninth to Axheim. The same day the duke of Marlborough received intelligence that the enemy had passed part of their army over the Danube at Dillingen, or Lavingen; upon which the duke gave orders to general Churchill to march with a strong detachment over the Danube at Sconevelt, to reinforce prince Eugene, who lay near Donawert. The whole army followed the next day, and joined the forces of prince Eugene at the camp of Munster; prince Lewis having by this time marched off towards Ingoldstadt, which he was to invest. On the twelfth of August the duke and the prince took a view of the enemy, whom they found advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstet ‡, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim §, their left by the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom very marshy. Notwithstanding this advantageous position of the enemy, it was determined in a council of war to attack them before they could fortify themselves in this post, as advices had been received that Villeroy was to march into Wirtemberg to destroy that country, and to cut off the communication of the allies with the Rhine, which must have been attended with very fatal consequences to the latter. The same night therefore (the twelfth of August) the duke ordered all the baggage to be sent towards Donawert, and the army to be ready to march by break of day, which accordingly it did, in nine columns, the Imperialists being to the right, and the English and Dutch on the left. By six or seven o'clock in the morning of the ever-memorable thirteenth of August, the allies appeared in sight of the enemy's camp, where every thing was in profound silence, neither Tallard nor Marfin having once

* Rain is a little town in Germany, in the circle of Bavaria, near the Danube and Leche, six miles east of Donawert, and nine west of Neuburg.

† Conduct of the Dukes of Marlborough. Life of Queen Anne. History of Europe.

‡ Hochstet is a pretty large town in Germany, in the circle of Suabia, lying on the north side of the Danube; twenty-nine miles south-west of Ulm, and ten west-by-south of Donawert.

§ Blenheim (or Plentheim) is a village in Germany, in the circle of Bavaria, upon the confines of Suabia. It stands on the north side of the Danube, and has on the north-east side of it a very small rivulet called the Meul-Weyer. It is three miles almost east from Hochstet, nine west-south-west from Donawert, thirty north-east from Ulm, and thirty-one north-west from Augsburg.

imagined that the confederates would have dared to attack them in such a position. The appearance of our troops threw them into great confusion: they fired two pieces of cannon to recall their foraging parties, and also set fire to several small villages that lay between the confederate army and theirs. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and was maintained on both sides till one in the afternoon.

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons; in all, near sixty thousand men. Marshal Tallard commanded the right wing, and the elector, with Marfin, the left. The number of the confederates did not exceed fifty thousand: their right was led by prince Eugene; their left by the lord Cutts and Orkney, the generals Churchill, Lumley, and Ingoldsby; and the duke of Marlborough took his station in the center, as commander of the whole. Tallard, according to M. de Voltaire, had all the impetuous and sprightly courage of a Frenchman, with an active and penetrating understanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and resources; but he laboured under a malady of very dangerous consequence to a general: his sight was so weak, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces from him; and it has been asserted by those who knew him well, that his fiery courage, quite the reverse of the duke of Marlborough's, growing still warmer in the heat of action, deprived him sometimes of the necessary presence of mind. This was the first time that marshal Marfin had commanded in chief: with a great deal of wit, and a good understanding, he was thought to have had rather the experience of a good officer than that of a general. As to the elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not only as a great general, but as a valiant and amiable prince; but then he had a greater share of magnanimity than application.

This battle, which proved so bloody, and decided the fate of the elector of Bavaria, by the loss of all his country, began between twelve and one in the afternoon. The allies had a rivulet to cross before they could attack the enemy, who had guarded it only by three squadrons of horse, under M de Zurlauben, a Bavarian general, who attacked our troops with great vigour and resolution, and obliged them to give back three times; but this handful of French not being properly supported, they were soon overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retreat in their turn. The French generals were accused of a number of errors in this day's action; one in particular was, their not having taken care to send a sufficient force to dispute the passage of this rivulet against the confederates; a mistake they could never after retrieve. Their artillery, indeed, played very hotly upon our troops, but with very little execution; so that, by the help of pontoons and fascines, they effected their passage in the face of the enemy. General Wilkes, at the head of nine battalions of English and Dutch, attacked the village of Blenheim, to the left of the enemy, and was repulsed, after three successive attempts. Mean while the troops in the center, and part of our right wing, having crossed the rivulet in several places, formed on the other side, without any interruption from the

enemy, who remained quiet on the hills of which they were possessed. Marlborough then attacked Tallard's cavalry: that general, a little before, had rode towards the left wing, to observe its disposition. It was no small disadvantage to Tallard's corps, from the beginning, to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the elector and Marfin, had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene: Marlborough began upon the enemy's right wing near an hour before Eugene could come up to the left. As soon as marshal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked the wing which he commanded, he immediately posted thither, where he found a furious action begun. The French cavalry, however, had behaved with such resolution, that they had put our troops in disorder, and even obliged part of them to repass the rivulet; but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French were broke in their turn, and forced to recoil. The marshal then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons; and this formed a little detached army, which kept a continual fire on Marlborough's corps, during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing, who, after he had given his orders in this village, hastened back to the place of action, where the duke, with a body of horse, and some battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

The cavalry of the left wing of the confederates being now completely formed, ascended the hill of Lutzingen with amazing intrepidity, charging the enemy's horse so hotly, that, though they rallied several times, they were at length put to flight. The victorious Marlborough now forced his way between the two bodies of the French army, on one side, while on the other his general officers got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's division, which was also separated from the little army in that village. In this desperate situation, marshal Tallard flew to rally some of his broken squadrons; but the badness of his sight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops in English pay, together with the marquis de Montperoux, general of horse, the majors general de Sepperville, de Silly, de la Valiere, messieurs de la Melissiere, St. Pouange, de Legendais, and many other officers of distinction.

While these things were transacting in one part of the field, Marfin's quarters, at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the prince of Holstein Beck; but before he could form his men on the other side, he was overpowered by numbers, desperately wounded, and taken prisoner. His battalions, however, being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, returned to the charge, and were again repulsed. At length the duke of Marlborough in person advanced to their relief with some fresh squadrons from the corps de reserve, and obliged the enemy to retire.

Prince Eugene had attempted the passage of the rivulet at a place where the banks of the stream were very steep, and the bottom very rough and uneven: the least opposition on the part of the enemy must have rendered his efforts fruitless, and have obliged him to go back; but they made none;

so that, being got on the other side, he attacked the left wing, commanded by the elector and Marfin, with great vigour. But the imperial horse behaved on this occasion in a very bad manner; they were so intimidated by the furious fire the French made upon them, that they could not be brought to advance within musket-shot: the Danish and Prussian troops also gave back in the same manner; however, at length, being animated by the example of their officers, they took heart, returned to the charge, and exerted themselves with such vigour, that they at length put the enemy to the rout; and the elector and Marfin, finding it in vain to make farther resistance, abandoned Oberk-lau and Lutzingen, and were pursued as far as the villages of Morselingen and Geissenhoven, from whence they retired to Dillingen and Lavingen. The rout now became general throughout the French army; every one fled with the greatest precipitation; and so extreme was the terror and confusion, that officers and soldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going.

The count du Bourg (afterwards marshal of France), saved a small part of the infantry, by retreating over the marshes of Hochstet; but neither he, Marfin, nor any one else thought of the little army which still remained in Blenheim, waiting for orders. It consisted of twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons, making about eleven thousand effective men, all the best troops of France; and the confederates, being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded Blenheim. It was impossible for the French to get out of the narrow streets of a village, and range themselves in order of battle, in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a superior front, and blown them to atoms with their own artillery, which was all fallen into the hands of the victors. The general officer who commanded these troops was the marquis de Clerambault, son to the marshal of that name. On the first news of the defeat of the cavalry, and that Tallard was taken prisoner, he abandoned his men, and endeavoured to save himself by swimming across the Danube, but perished in the attempt. Marshal Blansac then took the command; but, upon the approach of our victorious troops, his courage failed him: he found it was impossible to maintain his troops, and thought proper to capitulate; and, about eight o'clock in the evening, signed the articles, in consequence of which the French troops in the village laid down their arms, delivered their colours and standards, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the officers should not be rifled.

Thus ended this famous action, which in France is known by the name of the Battle of Hochstet, and by the English and Germans called the Battle of Blenheim, and was one of the most glorious and complete victories that ever was gained in any war,

or by any general. The French army was almost entirely cut to pieces; of sixty thousand men, who had been so long accustomed to victory, not above twenty thousand could be gathered together after the battle. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were killed upon the spot; the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons were drowned in the Danube; thirteen thousand were made prisoners, including twelve hundred officers; one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and seventy-one standards, seventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thousand six hundred tents, thirty-four coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, twenty-four barrels and eight casks of silver. The loss of the allies amounted to about five thousand killed, and eight thousand wounded and taken prisoners*.

The emperor was no sooner informed of this signal victory, which had saved his family from impending ruin, than he wrote a letter to the duke of Marlborough, expressing his obligations to him, and offering to create him a prince of the empire. The duke declined the honour till he had obtained the consent of the queen; and this being procured, he was immediately advanced to that high dignity, and Mindelheim was bestowed on him as his principality; but he was never known by that title, the name of Marlborough being now the most noble he could bear.

By the dispersion of the French army, an open passage was left to the allies from the Danube to the Rhine: it was therefore thought most advisable by the confederate generals, to join all their forces, and drive the enemy entirely out of Germany. Accordingly, prince Lewis of Baden abandoned the siege of Ingoldstadt, and on the 26th day of August all the forces of the allies began their march under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, with the princes Eugene and Lewis, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruschal, near Philipsburg, having first left twenty-three battalions and some squadrons to carry on the siege of Ulm† under general Thungen. The duke also took care to send marshal Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Franckfort, and disposed of all the other prisoners of distinction in the adjacent places. He also ordered a detachment to take possession of Augsburg, which the French garrison had evacuated. After a few days spent at Bruschal in order to refresh the troops, it was determined in a council of war, that prince Lewis of Baden should undertake the siege of Landau, in order to secure the circle of Suabia from the incursions of that garrison. This is said to have been a measure proposed and warmly insisted on by the prince of Baden, who was jealous of the glory Marlborough might acquire should he, pursuing the advantage he had already gained, drive the enemy again before him. Marlborough,

* Burnet. History of Queen Anne. Life of the duke of Marlborough. Broderick. Voltaire.

† Ulm is an imperial city and sovereign state of Suabia in Germany, situated on the west side of the Danube, which here begins to be navigable, after receiving the Lauter and Beaw, opposite to the mouth of the Iller. It is governed by its own ma-

gistrates, who are all Lutherans, as are most of the inhabitants. It is a large populous city, with regular fortifications and deep ditches, but not able to sustain a long siege; is a place of good trade, and its artists excel in clock-work and hard-ware. It lies thirty-six miles west of Augsburg.

though sensible that nothing could be more impolitic than this measure, which gave the foe time for recollection and recruiting their forces, consented to the proposal, and even submitted to cover the siege while prince Lewis carried it on; for which purpose he and prince Eugene encamped at Croon Weissenburg, in the neighbourhood of Landau, which was invested about the middle of September; by which time news arrived in the camp that Ulm had surrendered to Thungen, on the first appearance of that general before its walls. In the place were found two hundred and twenty-two pieces of brass cannon, twenty-two brass mortars, one thousand two hundred barrels of powder, with a considerable quantity of provisions; all of which were extremely serviceable to those employed in the siege of Landau. While the duke of Marlborough lay covering the operations of prince Lewis with his army, marechal Villeroy approached with his army as if he intended to attack the confederates in their entrenchments; but this proved to be a mere bravado; for after having lain a few days in sight, he thought proper to retire without making the least attempt to relieve the place, which continued to make a most obstinate resistance, till the twenty-third day of November, when the besiegers, having made some advantageous lodgments, and the breaches being rendered practicable, the garrison capitulated, in order to prevent the fatal consequences of a general assault, and were indulged with honourable terms. Joseph, king of the Romans, the emperor's eldest son, had arrived some time before in the camp of the confederates, that he might have the credit of taking the place; but his behaviour was not such as to give any favourable impression either of his courage or understanding. He was seldom seen in any post of danger, and was continually surrounded by his priests and confessors, who seemed to have engrossed his whole confidence and affection. He was, however, commendable in bestowing the government of the place on the count de Frize, who had before defended it with great courage and ability*.

After the precipitate retreat of Villeroy, the duke of Marlborough having nothing to apprehend from that quarter, and the siege of Landau being drawn out to a great length, his grace, without waiting for the end of it, advanced with a part of the army to the Saar, surprized Treves, possessed himself of other proper posts for erecting magazines, and opening the next campaign with the siege of Saar-Louis; after which he caused Traerbach to be invested by the prince of Hesse-Cassel; and though the place was strongly fortified and well defended, the attacks were carried on with such vigour and resolution, that in about six weeks the garrison surrendered on honourable terms. On the tenth of November the king of the Romans concluded a treaty with the electress of Bavaria, whereby she was to surrender all the towns in Bavaria to his imperial majesty, her electoral highness being permitted to remain in Munich with a guard of four hundred men, and to be allowed a yearly pension out of the revenue of the electorate, for the support of her court and family. The operations of this year's campaign in Germany being

concluded by the surrender of Landau, the duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he contracted for a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians, to serve under prince Eugene in Italy during the ensuing campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, and so on to the Hague, where he was congratulated by the States-general on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and treated with as much consideration and respect as if he had been actually the stadtholder. In December he embarked for England, where he was received by all ranks of people with those demonstrations of joy and gratitude which his important services so well deserved†.

In Flanders very little passed worthy notice this campaign, except the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by baron Spaar with nine thousand Dutch troops, and two attacks upon the French lines by M. d'Auverquerque, who actually forced them, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The elector of Bavaria, who after his defeat had retired to Brussels, assembled all his forces, with a view to surprize the Dutch general; but he was dissuaded from this hazardous enterprize by marechal Villeroy, who represented in the strongest terms the fatal consequences that would inevitably ensue in case of a repulse.

In Italy the French were greatly superior to the duke of Savoy, who was obliged to be inactive, and see Vendosme reduce Vercelli and Ivrea. The French afterwards made themselves masters of the valley of Aosta, whereby his royal highness's communication with Germany by the way of Switzerland was entirely cut off; and on the fourteenth of October the duke of Vendosme laid siege to Verrua, a strong fortress, situated on the other side of the Po, between Casal and Turin. It held out five months against all the efforts of the French general, the duke of Savoy having posted his little army on the other side of the Po at Crescentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he supplied the place occasionally with fresh provisions; but at length the communication being cut off, the duke of Savoy retired to Chivas, and Verrua surrendered to the enemy. The duke of Savoy complained greatly of having been abandoned by his allies on this occasion; and indeed the emperor had greatly neglected Italy, that he might act with more vigour against Ragotski and the Hungarian malcontents, over whom he had gained several advantages; notwithstanding which, they continued very formidable. In the summer of this year a treaty had been set on foot between Leopold and them, under the mediation of the English and Dutch, who sent their ministers into Hungary for that purpose; but after much time had been spent in treaties, the war was renewed on that side; and the troops which had been promised to the duke of Savoy, to assist him against the French, were ordered into Hungary, and the burthen of the war in Italy thrown upon the English and Dutch‡.

I shall now proceed to take a view of the measures prosecuted by our court in support of the interests of the archduke of Austria, whom the allies had determined to set upon the throne of Spain, in opposition to the French king, who had already placed his grandson the duke of Anjou in that so-

* Broderick. Burnet.

† Burnet. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

‡ Burnet. Lamberti.

verignty, by the name of Philip V. The reader may remember that I left the archduke, whom we must now call Charles III. (for by that title he was recognized by the confederates) at the Hague, concerting with the Dutch and the duke of Marlborough the most suitable steps to be taken for asserting his claim. On the twenty-third of December of the preceding year, his catholic majesty arrived at Spithead, and the next day the duke of Somerset, master of the horse to the queen, waited on him on ship-board with a letter of compliment from her majesty, and acquainted him that she expected to see him at Windsor. The next day Charles landed and went to Petworth, a seat of the duke of Somerset in Sussex, where the prince of Denmark was come to receive him, and they were both splendidly entertained there by the duke that evening. On December 29, his Catholic majesty and the prince set out for Windsor, where they arrived about seven at night. His majesty was received by the queen at the head of the grand stair-case. Having made his compliments, he thanked the queen for her generous assistance; and having led her majesty into her chamber, she presented several ladies of the first quality to him, who had each of them the honour of a kiss from his royal lips; then the prince waited on his majesty to the apartment prepared for him. His majesty supped that night with the queen and prince, the queen giving him the right hand at table, and the prince sitting at the end. While the king was at Windsor, the Spanish merchants attended him to wish him success, desired his protection, and were graciously received by him.

His Catholic majesty being very desirous of prosecuting his voyage to Lisbon, set out on the thirty-first of December for Portsmouth, and the next day went on board admiral Rooke in the Royal Catherine at Spithead. The Dutch Squadron arriving in that road on the fifth of January, 1704, the combined fleet set sail for Portugal, having on board a body of land forces under the duke of Schomberg. When admiral Rooke had almost reached Cape Finisterre, he was driven back by a storm to Spithead, where he was obliged to remain till the middle of February; then being favoured with a fair wind, he happily performed the voyage to Lisbon, arriving there on the twenty-fifth of February; and after ten days had been spent in adjusting the ceremonial, the king of Portugal came on board the English admiral in person, with most of the royal family, to conduct his Catholic majesty to shore, where he was received with great splendor, though the court of Portugal was then overspread with sorrow for the death of the Infanta, whom the king of Spain intended to espouse. Among other debates in relation to the ceremony of receiving the king of Spain, there was one which deserves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag, which I shall transcribe from the account published by authority. The king of Portugal desired, that upon his coming on board the admiral's ship in his vessel of state, and striking his standard, the English flag might be struck at the same time; and that when his Catho-

lic majesty, with himself, should go off from the ship, his standard should be hoisted, and the admiral's flag continue struck till they were on shore. This proposition was made from the king of Portugal by the king of Spain. To which the admiral replied, that his majesty, so long as he should be on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased; but that whenever he left the ship, he himself was admiral, and obliged to execute his commission, by immediately hoisting his flag. This, and some other reasons, satisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portuguese majesty, so that the flag of England was no longer struck than the standard of Portugal.

Notwithstanding the exterior civility and friendship which the court of Portugal affected to display towards king Charles, that prince soon found little or no preparations to support his interest, or to open the campaign with vigour. The Portuguese ministry were secretly friends to the French; the people being led entirely by their priests, had an invincible aversion to those they called heretics. Another misfortune was, that the duke of Schomberg was on ill terms with Fagel, the Dutch general, and both of them were envied by the Portuguese officers, who had prevailed on their king not to suffer the English and Dutch to command their own forces, or act in a body, but to distribute them into his little paltry towns that were not tenable. The king of Portugal had promised to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May, but he was not ready till the middle of June, when they reached Santareno. Here they published their respective manifestos, Charles displaying his title to the crown of Spain, and offering his pardon to all his subjects who should in three months join his army and the king of Portugal, declaring that his sole intention in taking up arms was to restore the liberty of the Spanish nation, oppressed by the power of France, and to assert the right of his Catholic majesty Charles III. to that monarchy, unjustly usurped from him by the duke of Anjou. The duke of Anjou, however, the present possessor, took care in the mean time to anticipate the designs of his competitor, and the powers who supported him.

The duke of Berwick, who had engaged in the service of Philip, and soon distinguished himself as an able general (tho' he had passed elsewhere for a man of a very middling military genius) entered Portugal in the beginning of May, and took the town of Segura by surprize, and so intimidated the governor of Salvaterra, that he delivered up that place without making any defence. Cebreros was next reduced, with very little opposition. Zebredo was quitted by its inhabitants, and the town of Ithana la Viella was taken by storm. At the same time the marquis de Jeoffreville, prince Tserclaes de Tilly, and the marquis de Villadarias, were sent with three separate bodies of troops, to invade Portugal in as many different quarters, while the duke of Berwick laid siege to Sovreira Formosa, defended by two battalions of Dutch, who were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The duke then passed the Tagus*, and joined prince Tserclaes. King Philip arriving soon after in

* Tagus, now Tago, is the largest river of Spain, rising on the confines of Arragon, from whence it descends from the

mountains of Molina, and, running south-west through the midst of New Castile and Estremadura, passes by the cities of Aranjuez,

in the army, laid siege to Portalegre, and the garrison, including an English regiment of foot, commanded by colonel Stanhope, were taken in the place. Philip next proceeded to invest Castel-Davide, which gave him very little trouble in the reduction. On the other hand, the marquis das Minas, the Portuguese general, penetrated into Spain with fifteen thousand men, and took Fuente Grimaldo in Castile by storm, routed a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Manseinto. It being now the latter end of June, and the weather growing exceedingly sultry, Philip sent his troops into quarters of refreshment; and not thinking it possible to preserve all his conquests, ordered his troops to abandon them, except Marvan and Salvaterra, and to raze the walls of Portalegre, Castel Davide, and some other towns. The allies followed the example of Philip, by putting their troops under covert from the prevailing heats.

The success of the enemy gave no small uneasiness to the English court; and duke Schomberg finding his advice disregarded by the Portuguese, and foreseeing very little honour or success from the service in which he was engaged, desired leave to resign his commission, which was granted, and the earl of Galway was sent over to succeed him, with a reinforcement of eight thousand Dutch, who arrived at Lisbon in the beginning of August. About a month after, the earl having reviewed the Portuguese and auxiliary forces, marched them over the river Coa, and encamped near Almeyda. Thither king Charles and his Portuguese majesty repaired on the twentieth of September, with a design to penetrate into Castile; but they found the river Agueda so strongly defended by the enemy, that the passage was not to be effected: they therefore returned back into Portugal, and in the beginning of October sent the army into winter-quarters. The Spaniards on their side were now so weakened by sending off detachments to the succour of Gibraltar, invested by the allies this summer, that they were not in a capacity to undertake any thing of importance during the remaining part of the campaign *.

In Poland the war was still carried on between young Charles of Sweden and Augustus, with unremitting fury and animosity. Charles, whose army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, had found means to engage cardinal Radzoufski, archbishop of Gnesna, and primate of Poland, in his interest. By the intrigues of this prelate a diet was assembled at Warsaw, which solemnly deposed Augustus, and declared the throne vacant. The intention of Charles and the primate was to have set the crown on the head of young Sobieski, son of their late monarch. This prince was then at Breslau in Silesia, waiting with impatience for this event. While he was one day hunting, a few leagues from the place of his residence, in company with prince Constantine, one of his brothers, thirty Saxon horsemen, sent privately by king Augustus, issued suddenly from a neighbouring wood, surrounded the two princes,

and carried them off without resistance to Dresden, where they were committed to close custody. By this stroke Augustus disconcerted the measures of Charles, the cardinal, and the assembly of Warsaw. Fortune, who delights alike to sport with crowned heads as with the humblest of her subjects, exposed Augustus almost at the same time to the danger of being taken himself. He was at table three leagues from Cracow (the capital of Poland) relying upon an advanced guard which was posted at some distance, when all on a sudden Renschild, one of Charles's generals, appeared with a strong party, after having surprized the guard. The king of Poland had but just time to get on horseback, with eight or ten of his officers. General Renschild, who pursued him for four days, was upon the point of seizing him every moment; and it was only by good fortune that he escaped †.

Our operations at sea during the course of this year next demand our attention; and we shall see, that the English arms in that element fell very little short of the success with which they had been crowned by land. Sir George Rooke, after having landed king Charles at Lisbon, cruized for some time with the confederate fleet on the coast of Portugal, and then returned into the Tagus, where he was pressed by king Charles to execute a design upon Barcelona, projected by the prince of Hesse d'Armitadt, who declared his opinion that the Catalonians would declare for the house of Austria, as soon as they should be assured of proper protection and support. The admiral accordingly took the prince on board, with whom he sailed on the twentieth of August to Barcelona. In the mean time, the English ministry received advice that the French were very busy in fitting out a great squadron at Brest, which alarmed us much; and it was resolved to equip, with the utmost expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, who had under him sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, esq. then rear-admiral of the same squadron. Sir Cloudesley was directed, if he found the Brest squadron already sailed, to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to send to sir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might at all events be superior to that of the enemy. Sir Cloudesley executed his instructions punctually; and finding that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean to oppose the French, he sailed thither about the latter end of May ‡.

On the eighteenth of that month sir George Rooke appeared before the city of Barcelona, when a priest, and some others of the inhabitants, came on board, and informed the prince of Hesse and the admiral, that if some few forces were landed, and a few bombs thrown into the town, the Catalonians would declare for Charles III. and open their gates to him. Upon this some Dutch ketches were ordered close in shore, who during the whole night threw shells into the place,

Aranjuez, Toledo, and Alcantara; and then crossing Portugal with the same course, forms the harbour of Lisbon, where it is about three miles wide, and falls into the Atlantic Ocean at Cascaes, eight or ten miles below that city.

* History of Europe. Tindal. Lamberti.
† Voltaire's History of Charles XII. of Sweden.
‡ Lives of Admirals. Burchet. Oldmixon.

and the next morning early the prince of Hesse landed his troops, to the number of about two thousand men, who remained ashore all that day and the ensuing night; but the prince finding no disposition in the inhabitants to stir in his favour, notwithstanding the bombs had done considerable execution on the town, his highness thought proper to reembark the men, from an apprehension of their being attacked by a superior force. On the twenty-first of May the fleet left Barcelona, and steered for the isles of Hieres. In their passage they descried a large French Squadron, which was sailing towards Toulon, and was no other than that which had been dispatched from Brest. Sir George Rooke immediately gave chase; but their ships being cleaner than ours, outailed us, and got safe into Toulon; upon which the admiral proceeded for Lisbon, in order to wait for a reinforcement. On the fourteenth of June our fleet sailed through the Straights mouth, and two days after was joined by sir Cloudesley Shovel with his Squadron off Lagos. A council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be proceeded on, when it was resolved to steer up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet. After cruising for near a month, without seeing any thing of them, on the seventeenth of July the admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan*, wherein it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar†, which was known to be but slenderly provided with a garrison.

Thither the fleet accordingly bent its course, and on the twenty-first got into that bay. At three o'clock in the afternoon the mariners, English and Dutch, to the number of one thousand eight hundred, with the prince of Hesse at the head of them, were put on shore on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off all communication with the country. Having taken post there, his highness sent a summons to the governor to surrender the place; who answered, that he would defend it to the last extremity. Next day the admiral gave the signal for cannonading the town, which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot were expended in five hours. In the mean time, to amuse the enemy, captain Whitaker was sent in with some boats, who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns in the old mole-head. By this time the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head by the fire from our ships; and considering that if we could possess ourselves of these works, the town must be taken of course;

he ordered all the boats of the fleet to be manned and armed, and gave the command of them to captain Whitaker, with orders to attempt to make himself master of these works: but while Whitaker was preparing to execute these orders, captain Hicks of the Yarmouth, and captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, pushed on shore in their pinnaces, and some other boats; whereupon the Spaniards immediately sprung a mine, which blew up all the fortifications upon the mole, killed two lieutenants, with about forty men, and wounded about sixty. Nevertheless the seamen kept possession of the great platform till captain Whitaker landed with the rest of the boats, who, with the seamen under his command, quickly made himself master of a redoubt between the mole and the town, and turned the cannon he found therein against the enemy. The admiral then sent a letter to the governor, and at the same time a messenger to the prince of Hesse, desiring that general to send a peremptory summons, which his highness accordingly did; in consequence of which, on the twenty-fourth in the morning, the governor capitulated, and the prince of Hesse took possession of the place. Upon this occasion it is but doing justice to our brave seamen to observe, that as this design was entirely contrived by the admiral, so it was executed entirely by the sailors, and therefore the whole honour is due to them. After having left as many men with the prince of Hesse as could be spared for the defence of this conquest, the fleet sailed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water.

This account of the taking of Gibraltar is inserted from that published by the government. Bishop Burnet in his History has indeed given a different turn to the affair, in which, with a partiality inexcusable in any writer, and still more in a divine, and that divine giving in his history upon oath, he has endeavoured to make our enterprize, undertaken on the most mature advice, and conducted with the greatest skill and bravery, together with the success that attended it, to be the effect of pure chance. Rooke, says he, *fell in* upon Gibraltar; from which no one would imagine that a council of war had actually been called on board the admiral's own ship at Tetuan harbour, and a resolution taken there by the general officers of both nations to attack the place, as the fact really was. In short, according to this right reverend historian, every thing succeeded by accident. The reader however is to be informed, that Rooke was a Tory, and the bishop had taken an utter aversion to all of that party‡. But to return:

* Tetuan is a walled town of Habat, in the empire of Morocco in Africa, situated on the Cus, just within the Straights of Gibraltar, and about three miles from the sea.

† Gibraltar is a celebrated town and fortress of Andalusia in Spain, by the Moors called Gebel Tarif, i. e. Mount Tarif, a Moorish general who, in the eighth century, landed here with three African princes, whence its present name seems to be compounded. It lies on the strait between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean, to which it gives its name. The town, which is neither large nor beautiful, stands at the foot of Mount Calpe, one of Hercules's pillars, and about sixteen miles north of Ceuta, the other, in Africa. On account of its fortifications, it is looked upon as the key of Spain, and is furnished with all the necessary artillery for its defence. It is built on a rock in a peninsula, and accessible only on the land side, by a narrow passage between the rock and the sea, across which the Spaniards have drawn a fortified line, in order to prevent the garrison of Gibraltar from having any intercourse with the country; yet they carry on a clandestine trade. The harbour is formed by a bulwark properly fortified. The strait of Gibraltar is twenty-four miles in length, and

fifteen in breadth, and through it sets a strong current from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean; for stemming of which a brisk gale is required. The garrison is confined within very narrow limits, the ground of which hardly produces any thing; so that they have all their provisions from England and Ceuta, on the Barbary coast. The road is not safe either against enemies or storms. Since several notorious oppressions have been committed by the governors of Gibraltar, this town has been erected into a body corporate, and the civil power lodged in its magistrates. It lies forty miles south-west of Cadiz, and eighty south of Seville. Busching.

‡ His lordship in his account is pleased to introduce the following circumstance; That after the admiral had bombarded the town to very little purpose, and with little hopes of success, some bold men ventured to go ashore in a place where it was not thought possible to climb up the rocks; and yet they succeeded in it; and when they had got up, they saw that all the women of the town were come out according to their superstition, to a chapel, there to implore the Virgin's protection. They seized on them, and that contributed not a little to dispose those in the town to surrender.

The fleet being supplied with provisions, sailed again into the Mediterranean, and on the eleventh of August got sight of the French fleet, which sir George pursued with all the sail he could make. On the thirteenth, which was Sunday, he came within three leagues of them, to the westward of Cape Malaga, where they brought to, formed their line, and lay ready to receive him. Their line consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four galleys: they were very strong in the center, and weaker in the van and rear: to supply which, most of the galleys were divided into those quarters. In the center was the count de Thoulouse, with the white squadron; in the van, the white and blue; and in the rear, the blue: each admiral had his vice and rear-admiral. Our line consisted of fifty-three ships, the admiral sir George Rooke, with the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes, being in the centre. Sir Cloudesley Shovel and sir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch formed the rear.

The action began about ten in the morning, when the van and rear, commanded by Shovel and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, immediately pressed forward to a close engagement, and soon compelled that part of the French line with which they were engaged to give way; but the center of the French bore extremely hard upon Rooke's division: the fight however was maintained with great obstinacy till night, when the French bore away to leeward, their disabled ships being taken in tow by the galleys. The wind shifting in the night, the enemy got the weather-gage; but their fleet and ours lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing their defects, and at night they again made sail to the northward. Sir George Rooke endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French as earnestly evaded it, and at last made all the sail they could, and fairly ran for it. This plainly shews that the victory was ours, notwithstanding that the French, according to their old custom, claimed the honour of the day; and Lewis XIV. wrote a letter to the archbishop of Paris affirming this, and directing Te Deum to be sung on the occasion: and however Burnet and other writers, to answer purposes, have affected to treat this action as of very little consequence, and not to be mentioned with the other successes gained by the duke of Marlborough; yet

if we consider the great disadvantages under which the admiral engaged the French fleet, and that they were so beaten, that their grand fleet durst not venture a battle in that element during the remainder of the war, it certainly may be said; without exaggeration, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the sea, and left to us and the Dutch the indisputable claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS *. The loss sustained by each side in this action may be found at the bottom of the page †.

After the battle sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit; and leaving a squadron of eighteen ships under sir John Leake, set sail for England, where he arrived in the month of September, when her majesty, to shew the true sense she had of the service performed by the fleet under his command this summer, thought proper that his royal highness prince George, lord high-admiral, should introduce to her majesty such of the officers who had most distinguished themselves, when she was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on George Byng and Thomas Dilkes, esqrs. rear-admirals, and captain John Jennings, commander of the St. George, a second-rate.

As soon as the news of the loss of Gibraltar reached the court of Spain, Philip, the reigning king, sent the marquis of Villadarias with an army to release it. He invested the place on the twenty-fourth of October. The siege lasted four months; during which the prince of Hesse displayed many shining proofs of courage, conduct, and capacity, in its defence. The garrison was supplied with men and provisions from the squadron under sir John Leake; but that admiral being obliged to sail to Lisbon for fresh succours, monsieur de Pointis, the French admiral, came out of Cadiz with thirteen men of war, and blocked up Gibraltar on the side next the sea, whereby the town was reduced to the last extremity until sir John, returning thither again, surprised de Pointis with his squadron in the bay, of whom he took three, and ran two of the largest ships on shore, which the enemy quitted after having set fire to them; and the besiegers, after having lost the best part of their army by sickness and the sword, thought fit to raise the siege on the tenth of March, leaving only a detachment of their forces at some distance to block up the place ‡.

* Campbell's Lives of Admirals, who thus enumerates the advantages the French fleet had over ours: first, Their ships were bigger; they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal, for they had six hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ships; just come out of port, whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service. Fourthly, they had the assistance of their galleys; and how great an advantage this was will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight the French admiral ordered a seventy gun ship to board the Monk, a sixty gun ship of ours, commanded by captain Mighells, which she did, and was beat off three times; and after every repulse, she had her wounded men taken off, and her complement restored by the galleys. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition, which was so much wanted in ours, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not powder nor ball sufficient for a single broad-side. Campbell. Burchet.

† Of the English were killed and wounded two thousand three hundred and fifty-eight, and of the Dutch four hundred. Sir Andrew Leake, captain of the Grafton; captain Coe of the Ranelagh; lieutenant Jennings of the St. George; the third lieutenant of the Shrewsbury, and the first lieutenant of

the Lenox, were all the officers of their rank that were killed. Captain Myngs, captain Baker, captain Kirton, captain Jumper, captain Myghels, lieutenant Edisburg, and lieutenant Lestock, were wounded; as were two lieutenants of the Barfleur, and the chaplain; seven or eight lieutenants more, three masters, and about as many boatswains and carpenters.

On the French side were killed the Bailey of Lorraine, commodore of a squadron, and the count de Thoulouse's second; five captains, of which three were knights; a commissary of marines, six lieutenants, and five sea-ensigns. Among the latter, the marshal de Chateaurenault's son, and the sieur de Bollem Villers, the count de Thoulouse's gentleman: the count himself was wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh: the count de Relingues had his leg shot off: the marquis de Herhault, intendant of the fleet; monsieur du Casse, commodore of a squadron; monsieur de Chateaurenault, the count de Phelipaux, the count de Cominges, monsieur de Valincourt, the count de Thoulouse's secretary, seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers, were wounded.

‡ Burnet. Oldmixon. Burchet. Histoire Militaire par le Marq. de Quincy, tom. iv. p. 450, &c.

After this view of foreign transactions, it is time to return to domestic occurrences.

On the twenty-fourth of October the parliament met, and the session was opened with a speech from the throne, in which her majesty observed, that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms, produced unanimous joy and satisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberty of Europe: she declared, that her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects; she expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity, and that there would be no contention among them, but who should do most for the public welfare: "Such a temper as this (added she) in all your proceedings, cannot fail of securing your reputation both at home and abroad: this would make me an happy queen, whose endeavours shall never be wanting to make you a happy and flourishing people."

The next day the lords attended her majesty with an address of thanks for her speech, in which they congratulated her on the great and glorious success of her arms, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, without taking any notice of sir George Rooke.

The commons, in their address presented the same day, congratulated her majesty "as well upon the victory obtained by sir George Rooke, as upon that obtained by the duke of Marlborough." The different spirit of the two houses may be gathered from the different wording of their addresses. They also assured her, they came disposed to do every thing that was necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war, and that they would give such a speedy dispatch to the public business as might enable her majesty to pursue the advantages she had obtained over the common enemy; that they would use their utmost endeavours, by all proper measures, to prevent all divisions among themselves, and dispute only who should most contribute to the welfare of the nation, both in church and state †.

The commons taking into consideration the services of the army and navy, by an unanimous vote,

on the second of November, desired the queen, in an address, "to bestow her bounty upon the seamen and land-forces who had behaved themselves so gallantly:" upon which her majesty gave directions accordingly, for distributing a bounty amongst them. After this they deliberated upon the different articles of national expence, and shewed such zeal and application in supporting the war by necessary supplies, that before the end of November the supplies requisite for maintaining both the army and navy were voted; and on the ninth of December the bill for the same received the royal assent, when the queen, in a short speech, thanked the commons for their dispatch, which, she said, she considered as a sure pledge of their affection ‡.

The high-church party, who had still the passing the occasional-conformity bill greatly at heart, now caused it to be revived and brought into the house of commons, on a new model, by Mr. William Bromley, who made a long speech in support of it, wherein he urged, that the practice of occasional conformity was such a scandalous hypocrisy, as was not to be excused by any pretence; that the employing persons of a different religion from that established by law, had never been practised by any wise government, and was not allowed even in Holland, the country of universal toleration; and observed, that this law, so necessary, having been twice refused in the house of lords, the only way to have it pass, was to tack it to the money-bill, and therefore he made a motion in form for so doing, which occasioned a warm debate; however, upon better consideration, the commons sent it up singly, on the fourteenth of November, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the queen been present, and desirous of hearing what could be said on both sides of the question. For the information and satisfaction of her majesty, the subject was again discussed, and all the arguments for and against being repeated, the bill was rejected by a majority of 21 voices, the majority increasing nine this year beyond the last: this was thought to have been owing to the too indiscreet behaviour and speeches of the nonjurors and Roman catholics while the bill was depending in the lower house.

By this time the lords were engaged in an affair which made no less noise than the conformity bill, I mean the debates on the late conduct in the Scot-

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 392.

‡ The sums granted for the above purposes were as follow: For maintaining forty thousand seamen, including eight thousand marines, four pounds per man a month, for thirteen months, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. For the ordinary of the navy one hundred thousand pounds, and forty thousand pounds for ordnance stores for the sea-service, over and above the proportion of four pounds a man. For making a wharf and store-house at Portsmouth, ten thousand pounds. For forty thousand landmen to act in conjunction with the allies, eight hundred eighty-five thousand one hundred and ninety-three pounds. For ten thousand additional forces for the same service, one hundred seventy-seven thousand five hundred and eleven pounds. For maintaining ten thousand men to act in conjunction with the Portuguese, two hundred twenty-two thousand three hundred and seventy-nine pounds. For her majesty's proportion of subsidies to her allies, three hundred and seventy thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds. For her majesty's subsidy to the duke of Savoy, from October 3, to December 25, 1703, forty thousand pounds. For levy-money for recruiting the horses of the English horse and dragoons lost at Schellenberg and Blenheim, six thousand seven hundred and twenty-five pounds. For recruiting the men and horses of the foreigners in her majesty's pay in the same battles, twenty-four thousand six hundred sixty-five pounds. For an additional regiment on the Portuguese establishment,

five thousand one hundred and thirty-six pounds. For surgeons in the hospital in Portugal for the year 1704, two hundred and forty-four pounds. For expences in the Portugal war last year not provided for by parliament, sixty eight thousand five hundred and forty-six pounds. For guards and garrisons in England, three hundred and fifty-seven thousand pounds. For the ordnance of the land-service, one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. For transports, sixty thousand pounds. For circulating Exchequer-bills, four thousand pounds. And for five thousand additional forces to be raised in conjunction with our allies to serve with the fleet, for their levy-money, eleven thousand two hundred and forty-four pounds: for their pay for one year, eighty-seven thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds. In all, four millions six hundred and seventy thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds. Towards the raising whereof was granted a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, which produced about two millions; the duty upon malt, which might raise about eight hundred thousand pounds, and three thousand seven hundred pounds a week out of the Excise; eight hundred seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and thirty pounds by sale of annuities for ninety-nine years, at fifteen years purchase; a subsidy on wines and merchandizes for four years, as a fund for raising six hundred forty-six thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven pounds for the use of the navy; and the duty on low wines continued.

tish parliament. The lord Haversham having acquainted the peers, that he had matters of great importance to lay before them, but that he desired it should be in a full house; all the lords in town and in the neighbourhood thereof, were summoned to attend three days after, when his lordship made a set speech, wherein having congratulated the lords on the duke of Marlborough's victories, and upon sir George Rooke's deliverance as he called it, he took notice of a squadron of Dutch ships being called away, just before the battle of Malaga ||, to be a convoy to their merchants, while neither the English trade or coast were protected, but the enemy insulted us even in the Channel, while we vainly boasted of being mistress of the seas. He also mentioned as a grievance, the exportation of our corn; but the chief purport of his speech was to fix an odium upon the ministry for suffering the act of security to pass in Scotland.

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enquired in the next; and it is impossible to mention any remarkable expedition within the first six years, which was not examined and cleared up by such enquiries; by this means the people saw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay chearfully, at the same time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by industry, what might maintain them happily, notwithstanding these large but necessary expences. To proceed.

The commons having, in a grand committee, considered the state of the nation with regard to Scotland, resolved, on the eleventh of January, "that a bill be brought in, to enable her majesty to appoint commissioners to treat of an union with Scotland; that the natives of Scotland, not already settled, and continually residing in the dominions of England, shall be reputed aliens, unless Scotland shall come into the protestant succession in the house of Hanover; that more effectual provision be made for preventing the exportation of wool into Scotland†; that a stop be put to the importation of Scotch linen; that immediate provision be made to prevent the conveying horses, arms, and ammunition, from England and Ireland into Scotland:" pursuant to which resolutions a bill was brought in, and passed both houses in a few days.

The duke of Marlborough being now returned home, he had the thanks both of the lords and commons for his great services; and the lower house presented an address to the queen, intreating her to consider of some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions. In a few days, viz. on the seventeenth of January, 1705, the queen returned an answer by the chancellor of the Exchequer, in which she acquainted the house, that she was inclined to grant the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wooton, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were already granted for two lives, she judged it proper to remove that incumbrance, and desired the assistance of the house therein. In consequence of this intimation a bill was prepared, enabling her majesty to bestow these honours and manors on the duke and his heirs, and desiring her to advance the money to clear the incumbrances. The queen not only complied with this address, but also ordered the comptroller of the board of works to build, in Woodstock park, a magnificent palace for the duke, to be distinguished by the name of Blenheim House, where the famous battle, from whence it takes its name, is represented in most curious paintings and tapestry: the structure, which was the design of sir John Vanbrugh, is thought, by most judges of architecture, to have more of grandeur and solidity, than of propriety and elegance.

Such were the honours and rewards heaped upon the duke of Marlborough, all which the world were satisfied he had justly merited; but his grace's glory and influence were now arrived to such a pitch, that the bare mentioning the merit of another was held a sufficient reason to lay that man aside. The university of Oxford had sent an address to her majesty, congratulating the success of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the duke of Marlborough; and at sea under the most brave and faithful admiral sir George Rooke. The latter part of this address gave umbrage to the queen, as it seemed to raise the admiral upon a level with the general, whose great victories had captivated her admiration, and whose wife had alienated her affection from the Tories; her majesty therefore returned a cool answer to the address, and soon after sir George Rooke, without the least demerit on his side, was dismissed from his command, and permitted to retire to his seat in Kent, without any reward for a long series of eminent services. The command of the fleet was bestowed on sir Cloudesley Shovel, declared rear-admiral of England; sir John Leake was appointed vice-admiral of the white; sir George Byng, vice-admiral of the blue; sir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetstone, esq. rear-admiral of the white; and sir John Jennings was made an admiral in the room of sir James Wishart, rear-admiral of the blue, who laid down his commission at that time.

The duke of Marlborough having brought over with him marshal Tallard, with the other French generals and officers taken at Hochstet‡, they were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Litchfield, where they were attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of horse-guards, were treated with great respect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles round the places of their confinement.

On the eighth of February the house of commons took into consideration the treaty which the duke of Marlborough had concluded with the king of Prussia, for taking eight thousand of his troops into English pay to serve in Savoy; and unanimously resolved, that an humble address be presented to her majesty, returning the thanks of the house to her majesty for concluding the said treaty, which was so seasonable a support to the duke of Savoy, and so great an advantage to the common cause; and also to assure her majesty, that they would effectually enable her to make good the said treaty. They also farther addressed her to continue her endeavours for an accommodation between the emperor and his subjects, now in arms in Hungary, in order for the better and more effectual carrying on the present and most necessary war: they likewise took notice, how very deficient the allies were in furnishing their respective quotas towards the

† The Scottish parliament had passed an act for exporting their wool the last session, only to spoil the woollen manufacture, which our ministry had weakly or treacherously suffered to receive the royal assent, as well as the act of security.

‡ There were, besides the marshal, the marquis de Montpeux, general of the horse; the count de Blanzac, lieutenant-general; the marquis de Hauteville, general of dragoons; the marquis de Vallesame, the marquis de Sapperville, the marquis de Silly, the chevalier de Croissy, the marquis de la Valiere, major-generals; monsieur de St. Second, brigadier;

the marquis de Vasse, colonel of dragoons; the marquis de Marivaux, lieutenant-general; monsieur de la Messiliere, monsieur Jolly, monsieur d'Amigny, brigadiers; monsieur de St. Maurice, the count de Lionne, the marquis de Lasley, the baron d'Elst, monsieur de Balincourt, monsieur de Saalveboeuf, monsieur de Montenay, monsieur de Gallort, monsieur de Cressey, colonels of foot; monsieur de Ligondais, the baron de Heyder, colonels of horse; monsieur de Prisc, and monsieur d'Aurival, colonels of dragoons.

war, as well by sea as land; and besought her majesty to use her interest with them, that they might next year furnish their complete proportion, according to their respective treaties: to all which the queen returned complying answers.

The remaining part of this session was consumed in disputes and altercations between the two houses on the Aylesbury affair, which was now brought on the carpet again. John Petty, John Ovrat, John Paton, Henry Bais, and Daniel Horn, inhabitants of that borough, encouraged by the countenance the house of peers had given Ashby to sue White, and the rest of the constables of Aylesbury, for refusing his vote, ventured also to lay their several actions against the said constables on the latter account; whereupon the five complainants were committed to Newgate, by order of the house of commons, for prosecuting their action at common law contrary to the declaration of that house formerly made. The prisoners moved for an habeas corpus in the court of Queen's bench, but that court refused to take cognizance of the affair. Two of them now endeavoured to bring their writs of error returnable in parliament, which occasioned great heats between the two houses, and several representations to her majesty; the lords addressing that the writs of error in that court might be granted, and the commons insisting they might not. The principal matter in dispute was the same as in Ashby's case, viz. Whether an elector's vote being refused by the proper officer empowered to take the poll, he might not bring an action at law against such offender? or, Whether such elector's right to vote could be determined any where but in the house of commons? I shall not detain the reader by a repetition of the arguments used by each side in support of their different opinions, as I have already touched upon this matter in my account of the transactions of last session; but shall content myself with observing, that the lords first had a conference, and then a free conference with the commons, about the principal points in this affair; but neither side being willing to recede in any part from the principles they had adopted, and the disputes beginning to threaten serious consequences, the queen thought it most adviseable to put a stop to the contention between the two houses, by immediately closing the session. Accordingly, repairing to the house of peers on the fourteenth of March, the deputy usher of the black rod was sent to summon the commons to attend her majesty in the upper house, where she passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent; and then having in a short speech thanked the parliament for the zeal and dispatch with which they had provided for the exigences of government, and warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animosity and dissension, she commanded the lord keeper to prorogue the parliament to Thursday the first of May; but on the fifth of April it was dissolved by proclamation, and another was published for calling a new parliament, this being upon the point of expiring according to the triennial act.

Besides the acts already mentioned, the following bills received the royal assent this session:

I. An act to prevent the exportation of Irish linen to the plantations, and to prohibit the impor-

tation of Scotch linen into Ireland. By the statute of the fifteenth of Charles II. "For the encouragement of trade, stiled by way of eminence, The Act of Navigation, it was enacted, That no merchandize of any part of Europe shall be imported into any part of Asia, Africa, or America belonging to his majesty but what shall be laden from England, except as therein excepted." The act before us so far repeals the same, as to permit the exportation of Irish linen cloth to the English plantations in English built shipping, navigated according to law; "forasmuch, saith the preamble, as the protestant interest in Ireland ought to be supported by giving the utmost encouragement to the linen manufactures of that kingdom."* The linen manufacture of Ireland was then, and in a great measure since is principally carried on in the province of Ulster, and parts adjacent, where the Protestants are by far the majority of the people; but in most other parts of that kingdom it is well known to be otherwise.

II. An act for giving remedy on promissory notes, making them assignable by endorsement, in like sort as was enacted on inland bills of exchange, Anno 1698, ninth of king William. And whereas in the said act of the ninth of king William there is no provision made for protesting *inland* bills of exchange, in case the party on whom such bill, or bills, shall be drawn refuses to accept the same, it was now hereby enacted, "That *inland* bills of exchange shall be underwritten for acceptance, and protested for non-acceptance, as well as for non-payment, in like sort as *foreign* bills of exchange."† It is somewhat strange that two such salutary and important regulations as this law hath made in promissory notes, and inland bills of exchange, were not sooner enacted in a country of such considerable mercantile transactions as England has long been famed for. But to say the truth, which many have remarked, our national slowness in reforming abuses and defects, seems but too well grounded. This law was made perpetual by the seventh of queen Anne, cap. xxv.

III. An act "for encouraging the importation of naval stores from her majesty's plantations in America." The necessity which all maritime trading nations, and especially England, lie under of being supplied with naval stores, has often put it in the power of the northern crowns to distress such nations who had none of their own. This evidently appeared in the year 1703 from the tar company of Sweden, who absolutely refused to let us have any pitch or tar, (although ready money was always paid for it) unless we would permit it all to be brought in Swedish shipping, and at their own price, and likewise only in such quantities as that company should think proper. This dis-appointment put the government and parliament on the method of allowing bounties for raising of pitch and tar, hemp and flax, and ship-timber in our own North American colonies, particularly in Carolina, and gave rise to this act, whereby it is enacted, "that whoever shall in ships, and with sailors qualified as by the Act of Navigation, import from the English plantations in America the under-mentioned naval stores, shall be entitled to the following bounties, viz. for tar and pitch per

* See statutes 3 & 4 Annæ Regiæ. cap. viii.

† Ibid. cap. xix.

ton, of eight barrels, four pounds sterling; for rozin and turpentine per ton three pounds; for hemp per ton, of twenty hundred weight, six pounds; for all masts, yards, and bowsprits, per ton, of forty feet each ton, one pound. This act to be in force for nine years, from the first of January 1705, old style.*" The good consequence of which reasonable law was soon after felt, and still continues to be every day more manifest, for the said colonies do at this time import into England great quantities of merchantable pitch and tar fit for most uses in the navy, and which may in time be probably brought to serve for all uses, so as to render us absolutely independent on Sweden for such two most necessary articles. Of late also good hemp and flax are raised in these colonies, where there are immense tracts of proper and excellent lands for raising those commodities, of which, according to Mr. Gee (in his ingenious book of the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered) Russia did, so late as the year 1729, export annually to Britain and other nations to the value of one million sterling.

IV. An act to prohibit all trade and commerce with France. It is somewhat remarkable that, notwithstanding the several addresses and representations of the lords and commons to the throne against the Dutch for trading with France during the war, that people had such interest with our ministry at this time (probably through the friendly offices of the duke of Marlborough), that they obtained an order of council, by which the ships of the States, that had proper passes, should not be molested by the commanders of her majesty's ships in their trade with France, and this at the very time that all trade and commerce with that country was strictly forbidden to our own subjects! It was indeed alleged in defence of this measure, that as we were then about to open a free trade with Spain, this would be an equivalent in our favour; but it will clearly appear that this was no more than a specious pretence for conniving at the Dutch, for we never proposed to trade to any place that was not under the dominion of king Charles, and he was not then possessed of a foot of land in Spain, except Gibraltar. Besides, when we had a trade in those ports that were afterwards in king Charles's possession, the Dutch had the same privilege of trading thither as ourselves; nor does there appear any reason why they should have been indulged in the French trade on account of our trading with Spain.

V. An act to prevent all correspondence with her majesty's enemies. By this act "whoever had passed into France after the fourth of May, in the first year of the queen, or had borne arms in the French service, and should return into the queen's dominions after the twenty-fifth of March 1705, without licence, was declared guilty of high-treason †."

I need not, I believe, apologize to my readers for the particular notice I have taken of the above acts, which, on account of their importance to the commercial interests of this kingdom, deserve some degree of attention. I shall now proceed in the track of my history.

The queen, upon the dissolution of the late parliament, wherein Toryism prevailed in the house of commons, made several promotions and changes in favour of the Whigs; this was brought about chiefly by the influence of the duchess of Marlborough and of the duke her husband, who had now mutually abandoned the Tory interest. The duke of Newcastle was made lord privy-seal, in the room of the duke of Buckingham; and Charles earl of Peterborough, and Hugh lord Cholmondeley, were sworn of the privy-council; the earl of Montague was made duke of that name; lord Cutts was appointed commander of her majesty's forces in Ireland, under the duke of Ormond; and the following promotion of general officers took place, viz. brigadier Frederick Hamilton, the lord Windsor, the lord Raby, and brigadier Ravensworth, were made major-generals; and the honourable colonel Mordaunt, colonel Brood, and colonel Stanhope, were made brigadier-generals.

The queen about this time went to Newmarket, where she was attended by the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. Ellis, and the heads of that university, who gave her majesty an invitation to Cambridge, which she was graciously pleased to accept, and was magnificently entertained on the sixteenth of June, at the charge of the university, in Trinity-college. On this occasion her majesty bestowed the honour of knighthood on Mr. James Montagu, council for the university, and the famous Mr. Isaac Newton, mathematical professor. In the mean time, the whole nation was in a ferment, on account of the elections for the new parliament, both parties exerting their utmost efforts to dispose the minds of the people in their favour. On the other hand, several counties and corporations thought fit to give instructions to their new representatives as to their behaviour in the ensuing parliament, which generally ran in the Whig strain, and were thought to have been procured by the ministry.

In the beginning of May this year count Gallas, envoy-extraordinary from the imperial court, received advice of the death of his master the emperor Leopold V. who died on the fifth of May, and was succeeded by Joseph, king of the Romans, his eldest son. The envoy had orders to assure her majesty, that the new emperor would not only observe all the treaties concluded with his predecessor, but would omit nothing that might render those alliances more firm. Some time after the earl of Sunderland was sent envoy-extraordinary from her majesty to the emperor Joseph, with compliments of condolence on the death of his father, and of congratulation on his imperial majesty's accession to the throne, with orders to signify at the same time her majesty's resolution to abide invariably by the league subsisting between the Imperial and British courts.

Before I proceed to relate the progress of the war in the year 1705, I shall take a short survey of the proceedings of the parliaments in Ireland and Scotland, beginning in order of time.

The Irish parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, 1704 5, according to the ridiculous style then in use, when the heats which had for

* Stat. 3 & 4 Annæ Reg. cap. x.

† Stat. 3 & 4 Annæ Reg. cap. xii.

some time subsisted among the protestants there, and had been connived at by the ministry, were revived; and some of the high-church clergy, who had been preferred to benefices in that kingdom from England, were very busy in raising the same fury against the dissenters that had prevailed on this side the water. Soon after the opening of the session, a dispute arose between the commons and the lower house of convocation, occasioned by the latter offering a memorial against the passing a bill for the improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom, wherein was a clause to ascertain the tythes of hemp and flax. After some altercation, in which the convocation justified their memorial, the commons came to the following warm resolutions: That the convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of privilege of the house; that all matters relating to the memorial should be razed out of the Journals and books of convocation; and that the person who presented the said memorial was guilty of a breach of privilege, and should be taken into custody. The commons proceeding still farther, came to some resolutions that reflected obliquely on the convocation, as enemies to her majesty's government and the protestant succession: whereupon the clergy in convocation passed some resolves, which contain a short, but strong, apology for their body against the insinuations of their adversaries. The substance of these resolutions was as follows, viz.

"That the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by his late majesty king William III. of blessed memory, by means of the Revolution.

"That the continuance of these blessings were due, under God, to the auspicious reign and happy government of her majesty queen Anne.

"That if any clergyman should, by word or writing, declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a sower of divisions among the protestants, and an enemy to the constitution.

"That to teach or preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the church; or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth in principles contrary to those of the established church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom, of pernicious consequence, and served only to continue and widen the unhappy schisms and divisions in the nation." This resolve was plainly levelled against the presbyterians.

These feuds, however, did not prevent the due dispatch of the public supplies: one hundred and fifty thousand pounds were voted for the support of the necessary branches of the establishment; and several bills being ready for the royal assent, the duke of Ormond went to the house of lords with the usual solemnity, on the sixteenth of June, and passed them, after which the parliament was prorogued for one year; and his grace having visited several of the fortified towns with able engineers, and given orders for such repairs and additional works as were wanted, embarked for England, leaving the administration of the government of Ireland in the hands of sir Richard Cox, lord-

chancellor, and of the lord Cutts, commander in chief of her majesty's forces in that kingdom, who were appointed lords-justices during his grace's absence*.

The Irish session being thus finished, the Scottish parliament met a few days after, viz. on the twenty-eighth of June. The ministry of that kingdom had by this time undergone a great change: the English ministry finding how much they had been censured upon account of the act of security which they had connived at, resolved to pursue such measures as might reinstate them in the favour of the public, and with that view set all their powers to work to get the protestant succession settled in Scotland, or to procure an union of the two kingdoms. The marquis of Tweeddale and secretary Johnson were now laid aside, and the management of affairs again intrusted to the duke of Queensberry, under the title of lord privy-seal; and the office of high-commissioner was conferred upon the young duke of Argyll, who succeeded to his father's influence among the presbyterians, with instructions to bring about the points proposed by the English ministry.

At the opening of the session the members were divided into three parties, namely, the Cavaliers or Jacobites, the Revolutionists, and the *Squadron Volante*, or Flying Squadron: this latter consisted of discarded courtiers, who disclaimed all connection with the other two parties, and pretended to hold the balance between them. The marquis of Tweeddale was at the head of this faction, and had with him the earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Haddington, and Marchmont. Bishop Burnet tells us, that they were in great credit with the people of Scotland, on account of their pretending to act from dictates of conscience only. Their number, he says, was between twenty and thirty †. The Cavaliers, or Antirevolutionists, were headed by duke Hamilton; Queensberry, Argyll, Annandale, and their friends, headed the Revolutionists, or zealous presbyterians.

Many members being absent at the opening of the session, the lord-commissioner adjourned the parliament to the third of July, when being met again, the queen's letter was read to the assembly, wherein her majesty expressed herself to the following purport: That at their last meeting she recommended to them, with the greatest earnestness, the settling of the succession of that her ancient kingdom in the protestant line; and several things having since happened which shewed the great inconveniency of that matter continuing in suspense, she could not but at present most seriously renew the recommendation of that settlement, as being convinced of the growing necessity thereof, both for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the peace and safety of all her dominions, and for defeating the designs and attempts of all her enemies; and to prevent any objections to the said settlement, that could be suggested from the views or fears of future inconveniencies that might happen to that her kingdom from thence, she should be ready to give the royal assent to such provisions and restrictions as should be found necessary and reasonable in such a case; and therefore she must still leave

* Burnet. History of Europe. Tindal.

† Burnet, ii. 460.

it upon them, as most necessary for all the ends already mentioned, that they go to the settlement of the succession before all other business.

"She was fully satisfied, she said, and doubted not but they were, that great benefits would arise to all her subjects, by an union of Scotland and England, and that nothing would contribute more to the composing of differences, and extinguishing the heats that were unhappily raised and fomented by the enemies of both nations, than the promoting of every thing that tended to the procuring of the same; therefore she heartily recommended them to pass an act for a commission to set a treaty on foot between the kingdoms, as the parliament of England had done, for effectuating what was so desirable, and for such other matters and things as might be judged proper for her honour, and the good and advantage of both kingdoms for ever, in which she should most heartily give her best assistance." The rest being matter of form, I shall pass it over. This letter was backed by a speech of the duke of Argyll, the high-commissioner, and by another from the lord-chancellor.

Many matters of considerable moment were taken into consideration by this parliament, such as the state of the commerce and coin of the kingdom, the establishing a paper-credit, by circulating of bills, &c. but they all came to nothing. The affair of nominating a successor being taken into deliberation, duke Hamilton proposed, that the parliament should not proceed upon that matter until the treaty with England should be discussed, and the limitations be settled: upon which it was put to the vote, Whether to go first upon the considerations of a treaty of union with England, or upon limitations? but it was carried for limitations. At length, however, the draught of an address to her majesty, setting forth the reasons why the parliament could not proceed to an act for a treaty with England, was offered by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, and was to this effect: "That the act lately passed in the parliament of England containing a proposal for a treaty of union of the two kingdoms, is made in such injurious terms to the honour and interest of the Scottish nation, that the parliament could by no means comply with it: but that out of the great sense they had of the duty they owed to her majesty, they declared that they should always be ready to comply with any such proposal from the parliament of England, whenever it shall be made in terms as are no ways dishonourable or disadvantageous to the nation or people of Scotland."

A very hot debate ensued hereupon; but at length the parliament proceeded to the act for a treaty with England, when the duke of Hamilton, to the surprize of his whole party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left to the queen. This gave rise to a still more vehement altercation; but at length the question being put, Whether the nomination should be left to the queen, or the parliament? the duke's motion was approved by a small majority, and

an act for treating about the union was passed; but it was provided, that they should not commence such treaty until the clause in the English act, declaring the subjects of Scotland *aliens*, should be rescinded; so that nothing was effectually to be done for uniting the two kingdoms till the English parliament sat and made the repeal above-mentioned. On this occasion the duke of Athol entered a rigorous protest, to which the greater part of the cavaliers, and all the *squadron*, adhered, comprehending twenty-four peers, thirty-seven barons, and eighteen boroughs. On the twentieth of December the house was adjourned, after having granted a supply of fifty thousand pounds. Not long after the adjournment, the earl of Marr, who during the whole session had stuck fast by the court, was declared secretary of state, in the room of the marquis of Annandale, who was appointed president of the council*.

It is now time to turn from the consideration of civil affairs to the progress of the war in 1705. The duke of Marlborough had long been revolving a scheme for improving the victory he had gained at Blenheim; and, after the most mature deliberation, no one appeared so rational as that of making an impression on the frontiers of France. The Moselle † was therefore pitched upon as the scene of action, and large magazines of all sorts were formed at Triers. On the thirtieth of March the duke left England, and repaired to the Hague, where he soon persuaded their High Mightinesses to approve of his project, and even to contribute their troops towards its execution. This point settled, he departed for Maestricht in order to assemble his army; in which he used such diligence, that by the latter end of May the troops passed the Maese, and bent their march towards the Moselle, under the command of the duke's brother, general Churchill; while his grace set out for Rastadt, to visit prince Lewis of Baden, where, after a long consultation, they resolved that a sufficient number of German troops should be left for securing the limits of Lauterburg and Stolhoffen, under the command of general Thungen; and that prince Lewis should advance with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the duke of Marlborough in forming the siege of Saar-Louis (a fortress of Lorraine, situate on the Saar) the taking of which would have opened a gap into the very bowels of France.

The duke with his troops passed the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elst, in sight of marshal Villars, who was encamped in that neighbourhood with a numerous army; but upon the approach of the allies, retreated to Coningsmacheren. As the time was very precious, on account of the great scarcity of forage, for want of which the English and Dutch army could not long subsist between the Moselle and the Saar, he sent frequent expresses to quicken the march of the Imperialists; but neither his remonstrances, nor those of the deputies of the States, had any effect. It is true, some few imperial troops were detached

* Burnet. Lockhart. Tindal.

† The Moselle is a river of Germany, rising in the Faucillis, one of the Vauge mountains in Lorraine, from whence it runs north through the duchy, and passing by Toul, Mentz,

and Thionville, to Triers; and afterwards running north-east through the electorate of Triers, loseth itself in the Rhine, near Coblentz. From Mentz it is navigable the whole year. Busching.

from Lauterburg for the Moselle; but they would march their own way, that is, so slowly, that instead of being on the banks of the Saar on the ninth or tenth of June at the farthest, they did not arrive till the twentieth, and there were neither horses nor artillery provided. Prince Lewis of Baden, who had promised to join the duke in person, came indeed as far as Creutznach; but then, under a pretence of being taken ill, he went to the baths at Swalbach, leaving the command of the imperial troops to the count de Frize. The prince was strongly suspected of treachery; but it is more probable that the motives of his conduct proceeded from envy of the duke, whose military reputation had now eclipsed that of all the other commanders.

While our general met with such a mortifying disappointment on the Moselle, the French did not fail to avail themselves of their superiority in the Netherlands, where monsieur d'Auverquerque was in no condition to oppose their progress; they invested Huy, and carried on their attacks with such vigour, that in less than fourteen days the garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Flushed with success, and encouraged by the absence of the duke of Marlborough, the elector of Bavaria and marshal Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began to raise batteries before the citadel. When this disagreeable news reached the allied army, the deputies of the States represented to the duke of Marlborough, "that it was impossible to subsist them any longer where they then were; that the Germans having, by their delays, rendered the besieging of Saar Louis impracticable, and defeated all the projects for a campaign on the Moselle, it was to no purpose to continue any longer in those parts, when their forces might be better employed in the Netherlands for stopping the progress of the enemy." The duke was but too sensible of the truth of this representation, but being willing to remain till the last extremity, he did not decamp till the seventeenth of June, by which time he found all his hopes vanished; he then marched for the Netherlands by the shortest way, and the imperial troops, the Prussians, and the Wirtembergers, moved towards the Upper Rhine. Marshal Villars having now no enemy to dread, sent a detachment to reinforce the elector of Bavaria, and another for the army of marshal Marsin in Alsace, and advanced with the rest towards Triers, which the Palatine general abandoned in a most dishonourable manner to the enemy. After which, Villars marched to join monsieur Marsin, and both together drove the Imperialists from the lines of Croon Weissenburg; and general Thungen could with difficulty maintain himself in the lines of Lauterburg.

In the mean while, the duke of Marlborough prosecuted his march with so much expedition, that he saved Liege; for the enemy, upon the advice of his approach, sent back their artillery to Namur, and retired in great precipitation to Tongeren. On the other hand, the duke pushing his success, retook Huy, and soon made the enemy retire behind their lines, which the duke resolved to force. The French were posted along their lines, with near one hundred battalions, and one hundred and forty-six squadrons. The force of

the allies was nearly equal, they having ninety-five battalions, and one hundred and fifty-nine squadrons. In order to divide the enemy, it was resolved to make a false motion; and accordingly the army under monsieur d'Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont on the seventeenth of July, in the morning, and marched towards Burdine on the other side the Mehaigne. Marlborough at the same time made a motion as if he intended to support Auverquerque in the attack of the lines about Messelin, which was the weakest part of them. This feint had the desired success; for the French sent off large detachments to those parts where they apprehended the greatest danger; by which they left those on which the duke had a real design in a very weak condition. The duke saw with pleasure the enemy give so readily into the snare he had prepared for them, and the same night put his army in march, which was joined by that of M. d'Auverquerque, his army having repassed the Mehaigne; and both proceeded with all possible expedition to support a detachment which was ordered to attack the enemy's lines about Heylishem. The design was so secret, and so sudden in the execution, that the enemy knew nothing of it; and this being the strongest part of their lines, was less suspected than any other.

The confederate troops passed the lines with very little opposition, but were afterwards attacked by twenty-four squadrons of Bavarian horse, and twenty battalions. This occasioned a sharp dispute; but the horse and dragoons of the right wing defeated them, and the enemy at length fairly betook themselves to flight, leaving their standards, colours, and cannon, behind them. All the troops behaved to admiration; and amongst the horse the regiment of brigadier Cadogan distinguished themselves, having had the honour to charge first: they defeated four squadrons of Bavarian guards, drove them through two battalions of their own foot, and took four standards. In this action the confederates took the marquis d'Alegre, and the count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, prisoners; with one major-general, two brigadier-generals, and seventy-four other officers. The army marched the same day before noon to Tirlemont, the French decamping in our sight, and passed the Geete, breaking down their bridges with such precipitation, that they left fourteen or fifteen hundred men on this side, who were taken prisoners, with the battalion of Montluc in Tirlemont. There was little of moment performed the rest of the campaign in the Netherlands, the Dutch deputies refusing to concur with a proposal made by the duke of Marlborough and monsieur Auverquerque, to pass the river Ysch and attack the French, who had possessed themselves of the strong camp of Parck, extending their army in such manner as to cover Brussels and Louvain. The duke was not a little chagrined at this timid conduct in the deputies, and wrote an expostulatory letter to the States-general on the subject, which being made public, occasioned great uneasiness among our own people at home, who foresaw that such dilatory proceedings would infallibly spin out the war to a great length.

About the latter end of October the duke of Marlborough, in consequence of an invitation from the new emperor Joseph, set out for Vienna, where he

he was treated with great respect, and concerted with his imperial majesty the operations of the ensuing campaign. After visiting the courts of Berlin and Hanover he repaired to the Hague, where the States-general, in order to compensate for the disgust their deputies had given him by their over-caution, agreed to furnish an additional number of ten thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army of prince Eugene in Italy. After this his grace took his leave of their High Mightinesses, and embarking for England, arrived at St. James's on the thirtieth of December *.

With regard to the proceedings of the army on the Upper Rhine, the Imperialists did not take the field till August, when prince Lewis of Baden, now recovered from his indisposition, arrived in the camp at Stollhoffen. Marshal Villars had a little before passed the Rhine at Strasburg, which obliged general Thungen to do the like with the Imperialists. Prince Lewis having taken a review of the army, resolved to advance and attack Villars, but the latter thought proper to retreat; and the French abandoned Haguenau, and some other places of no great importance. After which the Germans formed the blockade of Fort Lewis, and thus the campaign ended on that side, without any considerable action.

In Italy prince Eugene made several attempts to join the duke of Savoy this campaign, but was not able to effect it, through the vigilance and attention of the duke of Vendosme. At length his royal highness, understanding that the duke of Savoy was reduced to the greatest distress, having now but a small army of twelve thousand men, and no considerable territories left, and that even Turin, his capital city, was threatened with a siege, resolved to make a bold push to get to his assistance. Accordingly, he tried to divide the French army, by sending a strong detachment towards the Adda: the scheme took. The duke of Vendosme immediately marched with good part of his troops to watch the motions of this detachment, while prince Eugene in the mean time advanced to attack the body commanded by the grand prior; but Vendosme having notice of his design before he had marched to too great a distance, returned and joined his brother; whereupon there happened a sharp engagement near Cassano, on the sixteenth of August, in which great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides, and both sides sung *Te Deum* for the victory. The French boasted they had gained their point in hindering the conjunction of prince Eugene with the duke of Savoy; and prince Eugene thought he had great reason to be satisfied for having prevented the siege of Turin this campaign; and having left the command of the army to count Raventlau, he returned to Vienna to solicit further reinforcements †.

Things in Portugal were but badly managed last year. This year the confederates under the earl of Galway had some success, but not equal to what was expected. The Portuguese, with their allies the English and Dutch, marched to the frontiers of Spain; and meeting with no enemy in the field on that side (the vigorous defence of Gibraltar by

the prince of Hesse, of which I have already taken notice, having obliged the French and Spaniards to draw most of their forces that way) they laid siege in the beginning of May to the town of Valencia d'Alcantara, in the province of Alentejo, which in a short time they carried by storm. The garrison of Albuquerque, another town of no great strength, fearing the same fate, surrendered on the twenty-second of the same month, on articles. Several councils were afterwards held to settle the operations for the rest of the campaign, when the earl of Galway and general Fagel proposed laying siege to Bajadox; but that being a town better fortified than either of the former, and having a garrison of nine or ten battalions to defend it, and the Portuguese moreover declaring they wanted the necessary requisites for forming the siege, that design was laid aside for the present, and about the latter end of June the army was sent into quarters of refreshment.

In the mean time, however, the marquis das Minas, who commanded a separate army of Portuguese in the province of Beyra, attacked the town of Salvaterra, in which was a garrison of three hundred and sixty men, who surrendered, prisoners at discretion. The marquis afterwards plundered and burnt Sarca; but receiving intelligence that a strong body of French and Spaniards were in full march towards him, he thought proper to retire to Penamacos. As soon as the summer heats were pretty well abated, the earl of Galway again renewed his instances to form the siege of Bajadox, which after much delay, and many frivolous excuses, on the part of the Portuguese (who from the beginning never appeared to act heartily in the cause of the allies) was agreed to, and about the latter end of September the army marched towards that place, and opened the trenches on the fourth of October; and the siege was carried on with such vigour, that the reduction of the town was looked upon as certain: but the enterprize miscarried by an unforeseen accident. The earl of Galway being one day in the trenches, busied in giving the necessary orders, a cannon-ball carried away his right arm, and he was obliged to be moved off the field; so that the conduct of the siege was left to general Fagel, who is said not to have carried it on with that vigour which the English general had done, and by that means gave time to the marquis de Theffe to throw a relief of one thousand men into Bajadox; and then the confederates abandoned the enterprize, and marched their troops into winter-quarters. The earl of Galway had the consolation to receive letters from the queen his mistress, and from the king of Portugal, condoling with him on his misfortune, and expressing their entire satisfaction in his conduct previous to that unhappy accident ‡.

The disappointment the arms of the allies sustained in Portugal was, however, in some measure, made up by king Charles's success in Catalonia, and the reduction of Barcelona by the celebrated earl of Peterborough and sir Cloudesley Shovel, who in the latter end of May sailed for St. Helen's with the English fleet, having on board a body of five thousand land-forces; and on the

* Burnet. Broderick. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

† History of Europe. Impartial Enquiry.

‡ Burnet. Tindal. Voltaire.

twentieth day of June arrived in Lisbon harbour, where they were reinforced by sir John Leake from the Mediterranean, and the Dutch admirals Allemonde and Vanderdussen. King Charles having received assurances that the inhabitants of Catalonia and Valencia were well affected to his interest, resolved to repair into those quarters, and undertake some actions of importance. Accordingly, having sent to the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt to get the garrison of Gibraltar in readiness to embark, he went on board the English admiral's ship, with the earl of Peterborough and other officers of distinction; and the fleet sailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the earl of Galway having supplied them with two regiments of English dragoons, and in a few days arrived in the bay of Gibraltar, the ruins of which place presented a melancholy, but uncontrovertible proof of the great courage, industry, and indefatigable care, where-with the gallant prince of d'Armstadt, and the brave officers and soldiers under him, had defended it against the united forces of France and Castile; a defence so glorious and honourable, as hardly to be paralleled either in antient or modern history! Here the prince of Hesse came on board, and with him the English guards and three old regiments; in lieu of which two new-raised battalions were left in the garrison.

On the eleventh of August the fleet put into the bay of Altea* to water, when the earl of Peterborough published a manifesto, importing, "That he was not come to take possession of any place in the name of her Britannic majesty or of the States-general, but to maintain the just right of the house of Austria to the Spanish crown; to defend the good and loyal subjects of that monarchy; and to free them from the insupportable yoke of foreign masters †." Encouraged by this declaration, the inhabitants flocked from all quarters, acknowledging Charles III. as their lawful sovereign, and seized the town of Denia, not far from Altea, for his service, whither his Catholic majesty immediately sent a garrison of four hundred Portuguese, under the command of general Ramos. The fleet then sailed from Altea bay about the middle of August, and arrived in the bay of Barcelona on the twenty-second of the same month, about nine o'clock in the morning.

This city, the capital of Catalonia, is one of the most antient in Spain, having been a colony of the Carthaginians, built by them to stop the impetuous torrent of the Romans who came from Italy, and after they had subjected Gallia Narbonensis, were endeavouring to make themselves masters of Spain. It is situated in a plain near the sea, having a mole within, which only galleys and small ships can enter. The entrance into it has a platform with some guns mounted for its defence, and a light-house, being a tower built in the form of a pyramid, with a lanthorn at the top. It is fortified round with ten bulwarks and some old towers. Its ditch in some parts is not very deep, and the covered way is not quite finish-

ed. The castle and citadel, which is called Montjuic, is built upon a hill on the west side. It commands the city, without being commanded itself by any ground thereabouts. The country along that coast is level, very fruitful, and well cultivated, being watered by many rivers and rills, which run down from the neighbouring mountains; for at about a league's distance from the sea the land begins to rise, and shapes itself into several hills and mountains, one above another, in the form of a theatre, all full of villages and towns, vineyards and country seats, which make a very agreeable prospect all along the sea-coast for a great way together.

As soon as the fleet had anchored, the enemy began to fire from the mole and a battery near the sea, upon some of the transport ships which stood in for the shore; but this firing had but very little effect, and the transports all anchored in such a manner as they found most commodious for the landing of the forces aboard them. The wind however blew so hard, and made so great a sea, that notwithstanding all the diligence that could be used, it was impossible for them to get on shore that day. The day following, however, the wind and sea being down, the debarkation of the troops began, about three quarters of a league from the city, near a river called Bassoz, which lies on the east side, between the town and a place called Badalona. By the twenty-eighth the landing was completed, and the troops possessed of a strong camp, being extremely well received by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who were strongly attached to the house of Austria.

Upon the arrival of the fleet, Don Francisco de Velasco, viceroy of Catalonia, gave orders for burning all the straw and forage in the country and villages for a league round Barcelona: but notwithstanding all his precaution, there remained enough for all the horse the fleet had brought. The prince of Hesse having been dispatched with two frigates to enquire into the posture of affairs on the coast, and of the strength of the city, his highness put into Mataro, four leagues distant from Barcelona, where having informed himself of what he judged necessary, and advised the people thereabouts, who had declared for king Charles, to come down, he returned to the fleet, with information that the inhabitants of Barcelona were warmly in the interest of his Catholic majesty; but that they were overawed by a garrison of five thousand men, commanded by Velasco, the duke of Popoli, and other officers who had espoused the cause of Philip.

On the twenty-seventh a council of war was held on board the admiral, and his Catholic majesty resolved to go on shore the day following, to encourage the expedition by his presence. Accordingly his majesty landed on the twenty-eighth, amidst the acclamations of an infinite multitude from Vich, and other parts of the adjacent country, who, with repeated cries of "Long live the King!" came to the water-side, threw them-

* Altea is a small sea-port town of Spain, in the kingdom of Valencia, situated on the Mediterranean, and abounds in wine, flax, silk, and honey. Here the confederate fleet, during the first part of the war with Spain, in the reign of queen Anne, had frequent supplies of fresh water and provisions till

the fatal battle of Almanza in 1707. It is situated forty-five miles south of the city of Valencia.

† Dr. Friend's Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain.

selfes at his majesty's feet, and kissed his hand, with a thousand demonstrations of joy; infomuch that Charles found it a difficult matter to disengage himself from their boisterous loyalty; but having at length mounted on horseback, he rode to the camp, where the forces were all drawn up in a line to receive him; and when his majesty arrived at his quarters, he was saluted with a treble discharge of cannon and small arms.

Some days after his Catholic majesty had landed, an express arrived from England, directing the earl of Peterborough, the general, to proceed to Italy, and endeavour to join the duke of Savoy with his troops, or to make an attempt upon Naples and Sicily, as should be found most advisable, in order to drive the French out of Italy, and set his royal highness at liberty to employ his forces another way. These orders gave inexpressible uneasiness to king Charles: he pressed lord Peterborough in the most earnest manner not to abandon him, when there appeared such a prospect of success in carrying on the war in Spain; adding at the same time with great warmth, that if his lordship (who seemed disposed to comply with the orders he had received) should persist in his resolution to go away, his majesty, finding that his crown and good subjects were to be thus sacrificed, was resolved to stay with them, and share the event of his good or evil fortune. Upon this several councils of war were called, wherein it was deliberated, whether or not to proceed to the siege of Barcelona. The opinions of the members were various: lord Peterborough did indeed twice give his vote for the undertaking; but from the minutes of those councils it appeared to be only out of the extreme inclination he had to comply with the king of Spain's desires, and not out of any confidence he had of succeeding. At length the prince of Hesse proposed to the earl the scheme of surprizing the fort of Montjuic, and desired that his lordship would give him only one thousand men for that purpose, offering himself to conduct and command them. The earl having taken a view of that fort, and of the town on that side; and having maturely weighed his highness's reasons, and considered the manner in which he intended to proceed in the attack; not only concurred with the prince and readily granted him the one thousand men he desired, but likewise resolved to support his highness with one thousand more, and some dragoons*.

Accordingly a detachment of two thousand men, supported by the dragoons, and furnished with scaling-ladders, and all other materials for a sudden assault, began their march the fourteenth of September, at six in the evening, led by the brave prince of Hesse; but being obliged to go a considerable way about, and the roads they had to pass through being very bad, they did not arrive at the foot of the hill on which fort Montjuic is situated, till day had began to break; whereupon the alarm was given to those in the castle and town, who received our troops with a general discharge of their artillery and small arms: notwithstanding which the prince pressed forward, and the troops entered the covered way and ditch sword in hand, some of them getting upon the out-works that were unfinished, and, maugre the continual

fire of the enemy, possessed themselves of the bastion of a new fortification, beat the Spaniards out of it, and obliged them to retire into the castle: but the prince of Hesse exposing his person too much, in order to make himself master of a post that would cut off the communication between the town and the fort, was unfortunately shot through the thigh with a musket-ball that tore an artery, by which he lost a great quantity of blood; and after marching about fifty paces, animating the men, as if he had known nothing of his being wounded, he fell down through weakness, and was carried to a little house that stood near the place; but before the surgeons, who were immediately called, could come to look at his wound, he expired, to the inexpressible grief of every one who had a true sense of his great military abilities. The soldiers, who had a kind of enthusiastical confidence in the prince, were struck with an insurmountable damp upon the news of his untimely fall. Their despondency was still farther encreased upon seeing the marquis of Risburg march out of Barcelona, at the head of a large body of troops, to succour the line of communication, and reinforce the citadel. All was now upon the point of falling into confusion on our side, when lord Peterborough, hearing of the prince's death, advanced, and took upon him the command (for hitherto he had only served as a volunteer in this enterprize) and by his presence re-animated the drooping spirits of the soldiers, and persuaded them to maintain their ground; and being reinforced with fresh bodies of troops, the earl attacked the fort, tho' with no great prospect of success; the governor, a Neapolitan gentleman, named Don Carlos Caracholi, continuing to defend it very resolutely, till the seventeenth of September, when a bomb from one of our batteries falling into the magazine of powder, blew it up, by which the governor and some of the best officers, and a number of men, were killed. This struck the rest with such consternation, that they were unable to make any farther resistance. The earl of Peterborough advancing to storm the place, through a breach made in part of the wall and gate by the explosion, they surrendered at discretion.

This post of Montjuic was of the utmost importance, for it commanded the city, being upon an eminence; and besides, the fortifications of the town on that side were weakest. This induced the earl to make immediate dispositions for bombarding Barcelona; the trenches were accordingly opened before it on the 19th of September, and the batteries erected, with the help of the Miquelets or militia of Catalonia and our own seamen; and the fleet from the road thundered with such fury upon the town, and did such terrible execution, that in a few days the governor, despairing of relief, thought fit to capitulate, and surrendered on the fourth of October. The next day the earl of Peterborough ordered a detachment of the army to take possession of one of the gates. The same day Gironne declared for king Charles, as did all the rest of Catalonia, except Roses*.

The king of Spain having made his entry into Barcelona, and received the oath of fidelity from his subjects, a council of war was assembled a few days afterwards, wherein it was resolved that fir

* Friend's Account, &c. Boyer's Life of Q. Anne, p. 206.

† Boyer. Burnet. Tindal. Hist. of Europe.

Cloudefley

Cloudefley Shovel should proceed for England with the best part of the fleet: that sir John Leake, with a strong squadron, should be left in the Mediterranean: that six ships should remain with the earl of Peterborough; two more be stationed at Gibraltar; and a third and fourth-rate be employed, at the request of his Portuguese majesty, in cruising for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. In pursuance of those resolutions, sir Cloudefley Shovel, with 19 ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, sailed through the Streights, and arrived at Spithead on the sixteenth of November*.

The garrison of Barcelona, all but one thousand men, who, with Velasco the late governor, were conveyed to Malaga, enlisted in the service of Charles, who formed from among them a body of guards, and six other regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The Condé di Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalonians who were in the interest of the house of Austria, secured Tarragona, Tortosa, Lerida, San Mattheo, and other places. At the same time Don Raphael Nebat, a Catalonian general, who had already three brothers in the service of Charles, deserted Philip, with his whole regiment of five hundred horse; and joining general Ramos at Denia, they made themselves masters of Xabia, Oliva, Gandia, and Alsira, in Valencia. Encouraged by such great successes, they advanced to the capital of that kingdom, which bears the same name †: this they took by the assistance of the inhabitants, and in it the marquis de Villa Garcia, the viceroy, and the archbishop; and thereupon the whole kingdom of Valencia, except Alicant and Persinsola, revolted to king Charles, who appointed the conde di Cifuentes his viceroy of that province; and had the Portuguese made any diversion, as they promised, or but permitted their allies, the English and Dutch, to have advanced to the Spanish frontiers at this time, it is not improbable but all Spain had submitted to Charles; but their unaccountable dilatoriness, not to give it a worse term, furnished the enemy with an opportunity to send a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the conde de las Torres, who forthwith invested San Mattheo, guarded by colonel Jones, at the head of five hundred Miquelets only. This being a place of great importance on account of its situation, the earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry and two hundred dragoons, and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. The earl having so effectually achieved this important enterprize, possessed himself of Nules and Molviedro (the ancient Saguntum), and then having nothing to interrupt his progress, he marched to Valencia, where he was received by the inhabitants in general as their guardian angel and deliverer. Indeed the generous behaviour of

the earl to the natives, his care to protect them, and the strict discipline he kept among his troops had so conciliated the minds of the Spaniards to the English, that the disorders at Port St. Mary's were entirely forgot, and they appeared ready to join the allies, and run all hazards with them, to drive the French and their adherents out of the kingdom.

Our affairs at sea were more prosperous this year than they had been formerly. Besides the great things done in the Mediterranean in the beginning of the season by admiral Leake, who defeated monsieur de Pointis' squadron, and thereby relieved Gibraltar; Sir George Byng, sent with a small squadron into the Soundings, took a French ship of forty guns, together with twelve privateers, and seven rich West India ships. Our other cruisers also picked up so many of the French privateers, that we had some thousands of their seamen in our prisons; and such a good look-out was kept off Brest, that the French fleet did not think fit to venture forth. By this means our navigation was rendered much more safe, and our trade consequently more prosperous; but as it would be unpardonable in an historian who makes claim to impartiality not to mention our losses as well as our successes, I must not pass by unnoticed a misfortune that attended the English arms by sea in the course of this year, I mean the capture of the Baltic fleet homeward-bound, with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk squadron, commanded by the count de St. Paul, though he himself was killed in the engagement.

The endeavours used by the English and Dutch envoys at the court of Vienna, to accommodate matters between the emperor and his rebellious subjects in Hungary, having had no effect, that kingdom continued to be a scene of confusion and plunder.

Poland was in no better condition. Charles XII. of Sweden, who still maintained his army by contributions in that country, had presented to the diet at Warsaw young Stanislaus Leczinski, palatine of Posnania, as a person proper to be their king: the intimation of a conqueror has the force of a law. The diet, unable to resist, acquiesced in his proposal. Stanislaus was elected and proclaimed king, and recognized by Charles; while Augustus, unable to maintain his footing in Poland, retreated into his Saxon dominions, which he impoverished in order to raise a great army to return into Poland. The pope espoused the cause of Augustus, and cited the cardinal-primate to appear at Rome, to give an account of the share he had in the Polish troubles. The old cardinal however refused to go to Rome: he owned Stanislaus, but died before his coronation; and that ceremony was performed by the bishop of Cujavia, in the presence of Charles, on the fourth of October, 1705, in the city of Warsaw, notwithstanding the usual custom of the Poles crowning their kings at Cracow.

* Burchet. Lives of Admirals. Oldmixon, &c.

† Valencia is the capital of the province of the same name, on the river Turio. It stands in a very fruitful country, abounding with corn, wine, oil, fruits, &c. The inhabitants amount to fifteen thousand families. It is the see of an archbishop, and has an university. The city is abundantly supplied with water, not only from the river which runs along it, but by an incredible number of deep wells, dug almost in every

house. Trade and manufactures flourish here; the principal of the latter is that of silk, which the women and children spin before their houses. They export large quantities of wine, oil, and fruit; and the inhabitants have an easy and agreeable conversation, without any of that stiffness observable in the rest of Spain. It lies one hundred and eighty miles south-east of Madrid.

While Charles was thus intent upon the ruin of Augustus, he neglected the preservation of his own dominions. Peter, czar of Muscovy, was every day becoming more formidable. Though he had given but little assistance to Augustus in Poland, he had nevertheless made powerful diversions elsewhere. He now began to grow not only a good soldier himself, but likewise instructed his soldiery in the art of war: discipline was established among his troops, and he understood the great secret of subsisting his armies. He had besides formed a respectable navy, capable of making head against the Swedes in the Baltic. Strengthened by these advantages, and by the absence of the king of Sweden, he took Narva by assault, ravaged all Livonia, and made incursions even into Sweden ||.

Peter, however, aspired to a nobler character than that of a destroyer of towns: he employed himself in laying the foundation of a great city in the midst of his military toils: this was the city of Petersburg, which he afterwards made the place of his residence, and the center of his kingdom's trade. It is situated between Finland and Ingria, in a marshy island, round which the river Neva throws several branches before it falls into the Gulph of Finland. He himself drew the plan of the city, the fortress, and the harbour, with the quays which embellish it, and the forts that defend its entrance. This desert and uncultivated island, which, during the short summer in these climates, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entry by land but through pathless forests and deep morasses, and which had hitherto been the haunt of wolves and bears, was, by an amazing perseverance, made habitable, amidst the obstacles which nature, the genius of the people, and an unsuccessful war, conspired to raise against it. Petersburg was become a reputable city in 1705, and its harbour was filled with ships. The emperor, by a proper distribution of favours, drew many foreigners thither, bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging all the artists that came, to civilize this barbarous climate. Above all, he rendered it proof against the utmost efforts of his enemies. The Swedish generals, who frequently beat his troops in every other quarter, were never able to hurt his infant colony. It enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midst of the war with which it was surrounded §.

I shall now return to England, where the Whigs carried all before them, and got possession of all places and preferments. On the 13th of October the seals were taken from sir Nathan Wright, and William Cowper, esq. a great patron of the dissenters, was made lord-keeper in his room, and was soon after made lord-chancellor. It must be acknowledged, that lord Cowper was so eminent for his abilities and integrity, that he brought a new credit to the Whig party in the nation. The earl of Abingdon was about the same time removed from his place of constable of the Tower and lord-lieutenant of Oxfordshire. Some other changes of less note were also made, all of them having the same tendency.

On the twenty-fifth of October the new parliament met, when a violent contest arose about the choice of another speaker. The candidates were Mr. Bromley and Mr. Smith; the former supported by the Tories, the latter by the Whigs, who carried their point by a majority of forty voices; upon which Mr. Smith was presented to, and approved by her majesty on the twenty-seventh, when she made a speech to both houses, in which she represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as the common enemy to the liberties of Europe. She recommended the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, which, she said, was without example, and merited all their endeavours to encourage him to persevere in the same conduct. She acquainted them, that she had an intention to expedite commissions for treating of an union with Scotland: she earnestly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection among her people: she observed, that some persons had endeavoured to foment animosities, and even suggested in print that the established church was in danger. Such people, she said, were enemies to her and to the kingdom, and meant only to cover designs which they durst not publicly avow, by endeavouring to distract the nation with unmeasurable and groundless distrusts and jealousies. She declared, she would always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established; that she would inviolably maintain the toleration; that she would promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing else that might make them a happy and a flourishing people; "And they who shall concur zealously with me (concluded she) in carrying on these good designs, shall be sure of my kindness and favour."

This speech, which was a very long one, and supposed to be drawn up by the new lord-keeper, was extremely pleasing to the majority of the parliament, and both houses presented addresses fraught with the warmest expressions of duty and affection; and the commons in particular presented a second on the thirteenth of November, in which they return her thanks for her great care and endeavours to settle the succession to the Scottish crown in the house of Hanover, and promoting the union of the two kingdoms, assuring her no endeavours should be wanting on their part to assist her in perfecting so salutary a work. They at the same time request that her majesty will be pleased to direct that the whole of the proceedings of the late session of parliament in Scotland, relating to the union and the succession, might be laid before the house. The lords had made the like request the day before: the queen answered both houses, that she would comply with what they desired ¶.

The lower house having discussed and decided some controverted elections (which is the first business the commons generally enter upon) proceeded to examine the estimate for the service of the ensuing year, and readily voted the necessary supplies.

The most important debates in this session began in the house of lords, her majesty being present at all of them. On the fifteenth of November, while that house was upon the state of the

|| Volt. Life of Charles XII. king of Sweden.

¶ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 446.

§ Voltaire's History of the Russian Empire, under Peter the

nation, the lord Haversham, an active man among the Tories, made a long speech, in which he reflected with great freedom on the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, both on the Moselle and in Brabant; as also on the behaviour of the Dutch, who prevented the duke's engaging the French after he had forced their lines. Having occasion to speak of the decay of our trade, he said, "There was a word we were very fond of, which we called the Balance of Power: but the Dutch, who were a very wise people, had a double view, and took as much care of the balance of *trade* as they did of the balance of *power*, and were as much afraid of our power by sea as the power of France by land." Trade, he observed, begets wealth, and wealth begets power; and he thought it was very hard for England, that while the Dutch lived at peace under the protection of our arms, we, if we would have any part of trade with them, must have it under the protection of French passes: that the Dutch indeed complained they were very poor, but he did not see how they had been any thing out of pocket since the war; for they had more by remittances from England than all the money that went out of their country to Portugal, Savoy, and the German princes †.

But the principal design of this speech appears to be the inviting over the princess Sophia; and therefore he concluded with a motion, That an address might be presented to her majesty, to invite over the presumptive heir of the crown to reside here. This motion was strongly supported by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Aylesbury, who urged, that there was no method could be more effectual for securing the succession than that of the successor being upon the spot, ready to assume and maintain his right against any pretender whatsoever, as it appeared, from the whole course of the English history, that when the throne became vacant, the first comer had always succeeded in his pretensions. This proposal, however, was warmly opposed by the Whigs, who knew it was so disagreeable to the queen, that she would never give her consent. In fine, the question being put, Whether to approve of the motion? it was carried in the negative by a great majority: however, the lords thought fit, on the motion of lord Wharton, to bring in a bill for the further security of the Hanover succession, and the peace of the kingdom, in case of her majesty's decease. This bill provided that a regency should be appointed, to be composed of the seven persons who should possess for the time being the offices of archbishop of Canterbury, lord-chancellor or lord-keeper, lord-treasurer, lord-president, lord privy-seal, lord high-admiral, and lord chief-justice of the Queen's-Bench: that their business should be to proclaim the next successor through the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and join with a certain number of persons named as regents by the successor, in three lists to be sealed up and deposited with the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper, and minister residentary of Hanover: that these joint regents should conduct the administration, till the successor should arrive or send further orders: and that the last par-

liament, even though dissolved, should re-assemble, and continue sitting for six months after the death of her majesty.

The bill met with a warm opposition from the Tories in the lower house, and several of the upper house entered their protests against it: nor were there wanting some of the Whig party in the house of commons who endeavoured to obstruct it, from a persuasion that the princess Sophia was really desirous to reside in England. Great exceptions were taken to that clause in the bill, enacting that the last parliament should be reassembled. The Tories observed hereupon that this was a plain contradiction to part of the act by which the succession was originally settled; for, among other limitations, the parliament had provided, that when the crown should devolve to the house of Hanover, no one who had either place or pension should be capable of sitting in the house of commons. After long and puzzling debates, it was at last agreed that a certain number of offices should be particularly specified as non-admissible into the house of commons on any condition. This self-denying clause, and some other amendments, produced conferences between the two houses, and at length the bill passed by their mutual assent, under the title of an Act of Regency; but it was not till the 19th of February; so industrious had the Tory party been in throwing obstructions in the way, in order, if possible, to carry their point of bringing over the next successor. The principal managers for the Tories on this occasion were Mr. Bromley and sir Thomas Hanmer. While this matter was in debate, the queen gave the royal assent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the princess Sophia and the issue of her body ‡.

The Tories tried their strength in another point, in which however they found themselves equally disappointed. The duke of Marlborough had incurred the hatred of that party by deserting them (who had certainly been the instruments of his first promotion) and joining with the Whigs: they resolved therefore to set on foot a strict enquiry into his conduct, in hopes of discovering some particulars that would be sufficient to fix a stain upon his character, and effect his ruin. With this view a motion was made in the upper house || by the lord Haversham, That the miscarriages of the last campaign should be enquired into, and that an address should immediately be presented to her majesty, requesting her to acquaint the house with whatever she knew concerning those transactions §. Fired with indignation at this concealed attack upon their darling general, the Whigs mustered all their force, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. And now more effectually to triumph over their adversaries, the two houses presented an address to her majesty, importing, that being justly alarmed by the many artifices lately employed by the emissaries of France, in order to raise jealousies and misunderstandings between the allies, they most earnestly besought her majesty to use all possible endeavours to preserve a good correspondence among the confederates, and in a particular manner to maintain and cultivate a strict friendship with the States-general. However, as if conscious of the

† Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 149. Burnet.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. Burnet. Tindal.

|| On the twenty-second of November.

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 448.

great deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their respective quotas, and properly concurring with us in the operations of the war; they at the same time desired, that as her majesty had set them a noble example, she would use all proper means to excite the whole confederacy to make early and effectual preparations, and to exert their utmost efforts in the prosecution of the war. The commons in the mean while proceeded with great unanimity in providing proper funds for the supplies; and the question being proposed, Whether it should be referred to the committee of ways and means to consider, that in the clause for adding ten thousand men to act in conjunction with the troops of the States-general, it should be provided, That the Dutch be obliged to leave off trading with France? it was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and eighty-four against one hundred and seventeen. I have already animadverted upon the strange partiality shewn in favour of the Dutch by the Whig party.

The Scottish parliament having declared that they would enter into no treaty of union with England, till the act by which they were declared aliens should be finally rescinded; in order to remove this obstruction, the two houses now concurred in repealing that act, as well as the taking off the several prohibitions and restrictions which had been laid upon the trade between the two nations.

On the twenty-fifth of November captain Norris, in the *Britannia*, with the lord Shannon and brigadier Stanhope, arrived at St. James's, with news of the success of the allies in Catalonia. The queen hereupon went to the house of peers on the twenty-seventh, and in a speech communicated to the lords and commons these good tidings; with which the commons were so pleased, that they forthwith granted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds "for her majesty's proportion in the expence of prosecuting the advantages already gained by king Charles III. for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria *".

On the first of September this year a pamphlet called, *The Memorial of the Church of England*, had been presented at the Old Bailey, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. It was a Tory production, and the design of it was to shew that the Whig ministry were contriving the destruction of the church of England, and countenanced its greatest enemies. This pamphlet had been much read; and being wrote in a style well adapted to captivate the minds of the people, it had raised a great clamour that the church was exposed to the most imminent danger: it was therefore resolved by the ministry that an enquiry should be made into the real foundation of this uneasiness; and accordingly the lord Halifax moved that a day might be appointed to enquire into "the danger of the church." Upon this the sixth of December was appointed for that purpose: and on that day the queen repaired to the house of peers, in order to hear the reasonings on this important subject.

The debate was opened by the earl of Rochester †, who, among other things, urged, That there was danger to be apprehended to the established church, from these three causes: First, the act of security in Scotland: Secondly, the heir of the

house of Hanover not being sent for over: Thirdly, the not passing the bill to prevent occasional conformity. Upon the first, he said, the presbyterian church in Scotland was fully established, without a toleration: that to arm that people was to give them a power to invade England, where they had a powerful party, who never wanted the will to destroy the church: that he thought the heir to the crown ought to be present amongst us, in order to be fully acquainted with us and our constitution, and thereby enabled to prevent any evil designs upon the church and state: with respect to the occasional conformity-bill, he observed, that by rejecting that bill, which was in itself so reasonable, and the church's request in it so small, the greatest enemies to the church might qualify themselves to hold offices of trust and authority in church and state, to the ruin of both.

The substance of this speech was repeated and enlarged upon by several other peers of the same party, particularly the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Nottingham, the duke of Leeds, Compton bishop of London, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of St. Asaph. These were answered by lord Halifax, lord Wharton, Burnet bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Norwich, and others. The substance of their argument was, that the church was safer now than it ever had been. At the Revolution provision was made, that our king must be of the Reformed Religion: nor was this all; by the late act of succession he was restricted to be of the communion of the church of England. In regard to the occasional conformity-bill, it was answered, that the rejecting that bill could not with any propriety be brought as a matter of objection and blame, inasmuch as it was done by a majority of the house, to whose decision the lesser number were bound to submit. It was asked, If we had not all our laws left to us not only entire, but strengthened by late additions and explanations; so that we were safer in these than we had been at any time formerly? As to the dissenters, it was said, they gained no new strength: on the contrary, they were visibly decreasing; the toleration had conciliated their minds towards us, and they had given many recent instances of their care and zeal to preserve the government. In respect to our clergy, the queen was taking all possible care to relieve them from the depressions of poverty, and a spirit of zeal and piety appeared in our churches, and at sacrament, beyond the example of former times. In one respect, it was acknowledged that the church was in danger, and that was from an evil spirit and a virulent temper spread among the clergy, many of whom had raised factions in dioceses against their bishops: these, it was said, were dangers created by the very men who now filled the nation with imaginary perils, while their own conduct produced real and threatening ones ‡.

Lord Somers recapitulated all the arguments which had been advanced on both sides of the question, and declared his own opinion to be, that the nation was happy under a wise and just administration; and that for men to raise groundless jealousies at that juncture, could mean no less than an intention to embroil the people at home, and

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 447.

† Proceed. House of Lords, ii. 154.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 435.

defeat the glorious designs of the allies to humble the arrogance of that restless enemy of this nation, Lewis of France.

In fine, the question being put, Whether the church of England was in danger? it was carried in the negative by sixty-one against thirty. Then the house resolved, "That the church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by king William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing; under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom *."

This resolution was opposed by many lords, who entered their reasons for dissenting from it; but being communicated to the commons, that house, after some short debates, concurred with the determination of the peers, and also joined with them in an address to her majesty to take effectual measures for making the joint resolution of the two houses public; as also for bringing to condign punishment the authors and spreaders of the seditious and scandalous report of the church being in danger. Her majesty returned for answer, that she would readily comply with their request, and was very well pleased to find them so forward in assisting her to put a stop to those groundless and malicious reports. Accordingly, on the twentieth of December she issued a proclamation, notifying the resolution of the two houses, and offering a reward for discovering the author of the Memorial of the Church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, charged upon oath as the printer and publisher of that libel. The next day, December 21, her majesty came to the house of peers, and, among other bills, gave the royal assent to one for naturalizing the princess Sophia, electress and duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the issue of her body. She then made a speech to both houses, applauding the unanimity of their proceedings, and the good disposition they had shewn towards an union with Scotland. After this the commons adjourned themselves to the seventh day of January.

In the mean time Edwards, the printer of the

Memorial, finding himself abandoned by the party who had employed him, surrendered himself, on a promise of his pardon if he would discover the author. He named three gentlemen of the house of commons; sir Humphry Mackworth, Mr. Pooley, and Mr. Ward; but as he was not able to make out the charge, the copy having been brought him by a third hand, the matter slept. Edwards was continued in custody a long time, in expectation perhaps that he would make a fuller discovery; but he was at length discharged, and the real authors of the Memorial are to this day unknown.

The first thing the commons did after their next meeting (January 1706) was to present the thanks of the house to the duke of Marlborough (lately returned from abroad) for his great services to the queen and the nation in the last campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with her allies: to which his grace returned a respectful and grateful answer. The credit of this nobleman was extremely high with the nation at this juncture, insomuch that having proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor on a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the whole sum was suddenly subscribed by the merchants of London, and other monied persons †. Indeed public credit at this time was very high; the kingdom was blessed with plenty; the forces were well paid, notwithstanding the great quantities of coin exported for the maintenance of the war; the paper-currency supplied the deficiency so well, that there were very few murmurs heard.

All the funds being now established, one in particular, for two millions and a half, by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at six and an half per cent. her majesty came to the house of peers on the nineteenth of March; and having given the royal assent to such bills as were ready, she made a speech to both houses, in which she expressed her acknowledgements for the unanimity and dispatch with which they had conducted the public business, and the zeal and affection they had shewn for her service: after which, by her majesty's order, the parliament was prorogued to the first of May following §. For the several public bills that received the royal assent this session, I refer the reader to the notes ¶, but cannot close this account of parliamentary affairs without taking particular no-

* Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 145.

† The prince of Denmark subscribed twenty thousand pounds, the duke of Marlborough ten thousand pounds, the treasurer Godolphin five thousand pounds, the earl of Portland ten thousand pounds, and the earl of Sunderland two thousand five hundred pounds.

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 473.

¶ An act for naturalizing the princess Sophia, and the issue of her body, by which the usual qualifications required of persons to be naturalized (viz. receiving the sacrament, and taking the oaths) were dispensed with. An act for 4 s. in the pound upon land. An act for repealing several clauses in the act made for the security of the kingdom of England, against several acts passed in Scotland, particularly that part of it which made the Scots aliens. An act for continuing the duties on malt, &c. An act to prevent frauds committed by bankrupts: by this act it was enacted, That such bankrupts who shall remove, carry away, or embezzle, any part of their effects, shall suffer as felons; a bankrupt shall not be discharged, unless his certificate be first signed by *four fifths* in number and value of his creditors; commissioners of bankrupts may appoint assignees, who may by the majority of the creditors be afterwards removed—No commission of bankruptcy shall be issued by the ap-

plication of any creditor, unless his single debt shall amount to one hundred pounds; or of two of the creditors so petitioning, to one hundred and fifty pounds; or of three or more creditors, to two hundred pounds. See statut. 5 Annæ, cap. xxii. An act also passed during this session, by the procurement of the lord Somers, for abridging and reforming some proceedings in the common law and in chancery, which were both dilatory and very chargeable: besides these, and some other acts, to the number of seventeen, the royal assent was given to fifty-three, private ones.

And here I cannot pass over unnoticed a very extraordinary example of public spirit and integrity in the lord-keeper Cowper. On the first day of the year it was a custom for all those who practised in chancery, to offer a new year's gift to the lord-chancellor or keeper of the great-seal. These grew to be so considerable, that they amounted to fifteen hundred pounds a year. On the new year's-day of this year, which was his first, he signified to all those who, according to custom, were to come with their presents, that he would receive none. He thought it looked like bespeaking the favour of the court; and that if it was not bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 220.

tice of two acts, viz. "An act for the better security of her majesty's person and government, and of the crown of England in the protestant line;" and "An act for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and the speedier manning of the fleet."

By the first of these, commonly called the Act of Regency, the act of succession received very material alterations, particularly in the appointing a regency after the demise of her majesty. And whereas it was provided by the former act of settlement, that all matters relating to the government should be transacted in the privy-council, and signed by the members of that board, this clause was repealed by the present act, as well as that other important clause, that no person in office should be a member of parliament. I have already taken notice that this last alteration met with great opposition in the house of commons, and at length the matter was compromised in the following manner, viz. That after the dissolution of the then parliament, no person in any new office to be created by the crown, or any commissioner, secretary, or receiver of prizes, comptroller of accounts of the army, commissioner of transports for sick or wounded, agents of regiments, governors of plantations, commissioners of the navy, of the out-ports, or any having pensions from the crown during pleasure, should be capable of being chosen members of the commons: and that if any person chosen a member should afterwards accept any place of profit from the crown, his election should be void; but that the same person might be re-chosen for that or any other county or borough. And it was further provided, that there should be no more commissioners appointed for the execution of any office than there had been before that session: and lastly, it was enacted, That if any person declared incapable of being elected by this act should presume to sit or vote in the house, he should forfeit five hundred pounds to him that should sue for the same.

By the bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, a reward was offered for every person who should discover and take up such seamen as should not be already in her majesty's service, and a penalty denounced against every one who should harbour or conceal such seamen. Conduct-money was to be allowed for conveying and subsisting such seamen, according to the usage of the navy: and as an encouragement to seamen and sea-faring persons, every seaman who shall be turned over from one ship to another shall be paid the wages due to him from the ship in which he is turned over, before that ship to which he shall be turned over go to sea, either in money, or by a ticket, which shall entitle him to an immediate payment. A clause was also inserted for discharging of such seamen, and other insolvent persons, as are in prison for debt, and delivering them into her majesty's service on board the fleet *.

The new convocation met at the same time with the new parliament; but instead of imitating the union and harmony of the parliament, they revived the divisions by which the former had been distracted, and the two houses seemed to act with more determined rancour against each other. The lower

house being determined to make choice of a prolocutor, chose Dr. Binks, dean of Litchfield: then the upper house proceeded to draw up an address to the queen, wherein they express much resentment against those who suggested the church to be in danger, and sent it to the lower house for their concurrence, which was refused, without any reason being assigned for such dissent. They prepared another in a different strain, which was rejected by the archbishop. Then the lower house came to several resolutions, asserting their right of having what they offered to the upper house received by his grace and their lordships. This paper being presented to their lordships, and read, they still refused to receive the address of the lower house, by which a stop was put to all addressing, and to all farther communication between the two houses, and the convocation was prorogued in the beginning of March. The queen, apprehending these disputes would rise to a greater height if the two houses were suffered to meet suddenly, sent a letter to the archbishop, wherein she signified her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops: she expressed her hope that he and his suffragans would act conformably to her resolution, in which case she assured them of her favour and protection; and concluded with directing them to adjourn the convocation to such farther time as should appear convenient †.

Her majesty, after having done every thing in her power to preserve peace and unity at home, was no less attentive to do the same among her neighbours and allies abroad. The bishopric of Lubeck in Germany becoming vacant the preceding year, the duke administrator of Holstein, brother to the late duke of that name, and nephew of the late bishop, and prince Charles brother to the king of Denmark, who were both chosen coadjutors to that prelate by different parties, now laid claim to the vacant see. The duke of Holstein first took possession of it, but was soon after ejected by some Danish troops. The king of Sweden seemed resolute to maintain the right of the duke of Holstein; the king of Denmark, that of his brother; and the emperor, whose prerogative it is to confirm the election of all protestant bishoprics, being fearful of disobliging either party in this critical juncture of affairs, chose rather to leave the controversy to the arbitration of the queen of England and the States-general. Their High Mightinesses referring the same to her Britannic majesty, the queen decreed, That the administrator of Holstein should be restored to the civil possession of the bishopric, until the dispute was finally determined either by the aulic chamber or a friendly accommodation, which should be left to the king of Denmark's choice. The parties concerned acquiesced with this provisional decision; and about the middle of April this year (1706) the king of Denmark ordered his troops to evacuate the bishopric of Lubeck, and to deliver up the town and castle of Eutin to Mr. Wick, the English resident at Hamburg ‡.

The attention of the public was now engrossed by the most important transaction that ever hap-

* See Stat. 4 & 5 Annæ reginæ.

† Calamy. Boyer. Burnet.

‡ Boyer's Hist. of Europe, vol. vii.

pened in this island, which was finally and legally concluded at the close of the year 1706: I mean, a consolidating union of the two Britannie kingdoms of England and Scotland, after their crowns had been united one hundred and four years before in the person of king James I. This great and happy union had been several times before attempted in different reigns, but had been as often obstructed by the starting of various objections; to remove which, no serious or steady endeavours had ever been pursued. Nothing certainly could be more obvious than that it was the interest of *two nations*, inhabiting and possessing *the same island*, perfectly to unite for their common defence against all attacks from the continent. While they remained disjointed, they had their different, and consequently their contrary interests to pursue, not only in matters of trade and commerce, product, and manufactures, but even in friendship and affection with regard to different nations on the continent. Religion too (or rather indeed the mere *external* mode of it) contributed its share in keeping up the difference; and what had perhaps the greatest influence of all, ancient ill-judged national prejudices on both sides, still remained too strong easily to be conquered. Finally, the great hereditary officers of Scotland, and the possessors of many other lucrative posts in that state, which must be necessarily sunk upon such an incorporating union with England, had hitherto no small influence in obstructing it; but happily a more moderate way of thinking than formerly, in the ministry of both kingdoms, at length got the better of all obstructions; and the parliament of each kingdom having passed an act, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners to treat upon this subject, her majesty was pleased, on the part of England, to nominate the following noblemen and gentlemen:

Thomas, lord archbishop of Canterbury.
 William Cowper, esq. lord-keeper of the great-seal.
 John, lord archbishop of York.
 Sidney, lord Godolphin, lord high-treasurer of England.
 Thomas, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, president of the council.
 John, duke of Newcastle, keeper of the privy-seal.
 William, duke of Devonshire, steward of the household.
 Charles, duke of Somerset, master of the horse.
 Charles, duke of Bolton.
 Charles, earl of Sunderland.
 Evelyn, earl of Kingston.
 Charles, earl of Carlisle.
 Edward, earl of Orford.
 Charles, viscount Townshend.
 Thomas, lord Wharton.
 Ralph, lord Grey.
 John, lord Powlet.
 John, lord Somers.
 Charles, lord Halifax.
 William Cavendish, marquis of Hartington.
 John Manners, marquis of Granby.
 Sir Charles Hedges, and Robert Harley, principal secretaries of state.
 John Smith.
 Henry Boyle, chancellor of the Exchequer.
 Sir John Holt, chief-justice of the Queen's-bench.

Sir Thomas Trevor, chief-justice of the Common-pleas.

Sir Edward Northey, attorney-general.

Sir Simon Harcourt, solicitor general.

Sir John Cook, advocate-general. And

Stephen Waller, doctor of laws.

The commissioners on the part of Scotland were,

James, earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland.

James, duke of Queensberry, lord privy-seal.

John, earl of Mar, and } principal secretaries of
 Hugh, earl of Loudon, } state.

John, earl of Sutherland.

John, earl of Morton.

David, earl of Wemys.

David, earl of Leven.

John, earl of Stair.

Archibald, earl of Roseberry.

David, earl of Glasgow.

Lord Archibald Campbell.

Thomas, viscount Duplin.

Lord William Ross.

Sir Hugh Dalrymple, president of the session.

Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, lord justice-clerk.

Sir Robert Dundas, of Arnistoun, and } lords of
 Robert Stewart, of Tillicultrie, } session.

Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the commissioners of the Treasury.

Sir David Dalrymple, one of her majesty's solicitors.

Sir Alexander Ogilvie, receiver-general.

Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh.

Sir James Smollet, of Bonhill.

George Lockhart, of Carnwath.

William Morrison, of Prestongrange.

Alexander Grant.

William Seton, of Pitmidden.

John Clark, of Pennycook.

Hugh Montgomery.

Daniel Stuart. And

Daniel Campbell.

The English commissioners named Mr. George Doddington, and the Scots, sir David Nairn, to be their secretaries.

The commissioners of both kingdoms met, for the first time, on Tuesday the sixteenth of April, 1706, at the council-chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, the place appointed for their conferences; and their commissions being opened and read by the respective secretaries, and introductory speeches delivered by the lord-keeper of England and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, it was agreed that copies of the several commissions should be prepared and signed by the secretaries, and interchanged; and then the commissioners adjourned to the Monday following (April 22) when, being again assembled, the lord-keeper Cowper, in the name of the lords-commissioners for England, delivered to the board four preliminary articles, which were read, and were in substance as follows: That all proposals made by either side should be in writing; and every point, when agreed, reduced into writing: That no point, though agreed upon, should be obligatory, till all matters should be adjusted in such a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen and the parliament of each nation, for their approbation: That a committee should be appointed from each commission, to revise

revise the minutes which might pass, before they should be inserted in the books by the respective secretaries: and, lastly, That all the proceedings during the treaty should be kept secret.

The Scots proposed a foederal union, in the nature of that subsisting between the Dutch United Provinces, or the cantons of Switzerland; but the English would hear of nothing less than an incorporating union, so as effectually to take from any future Scottish parliament, the power of repealing the articles of this treaty. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of April, the lord-keeper of England proposed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one nation, by the name of GREAT-BRITAIN; that it should be represented by one and the same parliament; and that the succession to this monarchy, in failure of heirs of her majesty's body, should be subject to the limitations mentioned in an act of parliament made in England, in the twelfth and thirteenth year of the reign of the late king William III. entitled, "An act for the farther limitation of the crown, &c."

To these preliminaries the commissioners for Scotland agreed, with this proviso only, "That all the subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain should have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, to or from any part or place within the said united kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging, and that there may be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom." This the commissioners of England acquiesced in, under such terms as, in the further progress of this treaty, should be found for the common advantage of both kingdoms. These general preliminaries being agreed upon, the commissioners proceeded to particulars; and during their conferences the queen made them several visits to quicken their progress. I shall not trouble the reader with the several proposals and answers on every head, which may be found at large in the Proceedings of the Lords-Commissioners for the Union, published by authority; but give him the substance of the articles as they were agreed to and ratified by both parliaments, though not without great opposition on the part of that of Scotland, as will hereafter appear.

ARTICLES of UNION between ENGLAND and SCOTLAND. *

I. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland shall, from the first of May, 1707, be united into one kingdom, by the name of GREAT-BRITAIN; and that the ensigns-armorial of the said united kingdoms be such as her majesty shall appoint; and the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in such manner as her majesty shall think fit, and used in all flags, banners, standards, and ensigns, both by sea and land.

II. That the succession to the united monarchy of Great Britain shall be to the princess Sophia and her heirs; and that all papists, or persons that marry papists, shall be for ever excluded from inheriting the imperial crown of Great Britain, agree-

able to the provision for the descent of the crown of England, made in the first year of the reign of their late majesties king William and queen Mary, entitled, "An act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, &c."

III. That the united kingdoms of Great Britain shall be represented by one and the same parliament, to be stiled the parliament of GREAT-BRITAIN.

IV. That the subjects of the united kingdoms shall have freedom of trade and navigation to all places within the same, and plantations belonging to it; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles.

V. That all ships or vessels belonging to the Scots [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union of the two kingdoms in the parliament of Scotland] shall be deemed *British* built, the owners making oath that [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union in the parliament of Scotland] the same did [in the whole or in part] belong to them.

VI. All parts of the united kingdom to be under the same regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties [excepting and reserving the duties upon export and import of such particular commodities, from which any persons, the subjects of either kingdom, are especially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which after the union are to remain safe and entire to them in all respects as before the same; and that from and after the union, no Scots cattle carried into England shall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private accounts, than those duties to which the cattle of England are or shall be liable within the said kingdom: and seeing by the laws of England there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats grinded or ungrinded are not expressed, that from and after the union, when oats shall be sold for fifteen shillings sterling per quarter, or under, there shall be paid two shillings and six-pence sterling for every quarter of the oatmeal exported, in the terms of the law, whereby, and so long as rewards are granted for the exportation of other grains; and that the beer of Scotland have the same rewards as barley: and in respect the importation of victual into Scotland would prove a discouragement to tillage; therefore, that the prohibition, as now in force by the law of Scotland, against importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond sea, into Scotland, do after the union remain in the same force as now it is, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great Britain for the discouraging the importation of the said victual from beyond sea.]

VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be liable to the same excises upon all excisable liquors [excepting only that the thirty-four gallons English barrel of beer or ale, amounting to twelve gallons Scots present measure, sold in Scotland by the brewer at nine shillings and sixpence sterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailer's profit, at two-pence the Scots

* The words inserted within crotchets, thus [], denote the amendments made by the Scots, which are thus distinguished, that they may better appear to the reader's view.

pint, or eighth part of the Scots gallon, be not after the union liable, on account of the present excise upon excisable liquors in England, to any higher imposition than two shillings sterling upon the aforesaid thirty-four gallons English barrel, being twelve gallons the present Scots measure.]

VIII. Foreign salt in England shall pay the same duty as in Scotland: [but in regard the duties of great quantities of foreign salt imported may be very heavy upon the merchants importers; that therefore all foreign salt imported into Scotland shall be cellared and locked up under the care of the merchant importer, and the officers employed for levying the duties upon salt: and that the merchant may have what quantities thereof his occasions may require, not under a weight of forty bushels at a time, upon his giving security for the duty of what quantities he receives payable in six months.] By this article it was also provided, that salt made in Scotland should be exempted for seven years from the English duty; but from the expiration of the said seven years, shall be subject to the same duties as salt made in England: [but Scotland shall, after the said seven years, remain exempted from the duty of two shillings and fourpence per bushel on home salt, imposed by an act made in England in the ninth and tenth of king William III. of England: and if the parliament of Great Britain shall, at or before the expiring of the said seven years, substitute any other fund in the place of the said two shillings and fourpence of excise upon the bushel of home salt, Scotland shall, after the said seven years, bear a proportion of the said fund, and have an equivalent in the terms of this treaty.] No salt whatsoever shall be brought from Scotland to England by land in any manner, under certain penalties denounced: and for establishing an equality in trade it was provided [that all flesh exported from Scotland to England, and shipped in Scotland to be exported beyond sea; and provisions for ships in Scotland, and foreign voyages, may be salted with Scots salt, paying the same duty for what salt is so employed, as the like quantity of such salt pays in England, and under the same penalties, forfeitures, and provisions, for preventing of frauds, as are mentioned in the laws of England.] And that for the encouragement of the herring fishery [there shall be allowed and paid to the subjects inhabitants of Great Britain, during the present allowances for other fishes, ten shillings and fivepence sterling for every barrel of white herring that shall be exported from Scotland; and that they shall be allowed five shillings sterling for every barrel of beef or pork salted with foreign salt, without mixture of British or Irish salts, and exported to sale from Scotland to parts beyond sea, alterable by the parliament of Great Britain.]

IX. That whenever the sum of one million nine hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-three pounds eight shillings and fourpence halfpenny shall be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain on land, that part of the united kingdom now called Scotland shall be charged with the additional sum of forty-eight thousand pounds, as the quota of Scotland for such tax, and so proportionably for any greater or lesser sum raised in England on land; the said quota to be assessed in the same manner as the cess now is in Scotland,

but subject to such regulations as shall be made in the parliament of Great Britain.

X. That Scotland shall not be charged with the stamp-duties now in force in England.

XI. Nor with the duties payable in England on windows.

XII. Nor those on coals and culm.

XIII. Scotland shall not pay the malt-duty during its continuance in England (which was to expire the twenty-fourth of June 1707.)

XIV. Scotland shall not be charged with any other duties imposed by the parliament of England before the union, except those consented to in this treaty; and if the parliament of England, in their provision for the service of the year 1707, shall impose any farther customs, Scotland shall have an equivalent for the share thereof they may be liable to; [and Scotland shall not be charged with any imposition on malt made or consumed in that kingdom during this war.]

XV. Stipulates, That whereas, by the terms of this treaty, the subjects of Scotland, for preserving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to several customs and excises now payable in England, which will be applicable towards payment of the debts of England contracted before the union, it is agreed [That an equivalent shall be answered to Scotland for such part of the English debts as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay by reason of the union, other than such for which appropriations have been made by parliament in England, of the customs and other duties on exports and imports, excises on all excisable liquors, in respect of which debts equivalent are herein before provided]; which equivalent is herein stipulated to be three hundred ninety-eight thousand eighty-five pounds ten shillings sterling, to be granted by the parliament of England in the manner as in this article is particularly and at large explained. The distinction of this equivalent is in the same article applied, [1st, For indemnifying of private persons for any losses they may sustain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of England. 2dly, For indemnifying the sufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland. 3dly, For discharging the public debts of Scotland. 4thly, For improving the manufacture of the coarse wool of Scotland: and, 5thly, For encouraging and promoting the fisheries, and such other manufactures and improvements in Scotland as may most conduce to the general good of the united kingdom: for which end commissioners were to be appointed, &c.] It seems the Scots in general were so inflamed, by the destruction of their Darien or African company by the government of England, that nothing but the absolute assurance of an equivalent for reimbursing of their whole capital employed on that affair, with interest, being two hundred and thirty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-two pounds sixteen shillings and elevenpence halfpenny, could have prepared their minds for this union; and they even insisted on the insertion of this clause, [That if the said stock-capital and interest shall not be paid in twelve months after the commencement of the union, that then the said company may from thenceforward trade, or give licence to trade, until the said whole capital stock and interest shall be paid.]

XVI. That

XVI. That the coin be of the same standard throughout the united kingdom as now in England, and a mint to be continued in Scotland, under the same rule as the mint in England, [and the present officers of that mint be continued.]

XVII. That the same weights and measures be used throughout the united kingdom as are now used in England; and standards shall be kept in the burghs, agreeable to the standard of the English Exchequer.

XVIII. That the laws for the regulation of trade, custom, and such excises which Scotland is to be liable to, shall be the same as those in England. Other laws in Scotland to remain as before the union, but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government, may be the same throughout the united kingdom, [but no alteration shall be made in the laws which concern private right, except for evident utility of the subjects of Scotland.]

XIX. The court of session and other courts shall remain in Scotland the same as before the union, subject nevertheless to such regulations, for the better administration of public justice, as shall be made by the parliament of Great Britain; [and that hereafter none shall be named by her majesty and her royal successors to be ordinary lords of session, but such who have served in the college of justice as advocates or principal clerks of session for the space of five years, or as writers to the signet for the space of ten years; with this provision, that no writer to the signet be capable to be admitted a lord of the session, unless he undergo a private and public trial on the civil law, before the faculty of advocates, and be found by them qualified for the said office two years before he be named to be a lord of the session, yet so as the qualification made or to be made, for capacitating persons to be named ordinary lords of the session, may be altered by the parliament of Great Britain.] This is a very long article, and specifies the several regulations to which these courts may be subjected, which are not sufficiently interesting to claim a place here.

XX. That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, be reserved for the owners thereof as rights of property, in the same manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, this treaty in any wise notwithstanding.

XXI. The rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland, as they now are, shall remain entire after the union, and notwithstanding thereof.

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, sixteen of the peers of Scotland, at the time of the union, shall sit and vote in the house of lords, and forty-five of the members of the representatives of Scotland in the house of commons of the parliament of Great Britain, the choice whereof to be according to the act passed in Scotland for that purpose; [which act is hereby declared to be as valid as if it were a part of, and engrossed in this treaty:] and in case her majesty shall, on the first of May 1707, declare this present parliament to be the first parliament of Great Britain, the present parliament of England may be so on the part of England, and the sixteen peers and the forty-five commoners

for Scotland to sit with them; such parliament to continue no longer than the English parliament is by law allowed to continue.

XXIII. That the aforesaid sixteen peers of Scotland, mentioned in the last preceding article, to sit in the house of lords of the parliament of Great Britain, shall have all the privileges of parliament which the peers of England now have, and which they or any peers of Great Britain shall have after the union, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers; and that all peers of Scotland, and their successors to their honours and dignities, shall, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and have rank and precedence *next and immediately after* the peers of the orders and degrees in England at the time of the union, and *before* all peers of Great Britain of the like orders and degrees who may be created after the union.

XXIV. That from and after the union there shall be one great-seal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which shall be different from the great-seal now used in either kingdom; and that the quarter of the arms [and the rank of the precedence of *Lyon* king at arms of the kingdom of Scotland] as may best suit the union, be left to her majesty; and that in the privy-seal, signet, casket, &c. now used in Scotland, be continued; but that the said-seals be altered and adapted to the union, as her majesty shall think fit: [that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, both public and private, general and particular, and warrants thereof, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that they shall so remain in all time coming, notwithstanding of the union.]

XXV. That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they are contrary to, or inconsistent with the terms of these articles, or any of them, shall, from and after the union, close and become void, and shall be so declared to be by the respective parliaments of the said kingdoms.

There was no provision made in this treaty with respect to religion; for in the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, which empowered the queen to name commissioners for treating of an union, there was an express restriction that they should not treat of those matters.

The above articles being agreed to, they were signed by the respective commissioners on the twenty-second day of July 1706; and the next day the lords commissioners waited on the queen at St. James's with them, when the lord-keeper Cowper, in the name of the English commissioners, made a speech, congratulating her majesty on the conclusion of a treaty which so happily united the different parts of this island under the same monarchy. The earl of Seafeld, lord-chancellor of Scotland, did the same on the part of the commissioners for that kingdom: to which her majesty was pleased to return the following gracious answer:

" My lords,

" I give you many thanks for the great pains you have taken in this treaty, and am very well pleased to find your endeavours and applications have

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have brought it to so good a conclusion: the particulars of it seem so reasonable, that I hope they will meet with approbation in the parliaments of both kingdoms. I wish therefore my servants of Scotland may lose no time in going down to propose it to my subjects of that kingdom; and I shall always look upon it as a particular happiness if this union (which will be so great a security and advantage to both kingdoms) can be accomplished in my reign."

From domestic affairs let us now direct our attention towards the field, in which respect this year may be justly stiled the year of wonders!

Lewis XIV. had determined to exert his utmost efforts in the course of this campaign; and indeed at the beginning of it his armies were very formidable: he hoped, that by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona, he should put an end to the war in Italy and Catalonia: he knew that his forces on the Rhine were superior to any body of troops the prince of Baden could assemble; and he resolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the duke of Marlborough.

That general left England in the beginning of April, and repaired to the Hague, where, having concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, he took the field about a fortnight afterwards. The French, who made great advantages last war by early campaigns, had this spring formed a design to surprize the duke of Marlborough before the Danes and Prussians (whom he had engaged as auxiliaries last year) should join him; and thereupon the elector of Bavaria and marshal Villeroy passed the Dyle * in the beginning of May, and advanced directly towards the confederate army. The duke, who was seldom surprized for want of intelligence of the enemy's motions, being apprised of their design, dispatched an express to the Danish troops to join him, and they arrived, under the duke of Wirtemberg their commander, within a league of the confederates camp (which was between Borchloen and Groes Waren) on the twenty-second of May, when the duke, on reviewing his army, found it amounted to seventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons of horse and dragoons, provided with an hundred pieces of cannon, twenty howitzers, and forty-two pontoons. About the same time that the Danes arrived in the confederate army, that of the French was joined by marshal Marfin's horse; so that their number amounted to seventy-six battalions, and one hundred and thirty-two squadrons: confiding therefore in their superiority, they came out of their lines, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne.

Marlborough on his part was no less eager for a battle, relying on the goodness and known bravery of his troops. Accordingly, having consulted

with monsieur d'Auverquerque the Dutch general, it was resolved to advance towards the enemy; and on Sunday the twelfth of May, (being Whitsunday) about three in the morning, the confederate army marched in eight columns towards Ramillies, a village where the Gheete takes its source, in order to avoid the inconvenience of passing that river. Being advanced near the said village, the enemy were perceived getting into the strong camp of Mont St. André, and placing their right towards the Mehaigne. This river flows about half a league from Ramillies †, the ground between them being upon a level. The Gheete runs from Ramillies to Anderkirk, through a marshy ground; and beyond Anderkirk the river grows wide, and the ground is impassable. Their left extended to Anderkirk, while a good number of battalions were posted in Offuz and Ramillies near their center. This precaution, though it might be prudent in the enemy, was a strong indication that their courage was rather cooled. His grace judging, by the situation of the ground, that the streis of the action would be on our left, ordered that, besides the number of horse belonging to that wing, the Danish squadrons, being twenty in number, should also be posted there.

About two in the afternoon the allied army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz, on the brook of Yause, and the left by the village of Franquennes, which the enemy had occupied. The action was begun on the left of our army by four battalions, which pushed a brigade of foot from their post on the Mehaigne. Monsieur Auverquerque about the same time charged the troops of the French household with the horse of that wing. The success was doubtful for about half an hour, which the duke of Marlborough perceiving, ordered the rest of the horse of the right wing, except the English, who were seventeen squadrons, to support those on the left. While the duke was in person rallying some of the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, he was in very great danger of being either killed or taken prisoner, by falling from his horse; but was succoured in time by a party of our horse that came to his assistance. Colonel Bringfield, in re-mounting him, had his head struck off by a cannon-ball. The duke then ordered lieutenant-general Schultz, with twelve battalions, twenty pieces of cannon, and some howitzers, to attack the village of Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. The attack was made with great vigour and resolution: the enemy was beat quite out of the village, and in endeavouring to make good their retreat, were most of them either killed or taken prisoners.

By this time the enemy's right wing of horse being entirely defeated, the Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing of the allied army fell upon the foot on their right, cut in pieces no less than

* A river of the Austrian Netherlands, which rises in Brabant, runs north by Louvain, and having received the Demer, runs west by Mechlin, and falls into the Schelde at Ruppelmond.

† Ramillies is a village (surrounded with a ditch) in Brabant, in the district of Louvaine, by the skirts of the province of Namur, rendered famous to all posterity by the glorious victory obtained there by the duke of Marlborough and monsieur

d'Auverquerque over the elector of Bavaria and marshal Villeroy, which was followed by the reduction of almost all the Netherlands in two months time. It lies at the head of the Gheet, about a mile and a half north from the side of the Mehaigne, that interval being the narrow aperture where that glorious battle was fought. It is eleven miles north from Namur.

twenty battalions, and made themselves masters of their colours and cannon. The rest of the enemy's infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry of their left wing, which formed themselves in three lines, between Offuz and Anderkirk; but the English horse having found means to cross a rivulet which divided them from the enemy, attacked them so quick, and with so much bravery, that they entirely abandoned their foot; and our dragoons pushing into the village of Anderkirk, made a terrible slaughter of them. The enemy now gave way on all sides: the elector of Bavaria and marshal Villeroy saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's vanguard breaking down in a narrow pass, so obstructed the way, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed, nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horse hearing of this accident, pressed on them so vigorously, that the French king's own regiment of foot called for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours. The allies continued the pursuit till two o'clock the next morning, by the way of Judoigne, as far as Melden, five leagues from the place of battle, and two leagues distant from Louvain.

In fine, never was victory more complete: all the enemy's cannon, a very few pieces excepted, fell into the hands of the confederates, with most of their baggage, about one hundred and twenty colours, and several pairs of kettle-drums. The French in this action, if we reckon the slain, wounded, and deserters, whose numbers were very great, lost forty thousand men; near half their army. The persons of note among the prisoners were, messieurs Palavicini and Mezieres, major-

generals; the marquis de Bar, brigadier-general of horse; the marquis de Nonant, brigadier-general of foot; the marquis de la Baume, son of the marshal de Tallard; monsieur de Montmorency, nephew to the late duke of Luxemburgh; and several others. Thus did the army of the confederates, in the space of little more than an hour, defeat an army of eighty thousand men, while their own loss did not amount to much more than two thousand: of persons of note, prince Lewis of Hesse and M. Bentinck were the only slain, and none taken prisoners.

After this signal discomfiture of the French army, which is by all military writers agreed to have been owing to the injudicious manner in which marshal Villeroy drew up his army, the allies met with no further interruption in their conquests. Louvain *, Mechlin †, Brussels ‡, Antwerp ||, Ghent §, and Bruges ¶, all surrendered to the victors within a fortnight, without waiting for a siege. Ostend ** indeed made some shew of a defence, but capitulated, after having been invested ten days only. Menin ††, reckoned the most finished fortification in Europe, and supplied with a garrison of six thousand men, received the conquerors within their gates in eighteen days after opening the trenches. Dendermonde †† sustained a blockade of some weeks, which the duke of Marlborough afterwards ordered to be turned into a regular siege, which terminated in the garrison's surrendering themselves prisoners of war. Aeth ||| was next invested, and submitted on the same terms, after twenty days resistance.

The conquest of all those places was compleated by the middle of September. Marshal Villeroy,

* Louvaine is a very large and pleasant city of the Low Countries. It stands on the river Dyle, eleven miles south-east of Mechlin, fifteen north-east of Brussels, twenty-seven north of Namur, and thirty-eight north-east of Mons.

† Mechlin, or Malines, a large city on the Dyle and Demer, twelve miles north-west of Louvaine, fourteen north-east of Brussels, and sixteen south-east of Antwerp. It is a large and well-built place, consisting of several islands formed by the Dyle, or artificial canals, over which are several bridges. It is fortified, but of no considerable strength, and is the see of an archbishop, who is primate of the Low Countries. The concurrence of this little lordship is necessary to the enacting of laws and raising of money, though belonging to Austria. Its principal manufacture is lace, the finest in Europe, and takes its name from it. Here also they have old strong beer, with which they serve the other provinces of the Netherlands. Busching.

‡ Brussels is a very fair, large, and noble city of the Low Countries, the marquise of the dukedom of Brabant, in the quarter of Brussels, subject to the queen of Hungary, and the seat of her chief governor for those parts. It is pleasantly seated on the river Senne, twenty-four miles south of Antwerp, thirty south-east of Ghent, and ninety-six south of Amsterdam. Salmon.

|| Antwerp is a large and beautiful city, the capital of the marquise of the same name, in the Netherlands, with a citadel reckoned one of the strongest in the Low Countries. It is surrounded by the province of Brabant, stands on the east shore of the Scheld, twenty-five miles north of Brussels, and the same distance north-east of Ghent. The city is built in the form of a crescent on the river, which is here twenty-two feet deep, and four hundred yards in breadth; so that vessels of burden can come up to the quay; and canals are cut through the town from the river, which bring up small vessels to their very doors. About two hundred years ago it was the greatest trading port in Europe; but now the traffic is removed to Amsterdam, and other towns in Holland. It is the see of a bishop, under the archbishop of Mechlin, and subject to the house of

Austria. Salmon. Busching.

§ Ghent is a very large city and castle, one of the principal of the Low Countries, the marquise of the earldom of Flanders, and territory of Ghent, a bishopric under the archbishop of Mechlin. It stands on the rivers Scheld and Lys (which divide it into twenty-six islands) twenty-seven miles almost south-west of Antwerp, thirty north-west of Brussels, ninety-four almost south of Amsterdam, and one hundred and fifty-four north-east of Paris. Salmon.

¶ Bruges is a fair, strong, and noble city of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the head of the territory of Bruges, a bishopric, under the archbishop of Mechlin. It stands twenty-four miles north-west of Ghent, eleven east of Ostend, thirty-four north east of Dunkirk, and forty west of Antwerp. Busching.

** Ostend is a very strong and fine sea-port of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquise of the territory of Vianden-Urien. It stands about nine miles north-east of Newport, eleven west of Bruges, twenty south-west of Sluys, twenty-four north-east of Dunkirk, and thirty-five almost west of Ghent. Salmon.

†† Menin, a town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders. It stands on the river Lys, five miles south-west of Courtray, nine almost north of Lille, and twelve almost south-east of Ypres.

†† Dendermonde, a strong town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders. It stands on the river Scheld and Dender, twelve miles east of Ghent, fourteen south-west of Antwerp, and seventeen north-west of Brussels.

||| Aeth, a strong frontier town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Hainault, the marquise of the territory of Brabant. The French took it in 1697, but restored it to the Spaniards the same year, by the treaty of Ryswick; and the confederates (under the command of monsieur d'Auverquerque) took possession of it the present campaign. It stands on the river Dender, fourteen miles almost north-west of Mons, twenty-two almost south-west of Brussels, and twenty-four south of Ghent.

in despair, did not dare to acquaint the king with the defeat he had sustained at Ramillies: he continued five days without dispatching a courier. At length he wrote a confirmation of this news, which had already filled the court of France with consternation. Lewis, however, affected to bear his misfortunes with calmness and composure; but the effect they had on his mind sensibly displayed itself in the altered state of his health. He immediately sent for the duke of Vendosme out of Italy, where he thought his presence not so necessary, to replace Villeroy, and repair, if possible, the disgrace that had befallen the arms of France; but that general having fixed himself in a strong camp that could not be forced, did not think fit to give the duke of Marlborough any disturbance while he lay with the confederate army covering the sieges. With that of Aeth the allies finished their glorious campaign in Flanders, and soon after the army broke up and went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough returned to the Hague, and M. Auverquerque being appointed to command in chief in the Netherlands, took up his residence at Brussels, while the states of Flanders, having assembled at Ghent, formally recognized for their sovereign Charles II. *

I have already observed, that Lewis XIV. had entertained strong hopes of making himself master of Turin, the capital of the duke of Savoy's dominions, and almost the only town that prince had left. The French indeed had met with some success in the beginning of this year's campaign in Italy; having attacked the Imperialists at Calcinato, in the absence of prince Eugene, drove them from their posts, and obliged them to quit the territories of Bresciano, with the loss of three thousand men killed or taken prisoners, besides their cannon and baggage. Upon this success the French king ordered the duke de la Feuillade to invest Turin †. Prince Eugene was at too great a distance to come to its relief: he was on the other side of the Adige ‡; and a long chain of entrenchments that lined the river on this side, seemed to make a passage impracticable. Fifty-six squadrons and one hundred battalions formed the siege of this great city, who began to batter the town and citadel on the eighth day of June, and on the fifteenth the besiegers fired red-hot bullets, many of which fell near the duke's palace; whereupon his royal highness sent the two duchesses (his wife and mother) with the young prince and princesses, to some distance from the town, and marched out himself on the seventeenth, leaving a numerous garrison, under the command of count Thaurin, general of the emperor's forces. His royal highness took this step in order to amuse the duke de la Feuillade. The latter immediately quitted the direction of the siege to pursue the prince, who being better acquainted with the ground, baffled

his pursuit. Thus la Feuillade missed the duke, and the business of the siege suffered by it. At length, finding the duke of Savoy was not to be surprized, the French general returned to the camp before Turin, leaving the duke of Aubeterre with forty squadrons and five battalions to attend the duke of Savoy's motions.

The duke of Vendosme had been posted on the banks of the Adige, from the thirteenth of May to the twentieth of June, to cover this siege, and thought himself certain, with seventy battalions and sixty squadrons, to stop all the passages against prince Eugene; but that prince shewed himself a greater general than his adversary: he crossed the Adige, and even the Po, a river larger, and in some places more difficult of passage than the Rhine; and before Vendosme left Italy to take upon him the command of marshal Villeroy's scattered forces in Flanders, he saw prince Eugene in a condition to advance to the relief of Turin.

Upon the recalling of Vendosme, Lewis XIV. sent his nephew the duke of Orleans to command his army in Italy, who found the troops in as much disorder as if they had suffered a defeat. Eugene had passed the Po in sight of Vendosme; he now crossed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans, took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; stole a march upon the French, and joined the duke of Savoy with his whole army, near Asti §, on Sept. 1.

The city of Turin was at this time reduced to great distress, most of the powder being spent, and the enemy having made a lodgment on the counterscarpe, and carried several other parts of the works: they were indeed beaten out again by the garrison; but it was thought impossible that the besieged could resist many more attacks. His royal highness and prince Eugene therefore found themselves under a necessity of marching immediately to the relief of the place. Accordingly, they passed the Doria on September 6, and encamped with their right on the banks of that river before Pionessa, and with the left on the banks of the Stura. The next day the army moved by break of day towards the enemy, who were intrenched very deep, having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of Capuchines of our Lady de la Campagna in their center, besides Lusingua, and several other fortified castles which flanked their intrenchments. Never was a march more bold than that which the allied army made on this occasion, having a continual fire to sustain from forty pieces of cannon which the enemy had pointed to gall them. The duke of Orleans perceiving the intrepidity with which the duke and the prince advanced towards him, proposed to quit the intrenchments, and march directly to the enemy. In this advice he was joined by almost all the general officers in the army; but marshal Marsin producing an order from the French

* History of Europe. Tindal. Life of the duke of Marlborough. Feuquieres. Voltaire.

† Turin is a strong and splendid city of Italy, with a fine castle, the marquise of the principality of Piedmont, in the territory of Turin, an archbishopric and university, is subject to the duke of Savoy, and his seat. It stands in a very fruitful and pleasant vale on the river Po, twenty miles high east of Pigeon, seventy-eight miles west of Genoa and Milan, two hundred and fifty west of Venice, three hundred and sixty south east of Paris, thirty-four north-west of Rome, and four

hundred and sixty south-west of Vienna.

‡ The Adige, or Etsch, is a large river in Italy, rises in the Rhetian Alps, runs near the cities of Trent and Verona, south of the former, and east of the latter. It is the only considerable stream in Lombardy which does not fall into the Po, and at last empties itself into the Adriatic.

§ Asti, or Alta, is the capital of a county of the same name in Piedmont in Italy, situate in a pleasant fruitful valley, not far from the river Tanaro.

king, which left every thing to his decision in case of an action; and giving it as his opinion to remain in the lines, the duke was forced to acquiesce.

When the army of the confederates came within half cannon-shot of the French lines, it drew up in order of battle, and began to fire the great guns: the whole army then moved in a moment; the infantry marched up with their muskets to the foot of the intrenchments, and prince Eugene putting himself at the head of the left wing, began the attack, which was directed with such amazing vigour and intrepidity, that in less than two hours he forced the enemy's entrenchments. The duke of Savoy did the like in the center and the right near Lusingua. By noon the allies were masters of the French camp, and the defeat of the enemy was become general. The duke of Orleans behaved with great gallantry and courage, and received several wounds in the action. Marshal de Marfin was taken prisoner, after having his thigh shattered by a cannon-ball, and died in a few hours after under the amputation. The French lost in the action, near seven thousand men killed, with three hundred officers and about eight thousand private men taken prisoners; two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, one hundred and eight mortars, seven thousand eight hundred bombs, thirty-two thousand hand-granades, forty-eight thousand cannon-balls, four thousand chests of musket-balls, eighty-six thousand barrels of gun-powder, all their tents and baggage, five thousand beasts of burden, ten thousand horses belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commissary-general, all fell into the hands of the victors: the latter of these were so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three millions of livres, near one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of our money. The loss of the confederates did not amount to three thousand men, killed, wounded, or disabled, in the attack, besides about two thousand of the garrison of Turin, who had fallen during the course of the siege.

The duke of Savoy now entered his capital in triumph, while the duke of Orleans, finding it impossible to procure subsistence for the troops he had with him, retired into Dauphiny with the shattered remains of his army.

While these great things were transacting at Turin, the count of Medavi-Grancei, who was at that time in the Mantuan with a body of troops, defeated the Imperialists at Castiglione, under the command of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, and obliged him to retreat to Adigi, with the loss of two thousand men: but this, though a complete, proved a fruitless victory; for the duchy of Milan, Mantua, Piedmont, and lastly, the kingdom of Naples, were recovered from the French within a very short time of one another*.

The affairs of France were as unsuccessful in Spain as in Germany, Flanders, and Italy. In the beginning of April this year king Philip and the marshal de Tesse, the French general, at the

head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, which was defended by his rival Charles in person: it was at the same time blocked up by sea by the count de Thoulouse with a powerful squadron. The inhabitants, encouraged by the presence of king Charles, defended the town with great bravery; nevertheless, the enemy's army being composed of veteran troops, carried on the siege very vigorously, and on the twenty-fourth made themselves masters of Montjuic, taking above four hundred of the garrison, and most of the officers, prisoners. Lord Donnegal was slain in the attack, after having cut down several of the enemy's grenadiers with his own hand. About the same time the earl of Peterborough arrived in the neighbourhood of the place from Valencia with two thousand men; and though he found it impossible to enter the city, yet he kept his post upon the hills with admirable courage and activity, and alarmed the besiegers with frequent skirmishes. Barcelona, however, was at length so hard pressed, that it was thought impossible to hold out many days longer, when, on the eighth of May, the drooping spirits of the garrison were revived by observing the enemy's fleet getting under sail in a great hurry, and several of their ships standing out to sea, which gave the besieged assurance that an English fleet was coming to their relief.

This was really the fact: the confederate fleet, commanded by sir George Byng, arrived from England, and joined the squadron under sir John Leake on the first of May, in the bay of Altea, and were soon after farther reinforced by commodore Walker with several men of war; so that the fleet consisted of thirty-seven English, and thirteen Dutch ships; in all, fifty of the line of battle, besides eight frigates, fire-ships, &c. The seventh the fleet came off Tarragona, when the earl of Peterborough joined them with several barks, on board of which were fourteen hundred land forces. His excellency went on board the prince George, and hoisted the union flag at the main-top-mast head†. The eighth, in the morning, they came off Cape Montjoy. The French admiral, upon news of the approach of the confederate fleet, had retired the night before; and taking advantage of a fair wind, made the best of his way to Toulon. In the afternoon the confederate fleet anchored in the bay of Barcelona, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants of that place. The enemy however still made a shew of keeping up the siege; but on the twelfth of May, in the morning, king Philip marched off in a manner little expected, and in so great disorder, that he left all his tents behind him, together with his sick and wounded, whom the marshal de Tesse, by a letter, recommended to the earl of Peterborough's clemency, who behaved with the utmost tenderness and indulgence towards them. King Philip made all the haste he could to Perpignan, but his army was almost entirely ruined before he got thither‡.

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. History of Europe. Broderick, &c.

† The earl of Peterborough was admiral of the fleet, as well as general of the land forces.

‡ There happened a total eclipse of the sun in those parts that morning the French raised the siege: this was looked up-

on as very ominous by the lower kind of people; and marshal Tesse was much blamed even by his superiors, for not having raised the siege a day sooner, and the rather as the French king had made the sun, with this motto, *Nec pluribus impar*, his device. History of Europe. Burnet. Naval Hist. &c.

To these disasters was added yet another, which seemed to give the finishing stroke to the hopes of the Bourbon family. The earl of Galway, who commanded the forces in Portugal, took almost every place he presented himself before; and had advanced even into the province of Estremadura; while the duke of Berwick, who headed the troops of France and Spain, in vain attempted to stop his progress: he now penetrated as far as the bridge of Almaraz. Philip V. uncertain of his fate, was in Perpignan: the court of Spain was filled with consternation, not in the least doubting but the victorious allies would immediately march to Madrid; but the oversight of the latter preserved the crown on Philip's head: the Portuguese, considering only their own safety, refused to proceed any farther till they should hear of the fate of Barcelona. In the interim, Philip's queen (a daughter of the duke of Savoy) who had gained the affections of the Spaniards by the pains she took to please them, and by an intrepidity and fortitude above her sex, summoned the grandes and magistrates of Madrid to attend her, when she made the following speech:

"I have sent for you, to acquaint you what distress the state is in; I cannot conceal it from you: while the king is exposing his life in your defence, heaven blesses his arms in Catalonia, and we hope that rebellious province will shortly be reduced; but affairs do not go so well in Estremadura: the Portuguese advance. Will you tamely see such enemies approach you? do you not think of exerting your utmost efforts to make them repent their audaciousness? The preservation of the monarchy is now the point in question. You ought, in this pressing necessity, to shew your loyalty and zeal, by sacrificing your all for the king, for me, and for yourselves. Powerful and speedy succours are necessary. I am the first queen who has appeared in this place on such an occasion. When I give you such extraordinary marks of my affection, I well deserve you should do something for me, and appear in my defence."

This pathetic discourse, however, produced very little effect: the Spaniards appeared struck with a panic that took from them all power of deliberating on the most proper means for opposing the victors, who proceeded in their march to Madrid. Philip hereupon posted through France, and arrived in that city on the sixth of June; but finding that most of the grandes were fled, and having no army he could trust to; and seeing moreover that the Portuguese and English were almost at the gates, he sent his queen to Burgos*, whither he followed her in a few days, having withdrawn the court and all the tribunals before the earl of Galway could reach the place; so that upon his arrival, about the latter end of June, he found Madrid an open village. But the troops having been extremely weakened by so long a march, and not being above four thousand horse, and eight or ten thousand foot, the Portuguese generals and those of the allies thought it highly necessary that

Charles should come to Madrid as soon as possible: for besides the advantage his presence might have been to his own affairs among the Spaniards, who retained all the pride, though they wanted the courage, of their ancestors, and thought it beneath them to make their submission to any but king Charles himself; it was of the last importance to the allies to be immediately joined by the forces under the king and the earl of Peterborough's command, not being strong enough without them to attack Philip, who had already received some succours from France, besides five thousand four hundred horse, and eight thousand foot, under the duke of Berwick and the Conde de las Torres. Express after express was sent to king Charles to hasten his march to his capital city, where the earl of Galway had caused him to be proclaimed on the twenty-eighth of June; but the province of Arragon declaring for Charles at the same time, he marched into Saragossa, where he unhappily spent so much time, that his rival Philip assembled an army superior to that of the allies, and marched to give the earl of Galway battle, who, conscious of his own inferiority, chose to quit Madrid and retire; so that Philip V. in less than six weeks after leaving Madrid like a fugitive, entered it again in triumph. The consequence of this turn of affairs was, that Toledo, Salamanca, and the rest of the towns in Castile which had declared for the house of Austria, submitted again to the yoke of the French.

At length, when it was too late, Charles joined the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas, at Guadalaxara, in the beginning of August, with a small body of troops, and was followed by the earl of Peterborough at the head of five hundred dragoons. By this junction the army of the allies became nearly equal in number to that of the enemy, and the event of a battle might have been finally decisive; but as both sides expected to be reinforced, neither side would put any thing to the hazard. So soon as the armies were joined, the earl of Galway waited upon lord Peterborough, offering him the command of the English, and to serve under him till he could have the queen's leave to return home (for which he had applied); but the marquis das Minas refusing to do the like, the earl of Peterborough, who aspired to the chief command, chose not to stay with the army; and embarking in disgust on board an English ship, set sail for Genoa†.

The confederates had formed a design this year of making a descent upon the coast of France by way of diversion; and accordingly about eleven thousand men were embarked, under the command of the earl of Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty sail, commanded by sir Cloudesley Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the 30th of August. The scheme for invading France had been proposed by the marquis de Guiscard, who from a motive of disgust had abandoned his country, and engaged in the service of the allies. He

* Burgos is a large, but irregular city, and the capital of Old Castile in Spain. It stands on a mountain, from which it extends to the rapid little river Aranzon, over which is a good bridge. It was built in the ninth or tenth century, out of

the ruins of the ancient city Auca; is the see of an archbishopric, and situated one hundred and ten miles north of Madrid.

† Burnet. History of Europe. Voltaire.

obtained the rank of a lieutenant-general in the emperor's army, and afterwards coming over to London, insinuated himself into the good graces of Mr. Henry St. John, and other persons of distinction. His scheme of invading France was approved of by the ministry, and he was, by way of reward, promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons, with which he embarked in the expedition. However, the fleet being driven into Torbay by contrary winds, where it was detained for a considerable time; in the interim a discovery was made that Guiscard's plan was altogether romantic, or at least built upon such a precarious basis as could not justify the attempting its execution; and letters having arrived from the earl of Galway, soliciting succours with the most earnest importunity, the expedition to France was postponed; and sir Cloudesley Shovel and the earl of Rivers, with the land forces on board, were ordered to make the best of their way to Lisbon, there to take such measures as the situation of affairs should indicate to be most expedient.

They arrived safe in the Tagus, on the 18th of October, when lord Rivers, finding the communication between Portugal and the allies was cut off, sailed round to Alicant in order to join the earl of Galway on that side; and having landed his troops, who were in a miserable condition by being kept so long on board, he returned to England, together with the earl of Essex and brigadier Gorges, who embarked with those troops in the first design, and sir Cloudesley sailed back with the fleet to Lisbon *.

As to that part of the English fleet which had relieved Barcelona, under the command of sir John Leake and sir George Byng, it continued all the summer in the Mediterranean, and cooped up the French navy in the harbour of Toulon. They secured Carthage, which had declared for king Charles, and took Alicant by assault. Sir John Leake next made the necessary disposition for a winter squadron, to be commanded by sir George Byng, and then proceeded to put in execution his last orders, which were to reduce the islands of Majorca † and Ivica ‡; both which surrendered, after little or no resistance; and the admiral having caused king Charles III. to be proclaimed in each, and left garrisons to secure his conquests, he sailed out of the Straights in the beginning of October, when he dispatched a squadron under sir John Jennings to the West Indies, and another under sir George Byng to lie at Lisbon: then prosecuting his voyage for England, he arrived safe at Spithead about the middle of the same month, with the rest of the fleet, which was soon after laid up for the winter season §.

Poland was this year delivered from the presence of that hot-headed conqueror the king of Sweden, who, observing that he should never be able effectually to dethrone king Augustus, unless he cut off the supplies which that monarch constantly received from Saxony, he marched through Silesia and Lusatia into Saxony, plundered the open country through its whole extent, and obliged the rich city of Leipsick, and other towns, to pay him contributions. King Augustus seeing his hereditary dominions in the hands of his enemy, soon found he could no longer maintain the war in Poland, and therefore agreed to a treaty in the month of September, by which he resigned the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania, and acknowledged Stanislaus Leczinski as the true and rightful king of Poland, reserving to himself only the empty title of sovereign.

Charles of Sweden in the heart of Germany, was, however, an object of great discontent to the members of the grand alliance. Lewis XIV. who was redoubling all his efforts to retrieve his shattered affairs, spared no pains to solicit the young victor's alliance. Charles however rejected all offers of that nature. Lewis then implored his mediation for a peace: he replied, That he was very ready to interpose his good offices, whenever he should find the allies willing to accept the same. Baffled in this application, the French king had recourse to a method for bringing about a treaty, which could not but be very mortifying to one who aimed at universal monarchy. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-general (dated the twenty-first of October, soon after the battle of Ramillies) containing proposals for opening a congress. He likewise solicited the pope to interpose in his favour: he offered to cede to king Charles the greater part of the estates that compose the Spanish monarchy, or else the West Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with a barrier for the Dutch, and a compensation to the duke of Savoy for the devastation committed in his territories. But these offers were rejected, and the allies resolved to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour.

It is not easy to assign a reason why the confederates would not listen at this time to the proposals of peace, since there is great room to believe that Lewis XIV. would have consented to almost any that could have been demanded. Their refusal was said to be owing to the great influence of the duke of Marlborough, both at home, and with the emperor and the Dutch. The war proved at once too honourable and too lucrative for him to desire so speedy an end to it. Most of the leading

* Burchet. Compleat History of Europe. Life of Queen Anne.

† Majorca, or Mallorca, is an island in the Mediterranean, belonging to Spain, and the principal of those anciently called Balears, or Insulæ Balearicæ, famous for their sponges, sixty miles in length, and forty five broad. Its four principal capes lying toward the four cardinal points, are Pedra, Grosier, Salinas, and Formentor. Its north and west parts are mountainous, but fruitful; and those to the east and south are level, producing corn, oil, wine, honey, saffron, great and small cattle, with fruit and wild game. The whole island is surrounded with towers, from which an enemy can be seen at some distance off. It has several good harbours, lies eighty-

six miles south of the coast of Catalonia. Its capital is also named Majorca, anciently Palma, which contains six thousand houses, some of them large, and of stone; and the number of its inhabitants is reckoned at ten thousand.

‡ Ivica, anciently Ebusus, is a small island in the Mediterranean, fifty-six miles south-west of Majorca. It is about six miles long, and five broad, is mountainous, and its principal production is salt, of which large quantities are exported. Its capital has the same name, and is situated in a bay of the sea, on the south side of the island, very well fortified in the modern manner; but not so considerable now as it was in the time of the Carthaginians and Romans.

§ Burchet. Lediard. Life of Queen Anne.

men here in England were his friends and relations, and had gained titles and estates by the war. In Holland the pensionary Heinsius, who did all things there, was entirely under the direction of the duke and prince Eugene. As for the emperor, he had all things to hope from the continuance of the war, and nothing either to fear or pay. Whatever degree of truth might be in those suggestions, it is certain they gained credit both at home and abroad, and occasioned some disturbances in Holland, and greater here *.

I shall close my account of the military transactions of this year with observing, that little or nothing was done upon the Rhine, both sides having drawn what troops they could from that quarter. Moreover, prince Lewis of Baden, from a very bad state of health, was incapable of action: he died on the fourth of January in the following year, with the character of a great general, though his reputation in the latter part of his life was by no means equal to the beginning, at least in success.

While almost every kingdom in Europe was a scene of war, rapine, and bloodshed, England and Scotland were engaged in treating of a union between the two kingdoms. I have already given the substance of this treaty as settled by the commissioners on each side in England; let us now see how the articles were received by our neighbours in the northern part of the island, by whom they were first taken into consideration.

The Scottish parliament met on the third of October, when the duke of Queensberry, as high-commissioner, produced the queen's letter, in which she acquainted them of the commissioners appointed to treat of an union having brought that business to a happy conclusion, expressing her hopes that the terms would prove acceptable to her subjects of Scotland. An entire and perfect union, she said, would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace; it would secure their religion, liberties, and property; remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations: she expatiated on the other manifold advantages that would result therefrom: she renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of the church, and told them they had an opportunity of taking such steps as might be necessary for its security after the union: she desired the necessary supplies till the parliament of Great Britain could provide for those matters: she observed, that the great success with which it had pleased Almighty God to bless her arms, afforded the nearer prospect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union: that they had no reason to doubt but the parliament of England would do all that should be necessary on their part to confirm the union; and she recommended calmness and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of such consequence to the whole island of Great Britain †.

The lord-commissioner and the lord-chancellor (the earl of Seafield) each of them enforced this letter in a separate speech, wherein they exerted all their talents in displaying the great advantages

arising from the union of the two kingdoms: the treaty itself was then read, and ordered to be printed, with the proceedings of the lords commissioners of both kingdoms in relation thereto; after which the parliament was adjourned for a week.

No sooner were the particulars of the intended treaty between the two kingdoms divulged, than the greatest part of the Scottish nation kindled into a flame of resentment, and gave such intimations of a violent opposition, as convinced the queen's ministers that they would have unspeakable difficulties to encounter in bringing about an union; against which a powerful party was now formed, even in the parliament itself, headed by the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, the marquis of Annandale, the earls of Errol, Mareschal, and Buchan, the lord Belhaven, that staunch republican Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, and some other noblemen and private gentlemen of great rank and influence. The Jacobites to a man declared against an union, well knowing that, should it take place, it would for ever extinguish all their hopes of restoring the abdicated family: even the presbyterians seemed averse to the measure, from an apprehension that their mode of worship would suffer a change, and be swallowed up in the church of England. On the other hand, a great part of the gentry of Scotland, who were personally acquainted with the constitution of the English government, and sensible of the protection every good subject there enjoys under an house of commons, which secures them the uninterrupted enjoyment of all their lawful rights and privileges, heartily concurred in furthering the completion of this work. This party was headed by the dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, the earl of Montrose, Seafield, and Stair, and many other persons of weight and abilities. Besides these two parties, there was a third class, which I have already made mention of by the name *Squadron Volante*, or Flying Squadron; the chief of which were, the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Haddington, and Marchmont, who kept aloof, disclaiming all connection with both parties, and refusing to discover any part of their sentiments in regard to this important affair; but as it was well known that they had many causes to be disgusted with the court, it was universally thought they would oppose any scheme which proceeded from that quarter.

Such was the disposition of minds and parties in Scotland, when the parliament resumed its session on the fifteenth of October, when the question being put, Whether to proceed immediately to the consideration of the articles of union, or refer the consideration thereof till the first sitting of the ensuing week? it was carried to proceed, one hundred and sixteen voices against fifty-two. Here the strength of the court party appeared; and indeed both sides exerted themselves with the utmost zeal in order to carry their favourite points; and the debates were agitated with all that warmth and eagerness which the importance of the subject naturally inspired.

* Burnet. Lamberti. Military History of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. Hare.

† Lockhart. Burnet.

It was asserted by the opposers of an union, that the devolving the power of the Scottish parliament into the hands of a small number of lords, barons, and burgeses, allowed to sit and vote with all the lords and commons of England, in a parliament to be called *The Parliament of Great Britain*, was dishonourable and prejudicial to the kingdom of Scotland, tending to the destruction of their ancient constitution, and all their rights and privileges as a free people in general, and to every individual person and society within the kingdom: that they should entirely lose their sovereignty and independency, and give up the birth-right of their peers, and the privileges of the barons and burghs: that the rights and interests reserved to them by the articles of union were not in any degree secured, seeing that the plurality of voices in the parliament of Great Britain must determine whatever was brought before them; nor could it be expected that the members of Scotland in the British parliament would ever be able to carry any point that might be for the interest of Scotland, against so great a majority, who, though divided among themselves about party-disputes, would yet unite against the Scots, to whom they all bore a natural antipathy: that the being let into the trade of England would be of little or no advantage to them, under the regulations and restrictions the English trade was at present in the several companies. The presbyterian kirk was also represented to be in great danger, from the twenty-six bishops who were to sit in the British parliament, whereas the kirk would have none to represent them. Great objections were also made to the sacramental test, being the condition of access to all places of profit or trust. And it was represented as a farther grievance, that the sovereign was obliged to be of the communion of the church of England*.

In answer to these objections it was urged, that the small proportion which the Scottish would bear to the English members, could never be attended with those dreadful consequences which had been so artfully displayed: few points, if any, could occur, in which the interests of Scotland would interfere with those of England: their interests were already in a great measure the same; it was a principal intention of the union to render them invariably and for ever such; nor would ever any set of men go about to divide them, but those who had some sinister ends to answer, or who preferred their own private interests to those of their country; and if such persons suffered by the decisions of a British parliament, they had no reason to complain; they would have suffered, or at least they ought to have suffered, by the decisions of a Scottish parliament, as that kingdom was bound even more than Great Britain to punish the perfidy, treachery, or injustice of her own subjects: that to assert the English had a natural antipathy to the Scots was a cruel and invidious reflection, contrary to truth, refuted by daily experience, and could only be made with a view to excite animosities between the two nations, in order perhaps to attain some end which could not otherwise be accomplished: that the union, instead of abolishing the parliament of Scotland, would rather

establish it upon a more solid foundation, by incorporating it with the parliament of England, which could not with any propriety be said to be substituted in its place, the British parliament being substituted in the place of both; and in this sense indeed the parliament of England, as well as that of Scotland, might be said to be abolished; that their fears therefore, with regard to the conduct of the British parliament, were entirely groundless, as it was not likely that assembly would ever take any step prejudicial to the rights and privileges of the people, which they had hitherto defended, nor infringe the articles of the union, which they would make it their care regularly to observe: that the union besides would be attended with many possible advantages; it would for ever destroy all difference of interest between the different parts of the island, which in the contest had always proved fatal to the Scots from the great superiority of the English, &c. &c. †.

These and many other arguments were used by both sides; but they had no farther effect than to display the learning or ingenuity of the speakers, each party having already formed its resolution; and as they were in point of strength nearly equal, it was not easy to determine for some time what would be the issue, when the *Squadron Volante*, already mentioned, suddenly declared themselves for the union, which immediately turned the balance, and decided the controversy.

The opposers of the union finding themselves thus overpowered, raised a most terrible clamour all over the nation; they procured addresses from a number of counties, boroughs, and parishes, protesting against the union. The assembly of the kirk also petitioned against the making the security of the church of England a fundamental article of the union; for hereby, they said, they would involve the whole nation in great guilt, by consenting to the establishment of the hierarchy and ceremonies of a church which they held to be sinful and abominable. The presbyterian preachers at the same time employed all their power and credit in waking the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, in which they laboured with such success, that the people were roused to transports of fury and revenge. At Dumfries the articles of union were publicly burnt; and the people declared that their commissioners must either be simple, ignorant, or treacherous, or all together; and that the ratification of the treaty would bring them and their posterity to be tributary and bond-slaves to their neighbours. Even in Edinburgh the mob grew mutinous, and assaulted the house of sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh, and one of the commissioners of the union: nor did the person of the high-commissioner escape insult, the rabble throwing stones into the coach as he passed through the streets, though surrounded by his guards; and on the thirtieth of November a great number of the rioters entered the parliament-house, with loud outcries for rejecting the articles of union, which gave the ministry such apprehension, that it was thought convenient to march several regiments of horse and dragoons to the north of England, to be in readiness if there

* Burnet. Lockhart. Tindal.

† Ibid.

should be a necessity for their acting. The tumults nevertheless continuing, the duke of Queensberry wrote to the lord-treasurer Godolphin, representing the necessity of a short adjournment until he should be able to allay the ferment that prevailed among the people: but the treasurer, who foresaw that the measure would be entirely lost by delay, regardless of the difficulties the commissioner had to encounter, insisted upon his proceeding; and besides the precautions used to preserve the public tranquillity, and protect the friends of the court from the insults of the malecontents, it was thought proper to remit considerable sums of money to the Scots treasury, to be distributed to the best advantage. Those measures, together with the equal prudence and firmness shewn by the high-commissioner, and the other noblemen attached to the union, at length got the better of this national fury; and notwithstanding all the clamour and opposition within and without doors, an act for the ratification of the union passed on the sixteenth of January, 1707, by a majority of one hundred and ten voices, and was touched with the royal sceptre. An act passed at the same time for the security of the presbyterian kirk of Scotland, as a fundamental and essential condition of the union*.

The most considerable speakers for the union were the earls of Seafield, Stair†, Roxburgh, and Marchmont; and those against it, the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the marquis of Annandale.

As soon as the act for ratifying the treaty of union was passed, the parliament next proceeded to prepare an act for settling the manner of electing the sixteen peers and forty-five commons to represent Scotland in the parliament of Great Britain, and the proportion the shires and boroughs should have of the forty-five members; and it was agreed that thirty should be the number for the shires, and fifteen the number for the boroughs.

It was resolved that the borough of Edinburgh should have one representative by itself; and then a scheme for dividing the boroughs into fifteen districts, each of which was to have one representative, was read and approved. This act being touched with the sceptre, the three estates proceeded to elect their representatives‡.

The remaining part of the session was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of their African company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent. On the twenty-fifth day of March the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having in a short speech taken notice of the honour they had acquired in concluding an affair of such importance to their country. His grace then set out for London, where he was received by the queen with great marks of pleasure and approbation; and indeed history hardly furnishes us with another instance of a ministry's having carried a point of such importance, against such a violent opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole people, exasperated to the highest degree by the apprehension of seeing their trade destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their country ruined by an union with their sister kingdom. The majority of both nations expected no otherwise than that the treaty would occasion the most violent convulsions, and at last prove ineffectual. The event, however, has happily demonstrated the fallacy of those apprehensions and predictions: the union took place quietly, and has fully answered the salutary purposes for which it was intended. After this account of the reception the treaty of union met with in Scotland, it remains to see what entertainment it found in the parliament of England.

The parliament of England, which had been successively prorogued to the third of December, assembled that day; and the queen, in her speech to both houses, congratulated them on the glorious

* Burnet. Lockhart.

† This nobleman, who had all along exerted himself with great zeal in favour of the union, and who, though much indisposed, came on the seventh of January to the parliament-house, and maintained the debate upon the twenty-second article, died suddenly the next night, his spirits being quite exhausted by the length and vehemence of the debates. He was son of sir James Dalrymple, formerly president of the session, and afterwards created viscount and earl of Stair. He was succeeded in honour and estate by his son lord John Dalrymple.

‡ These representatives were, for the lords,
The duke of Queensberry,
The earl of Seafield, chancellor.
The marquis of Montrose, lord-keeper of the privy-seal.
The marquis of Tweeddale.
The marquis of Lothian.

Earls.

Mar, Loudon, Crawford, Sutherland, Rox Wemyss,
Leven, Stair, Roseberry, Glasgow, Ilay.

For the barons.

W. Nisbet of Durlatoun.
J. Cockburn, junior, of Ormiston.
Sir W. Ker of Greenhead.
Sir J. Swintoun of that ilk.
W. Bennet of Grubbet.
Archibald Douglas of Cavers.
Mr. J. Murray of Bowhill.
M. J. Pringle of Haining.
W. Morison of Preston grange.
George Baillie of Jerviswood.
Sir J. Johnstoun of Westerhall.
Mr. J. Stuart of Sorbie.
Mr. Francis Montgomery of Gristan.

W. Dalrymple of Glenmure.

Sir R. Pollock of that ilk.

J. Halden of Glenargies.

Mungo Graham of Gorthy.

Sir D. Ramsay of Balmaise.

Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys.

W. Seatoun, junior, of Pitmedden.

Alexander Grant, junior, of that ilk.

Hugh Ross of Kilravock.

Sir K. Mackenzie of Cromarty.

Mr. J. Campbell of Mammore.

Sir J. Campbell of Auchinleck.

James Campbell of Arkinlask.

James Halyburton of Pitcurr.

A. Abercrombie of Glasflock.

A. Douglas of Eagleshaw.

John Bruce of Kinross.

For the boroughs.

Sir Patrick Johnstoun.

Lieutenant-colonel J. Erskine.

Hugh Montgomery.

James Scott.

Sir John Erskine.

Mr. P. Moncreif of Ready.

Sir Andrew Home.

Sir Peter Halket.

Sir James Smollet.

Sir D. Dalrymple.

Mr. John Clerk.

Mr. Patrick Ogilvie.

George Allardice.

Daniel Campbell, esq.

Mr. Alexander Maitland.

success

success of the British army: she desired the commons would grant such supplies as might enable her to improve those successes: she told them that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commissioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the consideration of the Scottish parliament; and she recommended dispatch in public affairs, as the surest method to convince our friends and enemies of the vigour and firmness of our proceedings.

This speech was highly pleasing to the parliament, and both houses answered it in very affectionate addresses: nor did they stop there; but as a convincing proof of the sincerity of their expressions, they proceeded to the consideration of the supply; and having examined the estimates, in less than a week they voted near six millions for the service of the ensuing year*; and when the speaker presented the money-bills to her majesty, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was fought before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so the commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that the parliament was sitting†.

Both houses voted the duke of Marlborough their thanks for the eminent services he had done her majesty and the kingdom the last campaign: nor did they content themselves with paying him this compliment; for the lords addressed her majesty on the sixteenth of December, that she would permit them to bring in a bill to settle the titles and honours of the duke of Marlborough, with his right of precedence, on his posterity, by act of parliament, in such manner as would be acceptable to her majesty‡. This was readily complied with on the part of her majesty; and an act accordingly passed to limit his titles and honours to his eldest daughter (married to the lord Godolphin's son) and her heirs-male, and then to all his other daughters successively, according to their priority of birth; and that the royal honour and manor of Woodstock, and the house of Blenheim, should always go along with the titles. The commons also soon after, to shew their gratitude to the duke for the signal services he had done his country, addressed her majesty for leave to bring in a bill for settling the five thousand pounds per annum which she had already granted the duke (during her life) out of the Post-office, upon him and his posterity, in like manner as his titles; and the honour and manor of Woodstock, and house of Blenheim, were already limited and settled, and a bill was brought in accordingly, which received the royal assent.

The city of London having addressed her majesty, that the colours taken at the battle of Ramillies might be put up at Guildhall, they were carried thither in great pomp, escorted by a detachment of the horse and foot guards, being in all sixty-three colours and twenty-four standards. The same day his grace the duke of Marlborough, with the dukes of Ormond and Somerset, and

other great officers and ministers of state, went to an entertainment provided for them at Vintner's-Hall in the city, by the lord mayor and aldermen.

The lords and commons having adjourned themselves to the last day of December, the queen closed the year 1706 with triumphal processions, going in great state to St. Paul's, attended by the great officers, and both houses of parliament.

Her majesty was pleased in this month of December to make the following promotions of nobility, viz. Henry de Grey, earl of Kent, created viscount Gooderich, earl of Harold, and marquis of Kent; Robert Bertie, earl of Lindsey, was created marquis of Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln; Evelin Pierpoint, earl of Kingston, marquis of Doncaster, in the county of Dorset; Thomas Wharton, lord Wharton, viscount Winchindon, in the county of Bucks, and earl of Wharton in the county of Westmoreland; John Poulet, lord Poulet, of Hinton St. George, viscount Hinton St. George, in the county of Somerset, and earl of Poulet; Sidney Godolphin, lord Godolphin, viscount Rialton, and earl of Godolphin, in the county of Cornwall; Hugh Cholmondley, lord Cholmondley, viscount Malpas, and earl of Cholmondley, in the county of Chester; Henry Howard, lord Walden, son and heir of the earl of Suffolk, baron of Chesterford, in the county of Essex, and earl of Bindon in the county of Dorset. The lord-keeper Cowper was created lord Cowper and baron of Wingham, in the county of Kent; and sir Thomas Pelham was made lord Pelham, and baron of Laughton, in the county of Sussex. Some time before, her majesty had been pleased to create the electoral prince of Hanover (afterwards king George I.) a peer of this kingdom, by the stile and title of baron of Tewksbury, viscount Northallerton, earl of Milford-Haven, and marquis and duke of Cambridge.

The parliament being re-assembled after their short adjournment, the queen came to the house of peers on the twenty-eighth day of January, 1707, when she told the parliament that the treaty of union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by the Scottish parliament: that she had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped it would meet with their approbation and concurrence: she desired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in case the treaty should take place: then addressing herself to both houses, she concluded thus:

"You have now an opportunity before you of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a lasting blessing to the whole island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the protestant religion.

"The advantages that will accrue to us all from an union are so apparent, that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular happi-

* To raise this money the parliament gave a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, and the duty upon malt for one year; duties upon low wines, the stamp-duty, and that upon hawkers, which had been continued till 1710, were now continued for ninety-six years, to be a fund for one million one hundred and fifty-five thousand pounds, to be taken in for annuities at sixteen years purchase; the duty upon houses was continued for circulating Exchequer-bills, whereby one million five hundred

thousand pounds were raised. The old tonnage and poundage, and several other duties at the custom-house, which were already continued to 1710, for paying off deficiencies, were now continued for two years more, for a loan of eight hundred and twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds, at six per cent. interest.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, iii. 47.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 165.

ness if this so great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

On the third of February the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish act of ratification. The Tory party in general were against the union, and therefore began without delay to open their batteries. Amongst many severe things said against this treaty and the promoters of it, sir John Packington observed, that this incorporating union was like marrying a woman against her consent: that it was an union carried on by corruption within doors, by force and violence without: that the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up the independency of their constitution; and he would leave it to the judgment of the house to consider, whether men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their house of representatives. Her majesty, he said, by the coronation-oath, was obliged to maintain the church of England, as by law established; and likewise bound by the same oath to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland in one and the same kingdom: Now (added he) after the union is in force, who shall administer this oath to her majesty? Not the Scots, certainly; for it is not their business: and besides, they are no well-wishers to the church of England. It rests then with the bishops; and can it be supposed that those reverend persons will or can act a thing so contrary to their own order and institution, as thus to promote the establishment of the presbyterian church government? He concluded with observing, that the church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not conceive how two nations that clashed in so essential a point, could unite; and therefore was for consulting the convocation on this critical matter.

He was answered by colonel Henry Mordaunt, (brother to the earl of Peterborough) who said, that for his part, he knew of no other *jure divino* than God Almighty's permission: that in this sense the church of England and the kirk of Scotland might both be said to be *jure divino*, because God had permitted that the former should prevail in England, the other in Scotland. The member who spoke last (said the colonel) may, if he pleases, consult the convocation for his own particular information; but I believe the commons stand in need of no such instruction: they are sufficient judges of the propriety of their own measures; and in any event it would be derogatory to the rights of the commons of England to ask on this occasion the advice of any inferior assembly, who had no share in the legislature*.

Many other members spoke for and against the union: at length a motion was made, that the first article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating union, should be postponed, and that the house should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union contained in the other articles. This proposal being rejected, several Tory members quitted the house; whereupon the first, second, third, and fourth articles of the treaty were read and ap-

proved without opposition; and on the eighth of February the commons, in a committee of the whole house, went through and approved the remaining articles: in short, such was the dispatch made by the party who favoured the union, and who had the majority in the house, that by the eleventh of February, a bare week only from the time this important matter was first taken into their consideration, the commons had gone through and approved the whole treaty. This precipitation gave the enemies of the party in power too plausible an handle to charge them with want of that coolness and deliberation which an affair of this importance required.

Before their lordships began to investigate the articles of the union, they, at the instance of the archbishop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the security of the church of England, to be inserted as a fundamental and essential part of that treaty. This passed through both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent. On the fifteenth of February the debates concerning the union were begun in the house of lords. The queen herself was present, and the debates were longer and more solemn than those of the commons had been. The lords resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house, and made Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, their chairman. The earls of Rochester, Anglesey, and Nottingham, with the bishop of Bath and Wells, and the lords North and Grey, Stawel and Haversham, were the principal speakers against the union. The latter of these noblemen, who of late years had made himself famous by his set speeches on several occasions, could not be silent on this, and therefore spoke to the following purport. He observed, that the articles came to their lordships with the greatest countenance of authority that it is possible any thing could have; but, said he, notwithstanding authority may be the strongest motive to incline the will, it was certainly the weakest in the world to convince the understanding. He was not, he said, against a federal union, a union in interest and in the succession; but this was a matter of a different nature: the question, he said, was, Whether two nations, independent in their sovereignties, that have their distinct laws and interests, and, which is not to be forgotten, their different forms of worship, church-government, and order, shall be united into one kingdom? That in his opinion, this was an union composed of so many mismatched pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that he feared it would require a standing force to keep us from falling asunder and breaking to pieces every moment. He farther observed, that by this act, an hundred Scots peers, and as many commons, were excluded the British parliament; gentlemen who as little thought of being excluded a year or two before as any of their lordships did then: that their rights were as well and as strongly secured to them as their lordships were at that time, by the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the claim of right, and by act of parliament, whereby it was made high-treason to make any alteration in the constitution of the kingdom. He said, that if the bishops would weaken their own cause, so far as to give up the

two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the presbyterian church-government in Scotland "as the true protestant religion and purity of worship," (according to the words in the Scottish act) they gave up that which had been contended for between them and the presbyterians many years, and been defended by the greatest and most learned men of the church of England. He disapproved of exempting articles, reserving to the present possessors the heritable offices and superiorities; both which, he said, Cromwell had been so wise as by an act of state to abolish. He said that the union was contrary to the general sense of the Scottish nation, sufficiently manifested by the murmurs of all ranks of people in that kingdom, while the treaty was under consideration of the parliament there; adding, That he saw no necessity for this incorporating union, since Scotland had offered to come into the succession without it; and he thought it a very dangerous experiment to both nations: but the topic upon which he laid the chief stress, and which was enforced by the lords Guernsey, Granville, and Abingdon, who also spoke against the union, was, the injury the good old English constitution, justly allowed to be the most equal and best poised government in the world, might suffer by having the weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and those too returned by a Scottish privy-council, thrown into the scale.

The lord North and Grey complained of the small and unequal proportion of the land-tax charged upon Scotland. His lordship also found great fault with the equivalent granted to that kingdom by the fifteenth article of the treaty, in which he was joined by the earl of Rochester, and the lords Guildford and Leigh, who said they conceived nothing could have been more equal on this head of the treaty, than that neither of the kingdoms should have been burthened with the debts of the other contracted before the union; but the revenues of Scotland might have been strictly appropriated to discharge the debts of that kingdom, or to any other uses within themselves as should have been judged requisite; and there would have been no need of an equivalent of near four hundred thousand pounds, to be raised in England within this year for the purchase of those revenues in Scotland, at a time when this kingdom is already burthened with such vast sums for the necessary charges of the war. The earl of Nottingham, after having opposed every article of the treaty separately, concluded with the following observation: "As sir John Maynard said to king William at the Revolution, that having buried all his contemporaries in Westminster-hall, he was afraid, if his majesty had not come in that very juncture of time, he might likewise have out-lived the very laws; so if this union do pass, as I have no reason to doubt but it will, I may affirm that I have out-lived all the laws, and the very constitution of England: I therefore pray God to avert the dire effects which may probably ensue from such an incorporating union."

Such were in substance the arguments made use of by those who opposed the union. It may be sufficient to observe, that to all the objections that

were offered against that treaty taking place, this general answer was made, That so great a thing as the uniting the whole island into one government could not be compassed but with some inconveniencies; but if the advantage of safety and union was greater than those inconveniencies, then a lesser evil must be submitted to: that with regard to matters of an ecclesiastical nature, all parties had been guilty of many instances of violence; but that the heats and animosities between them might be allayed by soft and gentle management. It was observed, that the cantons of Switzerland, though they professed different religions, were yet united in one general body, and the diet of Germany was composed of princes and states, among whom three different persuasions prevailed; so that two different sorts of discipline might very well subsist under one government: that if there was any danger on either side, it threatened the Scots much more than the English, as it was more likely the five hundred and thirteen members should get the better of forty-five, than that forty-five should overcome five hundred and thirteen; and in the house of lords twenty-six bishops would always be an over-match for sixteen Scots peers. The chief speakers for the union were the earls of Godolphin, Sunderland, and Wharton, the lords Townshend, Halifax, and Somers, the bishops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum*.

Notwithstanding all the opposition made by the lords of the Tory party, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without several protests. Hereupon a bill of ratification was prepared in the lower house by sir Simon Harcourt the solicitor-general, in such an artful manner as to prevent all debate; and the Whigs promoted it with such zeal, that it passed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen voices. It made its way through the house of lords with equal dispatch, and on the fourth of March received the royal assent, when the queen made the following speech upon the occasion:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have given my assent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

"I consider this union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island; and at the same time a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it, in the course of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness one to another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to be one people.

"This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this union.

"And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happiness, that in my reign so full a provision

* See Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 168. Burnet.

is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the protestant succession throughout Great Britain."

The rest of the speech contains only her desire that the commons would provide for the equivalent for Scotland, and that the two houses would use all possible dispatch in the public business before them.

On the eleventh of March the two houses attended her majesty with addresses of congratulation on the union of the two kingdoms, which were most graciously received, and condescendingly answered.

I have already given an abstract of the twenty-five articles of union, and shall in this place add an abstract of the acts for the security of the respective churches of England and Scotland, which were made essential conditions of the union.

The tenor of the act for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian church-government in Scotland.

"Her majesty, with the advice and consent of the estates in parliament, doth hereby establish the true protestant religion, worship, discipline, and government of this church, to continue without alteration to the people of this land to all generations; and confirms the fifth act of the first parliament of W. & M. entitled, "An act ratifying the confession of faith, and settling the presbyterian church-government, and other acts relating thereto, in prosecution of the declaration of the estates, containing the claim of right, dated the eleventh of April 1689:" and her majesty, with the advice and consent aforesaid, declares that the government of the church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general-assemblies established, shall continue unalterable; and that the said presbyterian government shall be the only government of the church of Scotland.

"That the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, as now established, shall continue for ever: that none bearing any office in any university, college, or school there, shall be admitted or continued in their office, but such as shall acknowledge the civil government prescribed, or to be prescribed by parliament; and also at their admissions subscribe the said confession of their faith; and that they will practise and conform themselves to the worship in use in this church, submit to the discipline, and never attempt the subversion thereof.

"The subjects of this kingdom shall be free from any oath, test, or subscription, within this kingdom, inconsistent with the said true protestant religion, church government, worship, and discipline.

"The sovereign succeeding her majesty shall, in all times coming, on accession to the crown, swear and subscribe that they shall preserve the said settlement of religion, government, worship, discipline, and privileges of this church.

"This act shall be held a fundamental and essential condition of any union to be concluded be-

tween the two kingdoms, without alteration, for ever.

"And her majesty declares, that all laws and statutes in this kingdom, inconsistent with the terms of these articles, shall after the union cease and be void."

The tenor of an act for securing of the church of England, as by law established.

"That an act made in the thirteenth of Elizabeth, cap. 12. for the ministers of the church to be of a sound religion; and an act made 13 Car. II. cap. 4. for the uniformity of public prayers, &c. (other than such clauses in the said acts as have been repealed) and all other acts in force for the preservation of the church of England, doctrine and government thereof, shall be in force for ever.

"Every king and queen succeeding her majesty, at their coronation, shall, in the presence of all persons assisting, or otherwise present, take and subscribe an oath to preserve the settlement of the church of England, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, within the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and the territories thereunto belonging.

"This act shall be held a fundamental and essential part of any union between the two kingdoms.

"Then enacted, that the said articles of union, and the said act for the establishing the protestant religion and the presbyterian church-government in Scotland shall be, and are hereby ratified, approved, and confirmed.

"And that the act passed this present session of parliament, cap. 5. for securing the church of England, as by law established, and the said act for securing the protestant religion and the presbyterian church-government, shall for ever be held fundamental and essential conditions of the said union *."

Thus, after many vigorous, though ineffectual, attempts for the purpose, was at length happily accomplished an union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, which took place on the first day of May, 1707. The great benefits accruing to both nations by this union do now daily appear more and more conspicuous. From that country England has her American plantations very much increased in people; and from Scotland likewise not only the navy-royal, but our land-armies, have been supplied with many thousands of stout and well-affected men, as has very lately and very effectually been experienced: and although the two rebellions since the union were both originally propagated from Scotland, through the violence of party-zeal, and of clanships and superiorities, since wisely abolished; yet a peaceable, loyal, and industrious spirit have since universally prevailed in that country. By an union with Scotland, England has also the more absolute use of many good ports, of a more extensive fishery, of a supply of very good, though small cattle, and of sundry other benefits. SCOTLAND, on the other hand, receives inestimable advantages by her incorporating union with England; first, by gradually and very visibly enriching herself, from a participation of commerce with England's foreign plantations,

* See Stat. v. Annæ Regiæ, cap. 5.

factories, &c. Secondly, by this connection with England, she has gradually learnt the melioration of her soil, which in many parts is now known to be much more capable of improvement than was formerly imagined. Thirdly, by this union Scotland has procured a prodigious vent for coarse woollen, stockings, and stuffs, and her more valuable linen manufactures, not only in England, but for the American plantations, as well as the consumption of so many of her black cattle, peltry, &c. It affords equal matter of concern and surprise, that two nations, sprung from the same original stock, speaking the same language *essentially*, professing the same religion, and whom nature seems to have designed for *one*, being separated by the Great Ocean from the rest of mankind, should not have sooner pursued their true and evident mutual interests, and thereby have much sooner increased in wealth, security, and power.

On the twenty-fourth of April the queen prorogued the parliament, after having told them, in a short speech, that she would continue by proclamation the lords and commons already assembled, as members in the first British parliament, pursuant to the power vested in her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms. The parliament was accordingly revived by a proclamation, and by another the first parliament of Great Britain was appointed to meet on the twentieth of October.

Mean while several of the Scottish lords repaired to London, where they were most graciously received by the queen, who bestowed the title of duke on the earls of Roxburgh and Montrose, who, with the earls of Seafield, Mar, and Loudon, were sworn of the privy council. The union taking place on the first of May, that day was observed as a day of public thanksgiving: congratulatory addresses were presented by the different counties and corporations of England; but the university of Oxford and the Scots were wholly silent on this occasion, discovering thereby their dislike of a measure which her majesty had declared to be the greatest glory of her reign, and of the benefits of which they enjoyed an equal, if not the greatest share.

In order to preserve entire the chain of proceedings in the affair of the union, I purposely omitted to mention in their places the following particulars which happened during this session of parliament.

The French having made great depredations upon the islands of Nevis and St. Kitt's in the preceding year, 1706, and exercised great cruelty upon the inhabitants, the house of commons addressed her majesty about resettling those islands: and the marquis of Caermarthen having offered to go with a squadron of men of war to Madagascar, to suppress a nest of pirates who had become very troublesome in those parts; the house appointed a committee to consider of that matter, and it was resolved to present an address to the queen, to take such measures as in her wisdom should appear meet to suppress the said pirates; as also that her majesty would be pleased to use her endeavours to recover and preserve the antient possessions, trade, and fishery in Newfoundland. The French refu-

gees also, by private direction of bishop Burnet, and some other persons in power, addressed the queen in behalf of their protestant brethren labouring under persecution in France. In this address, which was presented on the seventh of April, by some of the most eminent among the French refugees, they most humbly beseech her majesty, "That when her thoughts should be employed in settling the great concerns of Europe in a treaty of peace, her majesty would graciously vouchsafe to take into her royal care the interest of the poor distressed churches of France, which having been ruined by the superstitious vanity of the enemy, so it would add to the solid glory of her majesty's reign to be instrumental in restoring the same." To which her majesty was pleased to return a most gracious answer, promising to comply with their request. A set of inflammatory writers having of late undertaken, at the instigation of the enemies of the union, to alarm the nation with apprehensions of the church's danger, and to revile and traduce the conduct of the ministers; and having carried their licentiousness to an insufferable height, the government thought it high time to take cognizance of these incendiaries. Prosecutions were commenced against Dr. Brown for a copy of verses, entitled, "The country parson's advice to the lord-keeper," and a letter which he wrote to Mr. secretary Harley. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be twice pilloried. The same punishment was decreed against William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surry, as author of a pamphlet called, "A letter to the author of the memorial of the church of England:" but, in consideration of his being in holy orders, the execution of the sentence was remitted. Edward Ward and William Pitts were set in the pillory for abusive writings; and George Sawbridge, the publisher of all of them, was fined six hundred pounds, and ordered to appear in the courts of Westminster-Hall, with a paper on his breast denoting his offence*.

The convocation was assembled, as usual, during the session of the parliament, and both houses presented her majesty with a very affectionate and loyal address, declaring that the church was in no danger from her majesty. The lower house, however, voted as if they imagined the church was in some danger from the terms of the union, and were actually employed in drawing up a remonstrance to the commons against that treaty. On this supposition, which the court was apprized of, the queen ordered the archbishop to prorogue the convocation for three weeks, by which time it was presumed the act for ratifying the union would have passed both houses. The lower house complied with this prorogation, but at the same time delivered a representation to the bishops, in which they complained of the prorogation, as a thing that had never been ordered during the sitting of the parliament since the Reformation. The bishops however having proved to her majesty, from the public records, that there were no less than seven or eight precedents of such prorogation during the session of parliament; the queen wrote a letter to the archbishop, severely reflecting on the conduct of the lower house, which she considered as an invasion of her royal supremacy; and threatened, if any thing

of the like nature was attempted for the future, she would use such means as the law warranted for punishing offenders.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, some changes were made in several of the public offices, all of them in favour of the Whigs, by the interest of Mr. secretary Harley. Sir Simon Harcourt was constituted attorney-general, in the room of sir Edward Northey; sir James Montagu succeeded sir Simon in the place of solicitor-general. In the beginning of May the queen declared the lord-keeper Cowper lord high-chancellor of Great Britain. Prince George of Denmark took the oaths in the court of Chancery as lord high-admiral of Great Britain; and in like manner the earl of Godolphin was re-appointed lord high-treasurer of Great Britain: but the most considerable change had been made in the month of December, by the promotion of the earl of Sunderland to the post of secretary of state, in the room of sir Charles Hedges. This was brought about, against the queen's inclination, by the pressing instances of the Whigs, who, after the services they had done, thought that one of the secretaries at least should be a man in whom they could place confidence. The republic of Venice having at last appointed ambassadors extraordinary to compliment the queen on her accession to the throne, her majesty in return nominated the earl of Manchester her ambassador-extraordinary to that republic, and in his journey thither he was to call at the courts of Vienna and Turin*.

The battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim, had cost Lewis XIV. a fine army, and the whole country from the Danube to the Rhine. The confederates had made themselves masters of all Flanders, to the very gates of Lisle, in consequence of the glorious day of Ramillies; and the defeat at Turin, had drove the French out of Italy. They had, however, still some troops left in the duchy of Milan, and the little victorious army under the count de Medavy. They were also still in possession of some strong places. Lewis offered to give up all these to the emperor, provided he would permit those troops, which amounted to about fifteen thousand men, to retire unmolested. The emperor accepted of the proposition, and the duke of Savoy gave his assent, without the English or Dutch being once consulted about the matter. By this treaty, which was signed on the twelfth of March, 1707, the emperor Joseph became peaceable possessor of Italy; the kingdom of Naples and Sicily was guaranteed to him; and every thing which had formerly been feudal, was now treated as subject to a supreme power. He imposed a tax of fifteen thousand pistoles upon Tuscany, forty thousand upon the duchy of Mantua; and Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithstanding they were free states, were included in these impositions.

In the beginning of this campaign all the enemies of France seemed to have acquired new strength, and that kingdom to be on the verge of ruin: she was pushed on all sides, both by sea and land. Of the formidable fleets with which Lewis XIV. had, till lately, domineered on the Ocean, scarcely thirty ships of the line were remaining. Strasburg still continued to be the barrier town to-

wards Germany; but by the loss of Landau, all Alsace lay exposed. A design had been formed for the following campaign to invade Provence by sea and land. The duke of Savoy had undertook to march an army into that province, and to act there as should be concerted by the allies. In a word, destruction seemed now hanging over the head of the Grand Monarch, who had so lately been the terror of all Europe, from which nothing could, in all probability, have saved him, but the misconduct of the confederates. Lewis, by virtue of his capitulation with the emperor in Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain and the Netherlands, as rendered him capable of opposing the allies.

Hitherto the arms of the confederates had been attended with amazing success in Spain; but this campaign Fortune seemed to abandon them all at once. The Spaniards appeared to be thoroughly reconciled to the government of Philip, and Charles was not in a condition to exert sufficient force to make them acknowledge him as their sovereign. His army was much inferior to that of the enemy: he had sustained an almost irreparable loss by the death of the brave prince of D'Armstadt, who, as I have already related, was killed at the attack upon Barcelona; and the earl of Peterborough had retired into Italy. The earl of Galway, and brigadier-general Stanhope, who commanded in his absence, were brave and gallant officers: they had the cause of the prince they were sent to serve at heart; but they did not possess all those qualifications which the situation of Charles's affairs required. The glory acquired by the duke of Marlborough, their friend and patron, had fired them with emulation, without imparting to them that great general's military capacity. They were eager to strike some important blow; and they persuaded Charles to second their views, by penetrating once more to Madrid, and fighting the enemy wherever they should appear, though much against his inclination, as he was very much averse to engage in any hazardous enterprize. Not that this prince wanted courage; on the contrary, he possessed a great share of it, joined to a clear head, and a solidity of judgment above his years. He reposed a great confidence in the earl of Peterborough, and that nobleman declared against an offensive war, on account of the difficulty of finding subsistence in Castile. He sent his opinion from Italy, in which he advised Charles to avoid a decisive action: he represented the fatal and irreparable consequences that might ensue from a defeat: he demonstrated that those might easily be avoided, by remaining on the defensive, and waiting the event of the intended expedition against Provence, which could not fail one way or another to oblige the French king to recall his troops out of Spain to protect his own dominions: he observed also, that as a fleet was daily expected from England with a powerful reinforcement of men and military stores, it would be time enough to attack the enemy when they arrived. This advice, however, prudent as it was, had no attention paid to it. The earl of Galway, brigadier Montrose, and the marquis das Minas, the Portuguese general, were bent upon coming to ac-

* Tindal. Burnet.

† Burnet. History of Europe. Voltaire.

tion; and it was resolved in a council of war to go in quest of the enemy, and offer them battle wherever they should appear; and, in order to provoke the Spaniards to the same resolve, the army, to the number of fifteen thousand men, was assembled at Caudela* on the first day of April, and on the seventh of the same month laid siege to the castle of Valencia, lying in the road between Valencia and Castile: but hearing that the duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth of the same month towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number, as I have before observed, being greatly superior to that of the allies. The following is the account of this fatal day, as published by authority.

Our army entered the plain of Almanza about noon, and formed in the line of battle, and so marched till it came within a mile of the enemy. Lord Galway, to supply our want of cavalry, had interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horse: but the enemy having drawn from the left some squadrons to reinforce their right wing, lord Tyrwley, who commanded at the left wing, ordered the Portuguese horse, of the left of the rear line, commanded by the count de Attalaya, to double into our first line, in order to make an equal front with the enemy.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the earl of Galway posted himself at the head of the English dragoons, and marched to begin the battle with the enemy's right wing of horse; the Portuguese being ordered to take the charge as it should come to them from the left, but not before the English and Dutch were actually engaged. While we were marching on, the enemy began to play upon us from a battery on a rising ground, a little in the front of their right: but our troops pressing on to come to a close engagement, the cannon on either side did little execution; and a detachment of dragoons being sent under colonel Dormer to attack the enemy's battery, they retired with their guns in great precipitation. As soon as our left wing was advanced within an hundred paces of the enemy's horse, they likewise advanced out of their line to meet our charge, and the engagement soon became very bloody and obstinate on both sides. The enemy, by the weight of their squadrons, forced ours to retreat some paces; but two regiments of foot, on the left of that brigade which was interlined with the horse of the first line, coming up, threw in their fire upon the enemy's flank and rear, and our cavalry at the same time renewing their charge in front, drove them in disorder through their own lines with a very great slaughter.

By this time the English and Dutch foot, who formed the center of our army, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freysheim, were sharply engaged, and broke through the enemy's first and second lines, bearing down all before them as far as the walls of Almanza: but this success was not of long duration; for the enemy's squadrons of the second line fell in upon their flank, and forced our infantry back with great loss.

The enemy observing that the cavalry of our right did not advance with our left wing, detached some squadrons to fall upon the Portuguese, who formed the right line, under the command of the marquis das Minas. These troops, in the most dastardly manner, gave way upon the first charge, and the whole right wing made off and abandoned their infantry, who were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. The battle still continued on our left wing, the enemy still charging us with fresh squadrons, but without success; which the duke of Berwick perceiving, he sent nine battalions, most of them French, who drew up before the first line of the Spanish horse, to oppose our brigade of foot, consisting of five regiments. At the same time they brought up several fresh squadrons, to make another charge upon our left wing of horse. The count d'Attalaya, who commanded the Portuguese horse that were mixed with our dragoons, was carried off wounded. Our troops were now attacked on every side; and being left naked in the flanks by the cowardly flight of the Portuguese wing, were surrounded and hemmed in on all sides.

In this dreadful situation, they formed themselves into a hollow square, and retired from the field of battle. Had they been able to make their retreat good, the enemy would have had no great cause to boast of the victory, the loss on both sides being nearly equal; but the men, after marching nine hours without any refreshment, and fighting about six, were fainting with fatigue: all their ammunition was gone; they saw themselves abandoned by their own horse, and in a country to which they were utter strangers; destitute of provisions, and cut off from all hopes of a supply. Upon these considerations, they resolved to surrender themselves (to the amount of thirteen battalions) as the French infantry had done at Blenheim, and to send to the duke of Berwick to desire honourable terms, which were gladly granted; and the duke, who was at some distance, and indeed thought this body out of his reach, sent count d'Asfeldt to receive their surrender, on these conditions; That they should be prisoners of war till they should be exchanged; that they should be all disarmed but the officers, who should keep their swords; and that they should have liberty to send for their baggage before they marched any farther. The Portuguese, and part of the English horse that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira.

In this fatal action the confederates lost above ten thousand men, two thousand of whom were left dead on the field of battle, and among those the following officers; brigadier Killegrew, the colonels Roper, Laurence, Dormer, Deloches, Green, Austin, MacNeal, Wooler, Withers, Ramsey, and Erskine. The earl of Galway, who charged in person at the head of Guiscard's dragoons, received a deep cut in his face, having before lost his right hand, with which he might have parried the blow. The marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and saw his mistress, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side. The lord Mark Ker; Mr. O'Hara, son

* This is a small town in the province of New Castile in Spain, about fifty miles distant from Valencia.

to the lord Tyrawley; and the colonels Clayton and Pierce were wounded. The loss of the enemy was not much inferior to ours.

After this unfortunate battle lord Galway retired with the remains of the army to the frontiers of Catalonia, in order to join king Charles, who was purposing to march to the borders of Roussillon †.

Neither Philip nor Charles were present at this action. The duke of Orleans, who had been appointed to the command in Spain, did not arrive till the day after the battle: however, he made all the advantage he could of the victory, marching into Valencia, and reducing that whole province, with the capital city, before the middle of May. He afterwards continued his route to Saragossa, the capital of Arragon; whereupon that whole kingdom made their submission to king Philip, imploring his clemency. The duke, however, disarmed them for the present, and they were obliged to buy their peace with great sums of money, besides subsisting the French army with provisions. King Philip afterwards thought fit to deprive them of their antient privileges for a time, and took such other measures to mortify them as enraged princes generally exercise towards rebellious subjects. The duke of Orleans afterwards began a private negotiation with the earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive; and he concluded the campaign with the siege of Lerida ‡, which was surrendered by capitulation on the second day of November; then the troops on both sides went into winter quarters. The earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon; and general Carpenter remained commander of the English forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to king Charles §.

The allies, glowing with indignation at the check their arms had received at Almanza, resolved to put in execution, without delay, the scheme they had formed for an attack upon Toulon, hoping to make themselves amends for the losses they had suffered in Spain, by over-running the fertile provinces of the south of France, to which Toulon is the key, on the side of the Mediterranean. With this view, no expence was spared to fit out the most formidable armament that had been raised for some years. Queen Anne remitted a large sum of money to the duke of Savoy, who, with prince Eugene, was to enter France on the side of Provence, at the head of thirty thousand men, while the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of sir Cloudesley Shovel, were to assist their operations by sea. Secrecy, however, the soul of every great enterprize, was wanting here; and the duke of Savoy embarrassed the measures (that had been concerted with

great sagacity) by his irresolution and delay. The English and Dutch, who looked upon the conquest of Toulon as certain, sent a large body of troops to fill up the vacancies that had been occasioned by the emperor's having drawn off considerable detachments to send through the ecclesiastical state towards Naples, of which he had made himself master without any difficulty. The forces of the confederates were formed into three different armies, in order to amuse the enemy, and more effectually to conceal their real intentions.

It was about the month of June when the design upon Toulon first began to appear; whereupon the mareschal de Tesse, who commanded in Provence, made all the dispositions that could be expected from an experienced and prudent general on such an occasion; notwithstanding which the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene passed the Var on the eleventh day of July, with their whole army, and advanced directly towards Toulon ||, whither the artillery and ammunition, which were very formidable, were transported on board of the combined squadrons. The confederate army being arrived before the place, prince Eugene went upon one of the heights in the neighbourhood, to observe the disposition of the enemy, when he soon perceived the whole difficulty of the enterprize he had undertaken, and found that he must fight an army strongly entrenched in the out-works, and on the heights that surrounded the place, and which were well furnished with a vast number of guns: in fine, that the town, so far from being unprovided for a siege, as the allies had been made to believe, was in a condition to bid defiance to their strongest efforts; upon which the prince was for making a timely retreat, but the duke of Savoy was positive in his opinion for carrying on the enterprize. Accordingly a council of war being held, it was resolved to begin their operations with the attack of the hill of St. Catherine, which the enemy had fortified; and in this first attempt the allies succeeded, though not without loss. They now began to erect their batteries on this eminence, and to play with red-hot shot upon the town, accompanied by an incessant shower of bombs from the fleet, which did prodigious damage to the buildings and works of the place. They also attacked and carried Fort St. Louis, le Grand Tour, and Balaguier, three little forts in the harbour.

While the allies were thus employed, the enemy were not idle: they made several vigorous sallies, in which they cut off a good number of our troops, and nailed up some cannon. Marshal de Tesse gathered in all the troops that were in the country, as well militia as regulars; and by the fifteenth of August found his numbers so increased, that he resolved to attempt dislodging the

† Roussillon, a government of France, anciently belonging to Spain, but ceded to the former by the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. It is bounded on the north by the little Pyrenean mountains, which divide it from Languedoc; on the east by the Mediterranean sea; and on the south and west by the mountains of Catalonia and Cerdagne, and by a part of the great Pyrenees; so that it is one large plain, fifty-five miles long, and thirty-six broad, abounding in corn and wine, oranges and lemons, with some good pasture; but the olives are of the most value to the inhabitants. Its capital is Perpignan.

‡ Lerida, anciently Ilerida, is a well built and fortified city

of Catalonia in Spain, situated on the river Segre, has a good citadel, is the see of a bishop, under the archbishop of Tarragona, and has an university.

§ Tindal. Burnet. History of Europe.

|| Thoulon, or Toulon, is a pretty large city of Provence in France, with one of the most spacious and secure ports of Europe, in a bay of the Mediterranean. Here the largest ships of the French navy are built and stationed: here is an arsenal, furnished with all sorts of naval stores, also yards and docks, and the whole is well fortified. It lies twenty-five miles south-east of Marseilles, and four hundred and sixteen in the same direction from Paris.

allies from the post of St. Catherine, cost what it might; and indeed he took his measures with great skill and sagacity: he ordered two attacks to be made; the one feigned, the other true; but both so ordered as to co-operate with and mutually assist each other: that which was destined against the hill of St. Catherine he commanded in person, and the French attacked the confederates with a fury not to be withstood. The duke and the prince sent four battalions to their relief, but it was too late; the French had driven our men from the post with such slaughter, that not above thirty were left out of a body of between eight and nine hundred. In this action the prince of Saxe-Gotha, one of the bravest of the confederate generals, chusing rather to die on the spot than abandon his post, put himself at the head of this small remnant, crying out to them, "Courage, my brave friends, let us die like men of honour; it shall never be said that a prince of Saxe-Gotha suffered himself to be driven from his post." He fell, however, the victim of his martial ardour: a musket-ball entered his head under the left eye, and another pierced his left breast: he fell dead on the spot, infinitely regretted by the emperor and all the allies: he had not attained his thirtieth year. His little band seeing him fall, immediately laid down their arms. The four battalions, who were by this time come up, had not a better fate: the victorious enemy fell upon them sword in hand, killing great numbers, and putting the rest to flight; and then nailing up all the cannon of the confederates which they found in the place, they returned to their camp with very little loss.

Prince Eugene was now more than ever convinced of the impossibility of taking Toulon: he repeated his instances to abandon the enterprize, which he said might be done at present without hazarding any thing; but that the enemy were daily receiving reinforcements from all parts; that it appeared even now very difficult to be supplied from the fleet with provisions and necessaries for the siege when the wind was contrary, and that in an advanced season of the year it would be still more so; and that the desertion of the soldiers for want of provision, and the distempers among them, would daily thin their numbers, and reduce them to an inferiority with the enemy. The most prudent and experienced amongst the commanders in the confederate army were fully sensible of the truth of prince Eugene's arguments. The duke of Savoy himself at length began to see the matter in its true light; and having received intelligence that the enemy had now sixty battalions in their intrenchments, besides a numerous cavalry, he agreed to desist from this enterprize: but that they might not quit the place without leaving behind them evident marks of their visit, directions were given for bombarding Toulon both by sea and land with redoubled vigour; and the duke of Savoy, who in this took retaliation for his capital city of Turin, went to an eminence to enjoy the destructive blaze. The enemy were greatly distressed by this dreadful farewell: eight ships of the line were burned in the harbour; twenty were sunk

in the entrance to the mole, few of which could ever be recovered; several magazines, and above one hundred and sixty horses, were destroyed in the city; and the devastations committed in the adjacent country were estimated at no less than thirty millions of livres, or near five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

By this time the confederates received advice that the French king had recalled a good number of battalions from the army on the Rhine; that the duke of Burgundy was also at the head of a powerful army, advancing to the relief of Toulon; wherefore, on the twenty-fifth day of August, having embarked their guns and other implements of war, they decamped in the night, leaving their tents standing to deceive the enemy, and on the thirty-first repassed the Var, having lost, as appeared by a muster of their troops, about six thousand men, by sickness, desertion, or the sword. But to cover in some measure the disgrace of this disappointment, and to make some amends for the losses he had suffered, the duke of Savoy soon after laid siege to Suza (the capital of the marquissate of the same name in Piedmont) the garrison of which submitted at discretion. By this conquest he not only secured the entry into his own territories, but likewise opened to himself a free passage into Dauphiné*. After this the army went into winter-quarters†.

The English and Dutch, particularly the former, were grievously chagrined at the miscarriage of this expedition, from which they had formed such flattering prospects of speedily terminating the war with honour and advantage, and which they now saw vanish into air, after such a mighty expence to insure its success. They accused the duke of Savoy of holding an intelligence with Lewis XIV. but still we were obliged to submit, and pay the greatest part of the expence. The ill success of this expedition was also attributed, as I have already observed, to the emperor's having weakened the army under the command of prince Eugene in Italy, in order to send troops to the conquest of Naples. Indeed the house of Austria seemed all along to have very little at heart the projects or interests of the rest of the allies, or to regard the expences they were at, provided she could answer her own private views. She had found out the secret to engage England and Holland warmly in her cause, and to draw immense sums from those two nations, of which she made her own use. The kingdom of Naples was a conquest of greater importance to her than that of Toulon, which more immediately concerned the maritime powers, who would have reaped infinite advantages from the destruction of one of the finest seaports the enemy possessed in Europe.

The raising the siege of Toulon was followed by several other cross accidents and losses to the allies. The very seasons seemed to arm against them. Their fleets were greatly shattered by bad weather at sea, by which several ships were lost, or fell a prey to the enemy's cruizers. Great Britain in particular suffered a terrible disaster, in the unhappy fate of sir Cloudesley Shovel, who, on his

|| A government of France, terminated by la Bresse, and the river Rhone on the north; by the Alps (which divide it from Savoy and Piedmont) on the east; by Provence on the south;

and by the Rhone on the west.

† History of Europe. Basuet. Life of Prince Eugene.

return home with fifteen sail of the line, and five of a lesser rank, was lost upon the rocks of Scilly, in his own ship the *Association*, and perished, with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the *Eagle*, *Romney*, and *Firebrand*: the rest of the fleet happily got safe into Spithead*. Nor was this the only misfortune that befel us at sea this year; for though France was not in a condition to send out any fleet, yet the British nation never suffered greater losses on that element. The prince of Denmark's council was very unhappy in the whole conduct of the cruizers and convoys. The merchants made heavy complaints, and not without reason: five men of war (who were convoy to a great fleet of merchant-men and transports, laden with stores and horses, bound for Lisbon) fell in with the Breft and Dunkirk squadrons off the Lizard, to the number of fourteen sail. The *Cumberland*, *Chester*, and *Ruby*, being disabled, were forced to submit; the *Devonshire* maintained a running fight till night, when by some accident she was blown up, and only two of her men saved: the *Royal Oak* was boarded by the French, but got clear, and with some vessels made the harbour of Kinsale (in Ireland) and some others of the merchant-ships and transports bore away for, and got safe into Lisbon. Indeed, about this time the government received advice that captain Underdon, commander of the *Falkland*, had made a successful expedition against the French fisheries in North America, having taken two of their men of war, and burnt several fishing-vessels and boats, destroyed their stages, carried off their fish, and made their fishermen prisoners: but this success was too inconsiderable to alleviate the loss of the men and ships that perished with sir Cloudesley Shovel, or fell a prey to the French cruizers in the Channel.

It is certain indeed that we still continued to have the superiority over the enemy; but commerce, which is the main sinew of war, was greatly weakened. The party of Charles III. which he supported at such an immense expence, was visibly declining: nothing effectual could be done to retrieve it till the next year's campaign. The interval, however, ought to have been improved by every possible means; instead of which the operations were suffered to languish, and the enemy to gain a degree of strength that it was not easy afterwards to withstand. Eight or ten ships of force more in the Mediterranean would have obviated these inconveniencies, and have enabled Charles to keep his adherents together. Nothing could appear more simple and natural than such a measure; and it is hardly conceivable how our ministry, while they were continually busied in forming the most important projects, should overlook the lesser arrangement, which naturally led to the completion of the main design.

Upon the Upper Rhine the Germans seemed to be asleep: they suffered marshal Villars to pass that river with very little opposition, to make him-

self master of their lines at Biehl and Stolhoffen, and lay the circles of Suabia and Franconia under contribution: and he had even penetrated into Bavaria, had he not been obliged to weaken his army, and send large detachments into Provence for the relief of Toulon. The imperial army was, as usual, augmented the latter end of the summer, and the command of it was, at the pressing instances of the allies, given to the elector of Hanover, who exerted himself with uncommon diligence in restoring military discipline; but the army was too weak, and the season too far advanced, to enter on great designs. One considerable action happened at Offenburgh, which very much raised the elector's reputation. He surprized seven regiments of French horse and dragoons encamped near that place, whom he attacked on the twenty-fourth of September, and entirely defeated them, killing several officers, and eight hundred private men. Soon after marshal Villars repassed the Rhine; and the elector of Hanover separated his army, and dispersed them so conveniently in their winter-quarters, that they might be assembled upon any emergent occasion in less than forty-eight hours†.

The conduct of Charles XII. of Sweden continued still so mysterious, that the confederates were not a little alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. It was therefore resolved to send some person of sagacity to dive into his real intentions, and the duke of Marlborough was accordingly dispatched in the month of April, with a letter from the queen to that monarch, who then held his residence at Lipsick. His grace, who was no less able a negotiator than he was a successful general, attacked Charles on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible. Being admitted to an audience, he is said to have addressed him in the following terms:

“ S I R E,

“ I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honour of assuring your majesty of my regard; and I should think it a great happiness if my affairs would allow me to learn, under so great a general as your majesty, what I want to know in the art of war. §”

To this compliment his Swedish majesty returned the following answer; “ That the queen of Great Britain's letter, and the person of her ambassador, were both very acceptable to him; that he should always have the utmost regard for her Britannic majesty, and the interests of the grand alliance; that it was much against his will that he had been obliged to give the least umbrage to any of the parties engaged in the confederacy, but that his

* The admiral's body being cast ashore, was stripped by the country people, and buried in the sand; but was afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-abbey, where a noble monument was erected to the memory of this gallant officer, as a mark of gratitude for the signal services which he

performed to his country. He was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; and by the force of his personal merit alone, without any particular patron, raised himself to the highest station in the navy. Hist. of Europe. Burchet.

† Broderick.

§ Lamberti, vol. iv. p. 434.

excellency could not but be convinced that he had just cause to bring his troops into that country; that nevertheless his grace might assure the queen his mistress, that he intended to withdraw them as soon as he had obtained the satisfaction he demanded; and that in the mean time he should carefully abstain from doing any thing that might tend to the prejudice of the common cause in general, or of the protestant religion in particular, of which he should always glory to be a zealous protector*.

This however was looked upon as nothing more than repaying words with words. It was well known that the French court had gained over count Piper, the chief minister and favourite of Charles, to their interest, who put his master upon seeking occasion for a quarrel with the emperor, whom the Swedish conqueror affected to treat with great haughtiness, and had started some pretensions which gave the court of Vienna great uneasiness.

Count Zobor, son-in-law to the prince of Lichtenstein, and chamberlain to the emperor, had, at a public entertainment, made some indecent reflections on the character of Charles XII. in the presence of baron de Strahlen, the Swedish envoy, who so far resented it, that he gave the count at once the lye, and a box on the ear; after which he peremptorily demanded reparation from the Imperial court. The emperor, afraid of displeasing the king of Sweden, was obliged to banish the count. Charles, not satisfied even with this condescension, insisted that count Zobor should be delivered up to him. The pride of the court of Vienna was forced to stoop. The count was put into the hands of the king, who sent him back, after having kept him for some time as a prisoner at Stetin.

He further demanded, contrary to all the laws of nations, that the emperor should deliver up to him one thousand five hundred unhappy Muscovites who had escaped the year before out of Saxony, and had been entertained in the imperial army on the Upper Rhine. The emperor was obliged to yield even to this unreasonable demand; but the Muscovites being informed of what was in agitation, disbanded themselves, and marched off in parties into Poland.

The third and last of his demands was the most daring. Having declared himself the protector of the emperor's protestant subjects in Silesia, a province belonging to the house of Austria, and not to the empire; he insisted that the emperor should grant them the liberties and privileges which had been established by the treaties of Westphalia, but which were extinguished, or at least eluded, by those of Ryswick. The emperor, who wanted only to get rid of such a dangerous neighbour, yielded once more, and granted all that he desired. The Lutherans of Silesia had one hundred churches, which the catholics were obliged to cede to them. All differences being thus compromised, a treaty was signed between the emperor and the king of Sweden at Leipzig, on the first of September, under the guaranty of the queen of Great Britain and the

States-general: and now Charles having no pretext to remain in Germany, set out at the head of his army for Poland, to stop the progress of the czar of Muscovy, who had by this time almost overrun that kingdom†.

Whilst the house of Austria underwent humiliations on every side, two pieces of pomp and magnificence consumed great part of their treasure: an embassy was sent from Lisbon to demand the emperor's sister for the king of Portugal, which was effected at a very great expence. A wife also was to be sought for king Charles: he had seen the princess Caroline of Anspach, and was much pleased with her. Proposals were made to her in his name, and great endeavours used to prevail on her to change her religion; but she preferring the protestant faith to the splendor of a crown, refused to be a queen on those terms. Her firmness met with a suitable reward; for being soon after married to the electoral prince of Brunswick, she shared with him the crown of Great Britain. The princess of Wolfenbottle was not so firm: she subscribed to the conditions of the king of Spain, and was in a short time married to him by proxy, and sent to Barcelona. The queen of Portugal this same year came to Holland, to be carried to Lisbon by a squadron of the English fleet‡.

The duke of Marlborough having finished his negotiations with the king of Sweden by the latter end of April, left Saxony, and repaired to Flanders, where he assembled the allied army at Anderlach, near Brussels, about the middle of May, and advanced to Soignies, with a design to give battle to the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Vendôme, who commanded the French forces, and had encamped on the plain of Flerus. On his way, however, he received intelligence that the enemy's army had been strongly reinforced by draughts from all their garrisons, insomuch as to be greatly superior to that of the allies. Upon this intelligence the duke, whose prudence was always equal to his valour, thought proper to resume the road to Brussels, and encamped his army at Mildert, while the French advanced to Gemblours. The two dukes spent the rest of the campaign in marches and counter-marches, endeavouring to gain some advantage of each other; but such was the caution of each general, that no action happened between the two armies, nor was any town besieged, but both sides held their own, and about the latter end of October marched into the same quarters they had occupied the preceding winter§.

At the close of the campaign the duke of Marlborough repaired to Frankfort, where he had a conference with the electors of Hanover, Mentz, and Palatine, about the operations of the ensuing year: then he returned to the Hague; and having settled the necessary measures with the deputies of the States-general, set sail for England, where he landed on the second day of November. It furnished matter of much speculation to the politicians of those days to account for the inactive conduct of his grace during this critical campaign, when he commanded a victorious army of one hundred

* Lamberti, vol. iv. p. 434.

† Burnet. Tindal. Hist. of Charles XII. of Sweden.

‡ Burnet. Tindal.

§ Hist. of Europe. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

thousand veteran troops flushed with victory. His friends accounted for it, by alleging that he waited to see the success of the grand expedition against Toulon.—It might be so.

The military transactions abroad being now at an end, we will return to those of a domestic nature.

Affairs in the English council and administration began now to assume a new face, and the royal favour now seemed directed in a new channel. Mr. Harley, who had for some years been secretary of state, had ingratiated himself greatly with his sovereign, and in consequence thereof began to act for himself, and in opposition to the lord-treasurer. The duchess of Marlborough was also supplanted by Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had formerly relieved from indigence, and placed about the person of the queen, in the nature of a bed-chamber woman. This person had, by studying the temper of the queen, and meeting all her designs and little biases with assent and approbation, absolutely gained her affection. Her majesty began now to be sensible that her old favourite the duchess of Marlborough had, during her reign of favour, played the tyrant; and the remonstrances of that lady, as to state affairs, which had hitherto been placed to the account of an honest bluntness and undisguised affection, were now censured as insolent attempts to thwart her majesty in her most respected maxims, and make her the tool of an ambitious and designing family-party. Mrs. Masham was a relation to Mr. Harley, as well as to the duchess, and she acted under his directions in managing some of the private springs of political intrigues, which he now began to put in play, to form a party in conjunction with the Tories, to sap the credit of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin, and expel the Whigs from the advantages they possessed under the government. Harley's chief coadjutor in this scheme was Mr. Henry St. John (afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke) who for the present was content to act in a subordinate capacity; but in a short time, conscious of his own parts and influence, raised himself to the character of that minister's rival. To these politicians sir Simon Harcourt joined himself, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit; and they united their endeavours to rally and incorporate the disunited Tories. It was said that prince George was brought into the concert, by being made to apprehend that he was in a manner excluded from his due share in the government, by the great power which the duke of Marlborough and the lord-treasurer had acquired to themselves and their friends. They asserted that the queen herself was little better than a cypher in the state, being as much under the controul of the duchess of Marlborough as her affairs were by the duke. The queen about this time took some steps which plainly shewed her inclination towards the Tories: among others, she bestowed the bishoprics of Chichester and Exeter upon sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, tho' persons of unblemished character, were professed anti-revolutionists.

The disposition of the Tories seemed to concur with the views of the new-formed party: the nation in general expressed great discontent with the Whig ministry, on account of the many losses and disgraces which had befallen our arms both by sea

and land in the course of this year. The Tories did not fail to feed their disgust, while the ministry seemed totally inattentive to the spreading murmurs which portended a storm ready to fall upon their heads. By a strange instance of mismanagement, they treated their newly incorporated brethren the Scots in such a manner as seemed to exasperate that people more than ever against the union. A stop was put to their whole commerce for two months, before it was diverted into the new channel. Three months elapsed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied with the most shameful partiality. The Scottish nation now resounded on all sides with complaints: the Jacobites hailed the happy omen, and began to stir in favour of their exiled prince. Conferences were held with the court of St. Germain's, and measures concerted for bringing about the desired revolution: nay, so openly did they act, and with so little regard to decency towards the established government, that the pretender's birth-day was publicly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom: in a word, every thing in Scotland seemed ripe for a general revolt.

In Ireland, indeed, every thing wore the face of quiet and tranquility, under the administration of the earl of Pembroke. A parliament having met at Dublin, in the month of July, presented addresses of congratulation to her majesty on the late union of the two kingdoms: several laudable resolutions were passed by the commons, in favour of their own manufactures: they granted the necessary supplies; and, having finished several bills, were prorogued to the sixth of May of the ensuing year; and the earl of Pembroke returned to England.

Such was the state of our home affairs, when the time for convening the great assembly of the nation approached very near. The parliament had already sat two years, and of course, according to the institution of triennial parliaments, it had only another year to sit; but as it had been revived on account of its being the first parliament of Great Britain, it was commonly supposed to be a new parliament. Mr. Secretary Harley and his friends, however, maintained, that it could not be a new parliament, since it was not summoned by a new writ, but only by virtue of a clause in an act of parliament. The Whigs, by their superior interest, at length carried their point, and it was yielded to be a new parliament.

Accordingly, on the twenty-third of October, the first parliament of Great Britain met at Westminster, when all the forms usual at the beginning of a new parliament were observed: the queen came to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, they were directed by the lord-chancellor to return to their house and chuse a speaker, and present him that day sevensnight. They unanimously made choice of Mr. Smith, their former speaker, and then adjourned to the thirtieth of the same month: the lords adjourned to the same day. At this first meeting thirteen of the Scottish peers returned for that part of Great Britain called Scotland, were admitted to their places in the British house of lords, each of them being introduced by two English peers of the same rank; and the commons of North Britain took their places in the lower house. On the thirtieth

the queen came again to the house of peers, and the commons, being sent for, presented their speaker, who was approved by the queen: then the two houses were again adjourned to the sixth of November, on which day her majesty made a speech to the first British parliament, to the following purport.

She began with expressing "her humble thankfulness to God, and entire satisfaction to herself, that she met them there in her first parliament of Great Britain, not doubting (she said) but they came with hearts prepared, as her's was, to make the union so prosperous, as it might answer the well-grounded hopes of all her good subjects, and the reasonable apprehensions of her enemies; and to that end, she observed, nothing was so material to convince both friends and enemies, that the uniting their interests had not only improved their abilities, but also their resolutions, as to prosecute the war till an honourable peace could be obtained."

Then, having spoken of the attempt upon Toulon, which, though it had not been attended with the desired success, had not, she said, wholly lost its intended effect; having taken notice of our disadvantages in Spain, and the expulsion of the enemy wholly out of Italy, as also of the conduct and authority of the elector of Hanover, who commanded as general of the empire that campaign on the Rhine; and after that, of the supplies necessary for carrying on the war with success; she came to the business of the late union, and said, "it was impossible but some doubts and difficulties must have arisen on account of that measure, which, however, she hoped, were so far overcome as to have defeated the designs of those, who would have made use of that handle to foment disturbances." Then, having recommended to their consideration several things, made liable by the articles of union to the consideration of the parliament of Great Britain, she concluded with assuring them, "that nothing should be wanting on her part to procure her people all the blessings that could follow from that happy circumstance of her reign, and to extinguish the least occasion of jealousy, that either the civil or religious rights of any part of that her united kingdom could suffer by the consequences of that union; hoping (she said) they would suffer nothing to prevail with them to disunite among themselves, or abate their zeal in opposing the common enemy*."

I shall not dwell on the addresses presented to her majesty on this occasion, but only observe, that both houses, having made some enquiries into the miscarriages of the navy, and brought in a bill for the better security of the trade of the kingdom, the commons went roundly to work about the necessary supplies for the service of the ensuing year, amounting in all to about six millions†. They introduced another bill, for repealing the Scottish act of security, and that about peace and war, which had excited such jealousy in the English

nation: they likewise resolved, that there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain: that the militia of Scotland should be put upon the same footing with that of England: that the powers of the justices of the peace should be the same through the whole united kingdoms: that, for the better administration of justice in Scotland, the lords of justiciary should go circuits twice in the year: and that the writs for electing Scottish members to serve in parliament should be directed, and returns made, in the same manner as was observed in England.

The queen came to the parliament house on the eighteenth of December, and gave the royal assent to those bills; when, after thanking the commons for their readiness and affection in providing so considerable a part of the supplies, she hinted at the necessity there was of augmenting the forces in Spain, Portugal, and Savoy. This intimation produced a debate in the house of lords, on the affairs of Spain, the queen being present incognito. It began about returning thanks to the earl of Peterborough for his services in that country, or else to call him to an account for his conduct if he had done amiss. The services of the earl of Peterborough were extolled by the earl of Rochester and lord Haversham, and it was moved, that he might have the thanks of the house: this was opposed by the Whigs, who imagined it might imply a reflection on the conduct of the earl of Galway. The earl of Rochester observed on this occasion, that it was a saying of old duke Schomberg's, that the attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns; and therefore his lordship proposed the standing upon the defensive in Flanders, and sending from thence fifteen or twenty thousand men to Catalonia. In this he was seconded by the earl of Nottingham and others, who took notice that Spain was in a manner abandoned to the enemy. This motion was strongly opposed by the duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant, which he had conquered, could not be preserved without a considerable number of men; and that if the French should gain any advantage in Flanders, from their superiority in point of numbers, the discontented party in Holland, which was very strong, and bore with great impatience the burthen of the war, would immediately become clamorous for a peace. His grace on this occasion discovered so much warmth, that the whole house took notice of it; and lord Rochester said, he wondered that nobleman, who had always been so conspicuous for his calmness and moderation, should now be out of temper; at the same time he challenged his grace to shew how troops could be procured for the service of Italy and Spain; to which the duke replied, that the subject was of too great concern to be spoken of without warmth, and assured the house, that measures had been already concerted for forming an army of forty thousand men, under the duke of Savoy, after sending powerful succours to king Charles‡.

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iv. 70.

† The ways and means for raising those sums were, the land-tax of four shillings in the pound; the malt duty; upon the several duties granted last year for annuities, a farther sum was now enacted of six hundred and forty thousand pounds for like annuities of forty thousand pounds per annum, at the same price; customs laid for ninety-five years, on which one million was to be taken in for purchasing more annuities at sixteen years purchase. The East India company proposed to advance one million two hundred thousand pounds for the service of the

war, if they might have their term enlarged to the year 1726, contenting themselves with the same interest they already received for the two millions they formerly advanced, which was complied with, and enacted accordingly; and the general mortgage as it was called (that is, divers duties at the custom-house) was continued from 1712 to 1714, for a loan of seven hundred and twenty-nine thousand and sixty-seven pounds, which completed the sums voted.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 183.

How powerful these were, the event will shew.

This declaration of the duke's, however, put an end to the debates, and on the twenty-third of December the two houses joined in an address to the queen, against making any peace, which could not be safe and favourable for her and her allies, if Spain, the West Indies, or any part of the Spanish monarchy, should be suffered to remain under the power of the house of Bourbon. Her majesty, in her answer, fully concurred with them in opinion, adding farther, that she was very well pleased to find the measures she had concerted for the succour of the king of Spain, were so well approved by both houses: she said, she would continue her most pressing instances with the emperor, for hastening farther succours, and that they might be commanded by prince Eugene, agreeable to the desire of the two houses in their address. This request she accordingly made; the court of Vienna, however, did not chuse to comply with it, but sent thither the count Staremberg, who, of all the German generals, was next to the prince in military reputation.

The high degree of credit in which Mr. Harley now stood with the queen, filled the Whigs with very disagreeable apprehensions: they mustered all their strength, and, headed by the two great statesmen, the duke and the treasurer, who yet managed every thing, resolved to be before-hand with the secretary, and, if possible, drive him from the court; which while they were meditating upon, an accident happened that gave them some colour for attacking their rival. One Gregg, an inferior clerk in Mr. Harley's office, was detected in holding a secret correspondence with monsieur Chamillard, the French king's minister; whereupon he was apprehended, and brought to his trial, when he pleaded guilty, and was condemned; but he was reprieved from time to time, for several months, in hopes that he might make some discoveries of importance: but the fellow took the whole guilt upon himself, declaring at his execution, that neither his master Mr. Harley, nor any other person, had the least knowledge of his treasonable correspondence, which, he said, he had entered into merely to supply those necessities which a life of extravagance and debauchery had run him into. The Whigs were in great hopes that this affair would have fixed an indelible stain upon the secretary's character; but the most that could be made out to the censure of Mr. Harley, was, that he suffered papers of a secret nature to be too much exposed in his office, whereby Gregg and other clerks had it in their power to give intelligence to the enemy, if they should be so disposed. The peers thought proper to offer an address to her majesty upon this head, reflecting upon Mr. Harley's negligence in the discharge of his office (which was certainly reprehensible.) The duke of Marlborough and the lord treasurer Godolphin, laying hold of this favourable opportunity to overturn their tottering rival, declared they would lay down their commissions if the secretary was employed any longer. The queen, who in fact was little better than the tool of every ministry that was uppermost, was forced to acquiesce, and prevailed on Mr. Harley to make a voluntary resignation of his post, and retire: with him went out sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household, sir Simon

Harcourt, attorney-general, and Mr. St. John, secretary at war; leaving the Whigs to act without controul. Mr. Harley's place was bestowed on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the Exchequer. The queen, however, retained so deep a resentment of the behaviour of the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin on this occasion, that she entirely withdrew her confidence from them, though in appearance she carried it towards them as formerly.

A few days after this breach at court, which happened about the latter end of February, 1708, the nation was alarmed with the sudden news of an invasion from France. Lewis XIV. after having tried every method to bring the allies to a compliance with his proposals, resolved to attempt an invasion of Great Britain. The undertaking was certainly a very bold one, considering the weak state of his maritime forces, and the powerful fleets with which we then covered the seas; but though the success was doubtful, it was not quite destitute of probability: those of the Scots who were averse to the union, could not without indignation behold themselves reduced to a state of dependence on the English; and they thought no means so likely to shake off the yoke, as by bringing about a revolution in the government. With this view, they had proposed an expedition in favour of the pretender, whom they styled James III. and promised to join him with thirty thousand men in arms, to fight his cause, if he would only land at Edinburgh, with some few succours from France.

Lewis readily fell in with the proposal, hoping, if he could excite a rebellion in England, it would prevent us from contributing our proportion towards the prosecution of the war; though he pretended that his sole design was to make the same efforts in behalf of the pretender, who had now assumed the title of the Chevalier de St. George, which he had done for the father. Accordingly in the month of March, 1708, eight ships of the line and seventy transports were got ready at Dunkirk, and six thousand men were embarked on board them. The count de Gacé had the command of the troops, and the chevalier de Fourbin Janson, one of the best sea-officers of his time, that of the fleet. Every thing seemed favourable for their design; there were not above three thousand regular troops in Scotland: England was left defenceless, its soldiers being all engaged on the continent. This expedition was exactly like that in 1744, in favour of the grandson of James II. It was impeded by several accidents, and discovered by the government; whereupon orders were given for assembling a strong squadron of men of war, which were sent under the command of sir George Byng and the lord Dursley, to lie off Dunkirk, and wait the motions of the French: but the English admirals being driven off their station by violent gales of wind, were forced to return into the Downs; and the French took the advantage of the very winds which drove them over to the British shore, to sail out of their harbours, with the pretender and twelve French and Irish battalions on board, and proceeded for the coast of Scotland.

In the mean time both houses of parliament (who had been made acquainted, by the queen's order, with what the enemy was meditating against her dominions) addressed her majesty, beseeching her

her to take care of her royal person; promising to stand by her with their lives and fortunes, in maintenance of her own undoubted right and title, against the pretended prince of Wales and all her enemies. A bill was also brought in for suspending the Habeas corpus act till October, with relation to persons taken up by the government on suspicion: a proclamation was issued, declaring the pretender, his accomplices and adherents, traitors and rebels, and for apprehending them; with such other necessary precautions as the exigence of the circumstance dictated.

On the other hand the fleet, under the command of sir George Byng, which had put back to the Downs, being reinforced to forty ships of the line, set sail for Dunkirk again; and on his way the admiral received intelligence, by an Ostend ship, dispatched by major-general Cadogan, who, upon the first news of the intended invasion, had been dispatched to Brussels, in order to ship off the English forces in garrison in the Netherlands for England, that the Dunkirk squadron was sailed northward. Whereupon a council of war was held, and it was resolved to pursue the enemy, whose design they judged to be against Edinburgh: accordingly sir George Byng, after having detached a squadron under admiral Baker, to convoy the troops from Ostend to England, began to give chase to the enemy with the rest of the fleet.

The queen having acquainted the parliament, in a speech, of the French fleet being sailed from Dunkirk, and of sir George Byng's being sent in pursuit of them; as also that ten battalions of her troops were coming over from Ostend, for the protection of her dominions; both houses presented warm addresses, importing, that they would stand by and assist her majesty against all her enemies: that the small number of ships and troops employed in this projected invasion, while it raised the contempt and indignation of all her majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, shewed, at the same time, that the chief prospect of success, which the enemy entertained, depended on their hopes of assistance from some of her subjects, whose restless passions, and arbitrary principles, had for several years engaged them in laying designs to undermine and destroy the best form of government that ever was established in this island; and that, as the present crisis would effectually distinguish her real from her pretended friends, they hoped she would encourage the one, and discountenance the other, and would never listen to the suggestions of any, who endeavoured to excite a jealousy and distrust of those, who, ever since the Revolution, had been most steady and firm to the interest of the late king, and to that of her majesty.

Addresses on the same occasion were sent up from different parts of the kingdom, all which the queen received with tokens of high satisfaction. In the mean time she left no endeavours unexerted to defeat the designs of her enemies. Several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry, sent from Flanders and other parts, were sent towards Scotland; while the earl of Leven, commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh, put that fortress in a posture of defence, and made the proper dispositions to oppose the pretender at his landing.

The French fleet arrived at Edinburgh Frith the twenty-third of March, N. S. and late the same night sir George Byng came to the same place, so great had been his vigilance and dispatch in pursuit of the enemy; who were so confounded at his sudden appearance, that they immediately crowded all the sail they could, and favoured by the darkness of the night and a land-breeze, stood out to sea: as soon as the day broke, the English admiral descried them in the offing, upon which he made a signal for all the ships under his command to slip their cables, and give chase; but the enemy having got the start of them by some miles, and their ships being cleaner than our's, sir George could come up but with one of them, which was the Salisbury, a prize the French had taken from us, on board of which were the lord Griffin, the lord Clermont, Mr. Middleton, the marquis de Levi a French lieutenant-general, with some other French and Irish officers, and five companies of French soldiers. And sir George having followed the rest of the fleet till he lost sight of them, returned to Edinburgh Frith with his prisoners, who being afterwards brought to London, the lord Griffin was committed to the Tower, with the rest of the prisoners of distinction; and his lordship having been attainted in the last reign for high-treason, execution was awarded against him by the court of Queen's Bench: but her majesty being pleased to reprieve him from time to time, he died at length in the Tower.

All the noblemen and persons of distinction in Scotland, suspected of disaffection to the government, were apprehended, and either imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate. Among these was duke Hamilton, who, according to Lockhart, in his Memoirs, had solemnly promised to join the pretender at the instant he should land. On the duke's being brought to London, he found means to make his court to the Whigs so effectually, by promising to join with them and their friends in Scotland, in the election of peers for the parliament of Great Britain, that he prevailed on them not only to procure his, but all the other prisoners liberty, upon bail, which was likewise soon remitted. This was a nice step in the duke; and if he had not hit upon this favourable conjuncture, and managed it with great address, fatal consequences would probably have ensued to him and his friends. It is certain they were Whig lords who bailed the duke himself, three of which were the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Wharton, and the lord Halifax. Some writers, indeed, have affected to attribute the duke's release to another cause, namely, that he was the person who first revealed the secret of the intended invasion to the English court: this time alone must unriddle.

But of all the idle reports raised by the breath of faction to mislead a weak and captious populace, no notion could certainly be more absurd than that which some historians have endeavoured to propagate, who pretend that queen Anne herself was engaged in a correspondence with her pretended brother in this affair. It is absolute folly to suppose that she should invite her competitor to the crown to come and dethrone her. What

might have been the consequences of this invasion, had it actually taken effect, it is hard to determine; but as it was happily suppressed in embryo, the only inconvenience it produced, was, that it occasioned a considerable run upon the Bank of England, which was like to have affected the credit of the nation. In order to prevent this public calamity, the commons on the twentieth of March passed the following useful and seasonable vote: "That whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was in danger of an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and an enemy to her majesty and the kingdom." The lord-treasurer also signified to the directors of the Bank, that her majesty would allow, for six months, an interest of six per cent. upon their bills; which was double the usual rate; and considerable sums of money were offered them by several opulent noblemen and gentlemen; and the directors, on their parts, having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital stock, they were soon in a condition to answer all demands made upon them by the timorous, the envious, or the disaffected.

This session of parliament, during its continuance, exerted itself in a very laudable manner for the service of the public, by enquiring into every kind of mismanagement, real or supposed, that fell within its cognizance. Both houses took into consideration the military proceedings and negotiations of the earl of Peterborough, together with his disposal of the remittances during his having the command in Spain; when his lordship produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify his conduct, that his character triumphed in the enquiry: however, seeing that a party-spirit had been raised up against him, his lordship chose to resign all his employments. The parliament next took cognizance of the affairs of Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops at the battle of Almanza; for out of near thirty thousand men provided by parliament for the service of Spain and Portugal in the year 1707, there were but eight thousand six hundred and sixty-nine men, besides officers and servants, at the time of that battle. This was represented to the queen in an address, who returned an answer thereto so much to their satisfaction, that they voted another address, in which they thanked her majesty for the measures she had taken to restore the affairs of Spain, and provide foreign

troops for the service. A bill was also brought in and passed both houses for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more entire and compleat; whereby it was enacted, "That after the first of May, 1708, there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain: that justices of the peace in Scotland should have the same authority as those in England: that circuit-courts shall be held twice a year in Scotland; and that the forty-five representatives of Scotland in the British house of commons shall be chosen by virtue of writs under the great-seal of Great Britain, and returned as in England." A court of Exchequer was likewise erected in Scotland upon the model of that of England.

The parliament having at length gone through all the business before them, her majesty came to the house of commons on the first of April, and prorogued the parliament to the thirtieth of the same month, and it was afterwards dissolved by proclamation. The most material acts passed this session, besides those already mentioned, were, "An act for the security of her majesty's person and government, and of the succession of the crown in the protestant line," which declares it to be treason in any one to impeach the act of settlement; enacts, that the parliament shall continue to sit six months after the demise of the queen or her successors; appoints a regency on such demise; and empowers all officers and ministers for the time being to continue to act six months after such event, unless removed by the successor, as in the former act of settlement. An act, declaring in what manner Scots peers were to be elected*. An act for the encouragement of the trade in America; by which, amongst other things, it was enacted, That every seaman, being a foreigner, who should faithfully serve on board any ship of war belonging to Great Britain, for two years, should be deemed a natural-born subject.

After the dissolution of the parliament, writs were issued out for new elections, together with a proclamation commanding all the peers of North Britain to assemble at Holy-rood-house in Edinburgh on the seventeenth day of June, to elect sixteen peers to represent them in the ensuing British parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of union. The privy-council of Scotland was dissolved, and a new one constituted for the whole united kingdom†. The duke of Queensberry was created a British peer, by the

* By this act a proclamation is ordered to issue, commanding all the peers of Scotland to assemble at a certain place, for the election of the sixteen peers to sit in the house of peers of Great Britain, to be published in Edinburgh, and in all the country towns of Scotland, twenty five days at least before the election; and all the said peers are required to take the oaths, and to make the declaration against transubstantiation mentioned in the act; and the peers are authorized to give their respective votes by proxy, but no peer capable of having more than two proxies at a time. The lord clerk-register, or two or three of the principal clerks of the session, to certify the names of the sixteen peers elected into the court of Chancery, before the meeting of the parliament. The peers to come to such elections with only their ordinary attendants, and to treat of no other matter but of the election, on pain of a premunire.

† Consisting of the lord archbishop of Canterbury; William lord Cowper, lord-chancellor; Sidney, earl of Godolphin, lord-treasurer; the earl of Pembroke, lord-president; John duke of Newcastle, lord privy-seal; William duke of Devonshire, lord-steward; James, duke of Ormond; Henry, marquis of Kent, lord-chamberlain; James, earl of Derby; Thomas,

earl of Stamford; Charles, earl of Berkley; Francis, earl of Bradford; Hugh, earl of Cholmondeley; Henry, lord bishop of London; William, lord Dartmouth; Henry Boyle, esq. secretary of state; Thomas Coke, esq. vice-chamberlain; sir John Trevor, master of the Rolls; sir Thomas Trevor, lord chief-justice of the Common-pleas; James Vernon, esq. John Howe, esq. Thomas Earl, esq. Mainhard, duke of Schomberg; John Smith, esq. late speaker of the house of commons, and chancellor of the Exchequer; sir John Holt, chief-justice; Richard, earl of Scarborough; John, earl of Mar; Charles, lord viscount Townshend; James, duke of Queensberry; James, earl of Seafield; Richard, earl of Ranelagh; Thomas, lord Coningsby; Thomas, earl of Wharton; John, lord archbishop of York; Ralph, duke of Montagu; James, duke of Montrose; Robert, marquis of Lindsay, lord great-chamberlain; Hugh, earl of Loudon; Robert, lord Ferrers; Peregrine Bertie, esq. Richard, earl of Rivers; Algernon, earl of Essex; Charles, earl of Manchester; John, earl of Pawlet; Robert, lord Lexington; John, duke of Argyle; and the dukes of Marlborough and Roxborough.

titles of baron of Rippon, marquis of Beverley, and duke of Dover; and the office of secretary of war, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Henry St. John, was bestowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole, a gentleman of very quick parts, masterly elocution, and one who made a considerable figure in the two succeeding reigns.

About the same time a proclamation was issued for distributing prizes in certain proportions, amongst the officers and seamen of the royal navy, a regulation that still prevails. The capture was divided into eight equal shares, of which the captain, if not under the command of an admiral, or other superior officer, was to have three shares; but in the latter case, the admiral or commodore was to have one of the three. The commission-officers and master were to have one eighth divided amongst them, the warrant-officers one, the petty-officers one, and the sailors the other two †. I proceed now to the military operations of the year 1708.

Lewis XIV. who for some time had the mortification to see his affairs grow worse and worse, thought that by sending the duke of Burgundy, his grandson, to head the army in Flanders, the presence of the heir-presumptive of the crown would excite the emulation of the troops, which began to droop. Accordingly, a numerous army was assembled in the Netherlands, under the command of this prince, and they gave him the duke of Vendosme as an assistant. It now happened, says M. de Voltaire, as it too frequently does, the experienced officer was not sufficiently listened to, and the prince's council frequently carried it against the general's reasons. The elector of Bavaria was appointed to the command of a separate army on the Rhine, where he was seconded by the duke of Berwick; and marshal Villeroy was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphiné.

As soon as the storm which had threatened Great Britain by the intended invasion was blown over, the duke of Marlborough went over to the Hague, where he was met by prince Eugene; and those two great generals conferred with the pensionary Heinsius and the deputies of the States-general: after which they repaired to the court of Hanover, where they persuaded the elector to be satisfied with acting upon the defensive in his command on the Rhine, and to part with some of his forces in order to enable the allies to make more vigorous efforts in the Netherlands.

The prince then repaired to the imperial court, and the duke returned to Flanders, where, about the latter end of May, he assembled the army, consisting of one hundred and fifty squadrons of horse, and one hundred and twelve battalions of infantry. The French army under the duke of Burgundy amounted to one hundred and ninety-seven squadrons, and one hundred twenty-four battalions. Thus superior to the allies in number, and headed by a prince of the blood, it was thought they would make some striking effort: they opened the campaign indeed with a prospect of great success; for the Flemings being generally better

affected to the French than to the Dutch, and having a very great respect for the elector of Bavaria, their late governor, that prince easily persuaded them to take up arms against the confederates. Accordingly, the troops of the latter being marched from Ghent, Bruges, and the neighbouring garrisons, to the general rendezvous, leaving only the country militia, or the burghers, to guard the gates; on the appearance of a detachment of French troops, those places surrendered without striking a blow, and the French advanced to Dutch Flanders, and laid that country under contribution.

Upon the news of these successes, the duke of Marlborough wrote to prince Eugene to hasten to him, determined to oblige the enemy to come to a battle, as the only means, in his opinion, to prevent their farther progress, which might end in cutting off the communication of the allies with Brabant. Hereupon prince Eugene began his march, with a considerable body of troops, towards the Moselle; but this was only with a view to amuse the French who were in those parts, and give time to the elector of Hanover to advance towards the Rhine; after which prince Eugene quitted the banks of the Moselle, where he had no magazines, and repaired to join the duke of Marlborough in Flanders; when a council of war being held, it was resolved to pass the Dender, and offer the enemy battle. In the mean time, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the duke of Vendosme, thinking themselves an over-match for the confederates, resolved upon the siege of Oudenarde §; and accordingly they caused that place to be invested on the ninth of July, hoping to subdue it before the allies could be reinforced.

The duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and marched with surprising expedition to the relief of the place. On the approach of the allies the French thought fit to raise the siege, and began to cross the Scheld at Gavre; which the duke of Marlborough perceiving, and being determined to bring them to a battle, detached general Cadogan with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons over night to take post on the other side the Scheld, near Oudenarde, and to lay the bridges necessary for the passage of the rest of the army, which began to march about eight in the morning, and proceeded with such expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges, and soon after the army began to pass; but by this time the enemy, finding that we had taken post beyond the Scheld, resolved to strike off to the right towards Ghent. The duke of Vendosme was for the army forming itself, but the duke of Burgundy would not hear of it for some time. At length he halted upon the Height of Gaveren, and made a shew of marching back, in order to dispute the passage of the allies over the Scheld: he first ordered twenty squadrons of horse into the plain, but he soon after recalled them again, resolved to continue his march.

In the mean time, general Cadogan, with his detachment, fell upon seven battalions of foot,

† Burnet. Tindal. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Proceedings of the House of Lords. Naval History, &c.

§ Oudenard is a rich and very strong town in the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquise of the terri-

tory of Oudenard. It stands on the river Scheld, thirteen miles south of Ghent, thirteen north-west of Aeth. thirty-six west of Brussels, and thirty-seven almost north of Mons.

which the enemy had thrown into the hedges and into a village upon the Scheld, below Oudenard, called Heynem; and being afterwards reinforced by the foot, who now began to come up, the attack was made with so much vigour and success, that the enemy was soon driven out of the village; and our troops pursuing them with a close fire, a whole brigade, together with the brigadier, threw down their arms, and surrendered prisoners. The event of this skirmish convinced the duke of Burgundy that it would now be impossible to avoid a battle: he therefore endeavoured to disengage his troops from the hollow ways and defiles through which they were marching, in order to bring them into the plain, where they might be properly formed; but the confederate generals were too experienced to give him leisure to effect this purpose: their army was immediately formed in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. Hereupon the enemy faced about and formed also, but with great disorder, owing to the misunderstanding which prevailed between their generals the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Vendôme, the former continually countermanding what the other ordered.

At length the battle was begun about four o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted with great firmness till about ten at night. The fight was properly between the foot; but the confederates got ground, and drove the enemy from one post to another, till darkness put an end to the combat. The horse, who by reason of the broken ground, could not act, were detached to the right and left wing, and advanced so far, that they attacked the enemy in flank and rear; which when they perceived, they fell into the utmost confusion, and part of them retired with the baggage and artillery towards Deynse and Ghent, and another part by the road to Courtray. The duke of Vendôme seeing the French forces flying with the utmost precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about twenty-five squadrons and as many battalions, with which he secured his retreat. To this precaution was entirely owing the safety of their army; for the next morning at day-break the duke of Marlborough detached a large body of horse and foot under the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives; but the hedges and ditches which skirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to desist. The French reached Ghent about nine in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal: there they thought proper to cast up intrenchments for their security, which they fortified with the artillery they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage.

In this action, which was called the battle of Oudenarde, from the place near which it was fought, on the twelfth day of July, the electoral prince of Hanover (afterwards king George II.) gave early proofs of his martial disposition. He charged at the head of the Hanoverian dragoons

with great intrepidity: his horse was shot under him, and one of his aids-de-camp killed by his side. About four thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, two thousand deserted, and above eight thousand were taken prisoners, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above one hundred standards, six colours, eight pair of kettle-drums, and four thousand horse. The loss of the allies did not exceed two thousand men, among whom were one major-general, and a few inferior officers.

The duke of Vendôme having reinforced the garrisons of Ypres, Lille, and Tournay, remained quiet in his camp, to observe what enterprize the allies would next undertake, as he was pretty certain they would form the siege of some strong place, as Ypres, Lille, Mons, or Tournay; in which case he hoped to be able to return to Oudenarde, and make himself master of that town and of the Scheld, and so embarrass them in their operations.

The allies remained two days encamped on the field of battle, when the duke of Marlborough sent count Lottum with a detachment to level the French lines between Ypres and Warneion, and another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras, while the rest of the army plundered the provinces of Picardy and Artois. All this was done with a view to draw Vendôme out of the advantageous post he occupied; but that general understood the art of war too well to be thus caught; upon which the allies determined to lay siege to Lille*.

To sit down before so large and well fortified a town as Lille without being master of Ghent, obliged to send for provisions and ammunition as far as Ostend, at the hazard of being every moment surprised, was what the French represented as an instance of the highest rashness and presumption, without reflecting that the misunderstanding and irresolution that prevailed in their own army rendered this enterprize very excusable; and it was justified in the end by the success. On the 13th of August the place was invested on one side by prince Eugene, and on the other by the prince of Orange Nassau, stadtholder of Friseland, while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin to cover the siege. The town, the strongest in all Flanders, was furnished with every kind of necessary, store of ammunition, and the garrison was reinforced by twenty-one battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by marechal Boufflers in person. The trenches were opened on the 22d day of August, and the attacks carried on with amazing vigour.

By this time the dukes of Burgundy and Berry being joined by the duke of Berwick with a powerful reinforcement, which augmented their army to twelve thousand men, it was resolved to try every effort to oblige the confederates to raise the siege. The duke of Vendôme was of opinion to march without loss of time and give battle to the allies. Indeed every one thought the duke of

* Lille is a large, rich, and strong city, the capital of French Flanders, and next to Paris, reckoned the chief place of the king of France's dominions. It stands among the pools and

marshes, fifteen miles west of Tournay, twenty-eight north of Douay, thirty-six south-west of Ghent, thirty-seven south-east of Dunkirk, and thirty-eight almost west of Mons.

Burgundy rather in a condition to besiege Marlborough and Eugene, than that general to besiege Lisle. Vendosme's advice, however, was not hearkened to, and such were the altercations between the two generals, that the French king thought it necessary to dispatch Mr. Chamillard, secretary of war, to examine whether it was proper to give the allies battle or not; the latter, it is certain, resolved not to fight if they could possibly avoid it. The duke of Burgundy and Vendosme marched towards the duke of Marlborough, and for several days cannonaded his camp; whereupon prince Eugene joined him with a considerable body of horse and foot from the siege; but the allies finding the design of the enemy was only to retard the siege, the duke of Marlborough intrenched himself, and prince Eugene returned to Lisle, where the siege went on but slowly, the French disputing every inch of ground with the most obstinate bravery. The French generals finding all their endeavours to bring the confederates to an engagement prove fruitless, and not daring to attack the duke in his strong camp, contented themselves with disposing of their troops in such a manner as to cut off the convoys that might be coming with provisions and ammunition to the besiegers, as well as to cover those provinces that lay exposed to the incursions of our army.

Accordingly, having received advice that the duke of Marlborough had sent a detachment to cover the march of seven hundred waggons with supplies from Ostend to prince Eugene's camp, the duke of Burgundy sent an army of twenty-two thousand men to make themselves masters of it; when, incredible to relate, the party which guarded it, tho' not exceeding six thousand, made so gallant a defence under major-general Webb, that they compelled the enemy to retire with the loss of upwards of seven thousand men killed on the spot. This action, generally called the battle of Wynendale*, was one of the most glorious achievements performed during the whole course of the war, and proved of infinite importance to the allies; since, if the convoy had been taken, the siege must have been raised. Much about the same time, the elector of Bavaria suffered a check before Brussels, which he had assaulted with a body of ten thousand men; but was repulsed with great loss by the garrison; and hearing that the duke of Marlborough was marching towards him, he thought fit to retreat with great precipitation.

Mean while the besiegers prosecuted their operations with such incredible fury, that the garrison was unable to resist their attacks. All this, however, could not be done without a very considerable loss on the side of the besiegers; the allies themselves acknowledged, that at the attack on the counterscarp on the seventh of September, they lost no less than two thousand men, either killed or wounded, and amongst them sixteen engineers; and at the storming the outworks, September the twenty-first, it is confessed they lost one thousand more. In this last affair prince Eugene was wounded in the head with a musket-ball, which grazed upon his skull, and confined him to his tent for

some days, during which time the duke of Marlborough commanded at the siege. On the thirtieth of September prince Eugene being recovered of his wound, visited the trenches, and continued the operations with the usual vigour. Marshal de Boufflers did every thing that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer; but the allies having, after a most bloody and obstinate action, made themselves masters of the covered way, prince Eugene caused a battery of fifty pieces of cannon to be raised thereon, which played with such incredible fury upon the curtain, that in less than twelve hours a breach was made sufficient for an assault. Every thing was accordingly prepared for beginning it, when, on the twenty-second of October, marshal Boufflers demanded a capitulation for the town. A mutual exchange of hostages were made, and prince Eugene, in consideration of the gallant defence the French general had made, left it to him to propose his own terms. On this occasion the prince wrote the marshal the following letter:

“S I R,

“This is to congratulate you on the noble defence you have made, and at the same time to assure you how perfect an esteem I entertain for your person, of which I am desirous to give you a proof, by leaving it to yourself to draw up the articles of capitulation in such manner as you shall think proper, protesting to you that I will not make any alteration therein, unless I should find any thing required contrary to my honour and duty; but this is what I can have no reason to apprehend from so brave a person.”

The prince was as good as his promise, excepting in regard to one article only, whereby it was stipulated, that the citadel should not be attacked from the town; he, however, gave a verbal promise to that effect, which he strictly observed.

On the twenty-fifth of October prince Eugene entered the town in triumph, and the French garrison marched into the castle, which still continued to make a vigorous defence 'till a letter arrived from the French king to marshal Boufflers, wherein he highly praised him for his gallant behaviour, and gave him permission to surrender the citadel whenever he thought proper. Hereupon the marshal beat a parley on the eighth of December, and on the tenth marched out at the head of his garrison with the usual marks of honour, and was conducted to Douay; and, which is very extraordinary, the detachment which escorted them thither, took up their quarters in the town on the faith of the marshal's word, where they passed all the night, and met with all kind of civility and good treatment.

In the mean time the numerous army that had looked on under the dukes of Burgundy, Berwick, and Vendosme, while Lisle was taken, began to diminish by little and little; and having suffered the duke of Marlborough to take Ghent, then Bruges, and all the posts one after another, at last retreated to their own country; and the generals of the allies having settled

* From the name of a little village near which it was fought, adjoining to a wood called the Wood of Wynendale, eleven miles south-west of Bruges, and twenty-eight north of Lisle.

the plan of winter quarters, repaired to the Hague, leaving the forces under the command of count Tilly. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were every-where received with the highest acclamations and the most distinguished marks of honour. Medals were struck representing them under the characters of Castor and Pollux; the States-general had ordered most magnificent fire-works to be prepared to celebrate their arrival at the Hague; which being made known to the two generals, they requested that the money destined for that exhibition might be distributed amongst the brave soldiers who had been maimed and wounded during this bloody campaign*.

Little was done on the Upper Rhine this campaign: the electors of Bavaria and Hanover were opposed to each other there; but such large detachments had been made from both their armies, for Flanders, that neither side was in a condition to undertake any action of importance.

The duke of Savoy this year made himself master of Exilles and la Perouse, and of the Valley of St. Martin and Fenestrelles, which are looked upon as the keys of Italy on that side: he also made a diversion in favour of king Charles, by obliging the enemy to abandon Pignerole; and sent a large detachment from Rouffillon, to the assistance of marshal Villars, who was not able to make head against the duke.

The affairs of king Philip began to prosper after the battle of Almanza, on all sides. The duke of Orleans commanded the best part of the year; and, after making himself master of Tortosa, had certainly carried his conquests farther, if the French court had not thought proper to recall him; the reasons of which extraordinary step have been somewhat differently reported. It is alleged by some writers, that the princess of Ursini, who at that time entirely governed king Philip, fell into a correspondence with the enemies of the duke of Orleans at the French court, and, by a multitude of intrigues, rendered him suspected to his uncle, Lewis XIV. Others, again, as confidently affirm, that his royal highness held a secret correspondence with the allies, and had actually formed a project for supplanting king Philip. Whatever his political scheme might be, he certainly shewed himself an able politician, since by keeping count Staremberg employed in Catalonia, he gave the chevalier d'Asfeldt time to conquer Valencia. On the other hand, our ministry applied themselves in a particular manner, this year, to put his Catholic majesty's affairs into better order, and to repair, if it was possible, the untoward consequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was so early at sea, that by the twenty-seventh of March he was in Lisbon harbour: on the twenty-third of April he sailed from thence for Barcelona, with near twenty

sail of the line, besides transports, where he arrived on the fifteenth of May. There was an absolute necessity of sending so strong a fleet to the relief of king Charles, who was now in a manner shut up in his city of Barcelona, and had no other hopes of being delivered, but by our fleet's transporting the German troops, that lay ready for his service in Italy. The first thing, therefore, that the admiral did, was to send the transports, under the protection of a strong squadron, to wait over those forces; after which it was determined to attempt the reduction of the island of Sardinia†. The conquest of this place was made almost as soon as projected: the admiral appeared before Cagliari, the capital town, on the first of August, O. S. After having bombarded it for a day and a night, general Wills landed, with about eight hundred men, and made the necessary dispositions for an attack, when the Spanish garrison saved his troops any farther trouble, by coming to a speedy capitulation. The reduction of this island was of great advantage to king Charles's affairs, as it enabled him to supply himself, as often as he had occasion, with corn and other provisions; the greatest part of the inhabitants also entered into his service‡.

Scarce had the English admiral completed this conquest, when his assistance was required towards another: general Stanhope (afterwards earl Stanhope and secretary of state) having formed a plan for the reduction of the island of Minorca¶, concerted with the admiral the measures necessary for carrying it into execution; when they obtained from count Staremberg, the commander in chief of the allied army in Spain, a few battalions of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, with which the admiral and general set sail from Barcelona on the twenty-third of August, with a fine train of British artillery, and were accompanied by brigadier Webb and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation; and on the twenty-sixth, landed about two miles from fort St. Philip, with about three thousand men, and formed the siege of the town. The garrison consisted of one thousand Spaniards and six hundred French mariners: the siege was carried on with such vigour, that by the end of September, the place surrendered, and the garrison marched out, and were afterwards transported on board our vessels, some to France and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, with the loss of only forty men, the rest of the island gladly submitted to the English government, and general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. Being thus possessed of this important island, our government thought proper to keep it to themselves, as we had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which during the war, was exceeding useful to us in the clean-

* Burnet. Tindal. Broderick. History of the Duke of Marl. Hist. of Europe, &c.

† This island lies to the north of Corsica, from which it is divided by a small and shallow arm of the sea. It has, on the east, the sea of Sicily; on the west the Mediterranean; on the south the coast of Africa, from which it is not distant above fifty leagues. It is divided into two parts by the rivers Credo and Lerso, and is extremely fruitful in corn, oil, honey, and all the necessaries of life.

‡ Hist. of the Empire for 1708, p. 260, 261.

¶ Minorca (so called from being less than Majorca, another

island about six leagues from it), lies in the Mediterranean. Its greatest length is forty-five, and greatest breadth twenty-four English miles. The chief places are, 1. Citadella on the south-west side, about the middle of the island, in the bottom of a bay, thought to be the Samma of Ptolemy: 2. Fort Formelli, on the east side, over against Citadella: 3. Port Mahon, at the bottom of a large bay which runs about three Spanish miles to the south-east. The harbour is guarded by Fort St. Philip, and is accounted the best and largest in the Mediterranean. Minorca lies in latitude thirty-nine degrees forty-five minutes.

ing and refitting such of our ships as were employed in the Mediterranean. The possession of this island was confirmed to the English by the treaty of Utrecht, and remained in our hands till the year 1756, when it was most strangely suffered to be retaken by the French, after a forty-nine years possession. After this important conquest, the general returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa finished the operations of the campaign. Admiral Leake set sail, with the largest ships, for England, and arrived safely at St. Helen's on the nineteenth of October†.

Our trade was pretty well secured by sea this year, so that our merchants suffered very few losses: the cruisers were numerous and active; and convoys were regularly furnished, and of a proper strength. In the West Indies, commodore Wager had the good fortune to meet with a fleet of Spanish galleons off Carthagena; but, being ill seconded by some of his captains, most of the enemy's ships escaped; however, the Spanish admiral, computed to be worth three millions of pieces of eight, blew up in the engagement, and the commodore took the rear-admiral, which was very rich, the commodore's own share amounting to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Two of the English captains, who had been wanting in their duty, were tried by a court martial, and degraded‡. It was the misfortune of the naval administration, during the greatest part of this reign, that men were preferred by interest rather than merit.

In the middle of the summer of this year, a resolution was taken to make a descent on, or at least to alarm, the coast of France; and sir George Byng, as admiral, and lord Dursley, as vice-admiral of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose; and lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land-forces.

On the twenty-ninth of July the fleet, with the transports having the troops on board which were intended for the descent, sailed from Spithead, and, after hovering some days upon the French coast, they anchored, on the eleventh of August, in the bay of La Hogue, with an intent to land the next day; but, upon reconnoitring the coast, they found so strong a force collected to oppose the descent, and so many forts and batteries in a condition to defend the shore, that it was deemed impracticable; upon which the fleet returned to Spithead, on the twenty-eighth of August: after thus alarming the French coast, the troops on board were, at the desire of the duke of Marlborough, landed at Ostend, on the twenty-third of September, and proved greatly instrumental in the reduction of Lisle. Another squadron of the British fleet, under the command of sir George Byng, carried over the archduchess Mary Anne, to be married to the king of Portugal, which ceremony was performed with great pomp and magnificence. She had a quick and easy passage, and arrived at Lisbon on the twenty-seventh of October¶.

Before I proceed to relate the domestic transactions of our own country, I think it requisite just

to take notice that the elector-palatine was this year restored to the possession of the Upper Palatinate, with the title and rank which had been vested in the house of Bavaria by the treaty of Munster: and George-Lewis of Hanover (afterwards king George I. of Great Britain) was at length acknowledged as elector of Brunswick Lunenburg by the electoral college, to which dignity he had been raised by the interest of king William in the year 1692*.

The court of England was this summer involved in a very disagreeable altercation with the czar of Muscovy, on account of an insult offered to the person of his ambassador count Mattheoff, who was arrested in the street at the suit of one Morton, a laceman, and insolently treated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to a spunging-house, where he continued until he was bailed by the earl of Feversham and a merchant in the city. Enraged at this insult, he demanded redress of the government, and was seconded in his remonstrance by the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of Prussia, and several other foreign potentates. Notwithstanding all possible assurances were made him of satisfaction, and that the authors of this outrage were taken into custody, Mattheoff demanded a passport for himself and family, refused the presents that are usually made to ambassadors at their departure, and retired in disgust to Holland. The czar wrote a sharp letter to the queen, insisting upon her punishing with death all the persons concerned in offering this affront to the person of his ambassador; but as such a satisfaction could not be granted him consistent with the laws of England, the queen and her ministry were thrown into the utmost perplexity, and several councils were held to consider how to proceed in this critical situation.

On the twenty eighth of October, about ten in the forenoon, died his royal highness George prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of Great Britain, and her majesty's consort, at Kensington, of an asthma, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was married to her majesty the twenty-eighth of July, 1683, and on the thirteenth of November, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of Westminster, at ten in the evening. Bishop Burnet gives us the following character of him: "This prince had shewn himself brave in war, both in Denmark and in Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle; he had made a good progress in mathematics; he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well express, for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully. His royal highness was very much lamented by those who knew him; and her majesty, who had been, during the whole course of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife, was inconsolable for his loss; they had indeed been the happiest pair that ever adorned a court." Her majesty was pleased to keep the admiralty in her own hands for about three weeks, and on the twenty-fifth of November she appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation.

|| Burnet. Burchet. Tindal.

§ Burchet. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, &c.

¶ Burnet. Burchet. Hist. of Europe.

* See page 40 of this volume.

This event was followed by some changes in the ministry: the earl of Wharton was constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the lord Somers appointed president of the council, and the earl of Dorset was made constable of Dover castle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports. Notwithstanding these promotions of Whig noblemen, the duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the queen, who was privately under the direction of Mr. Harley and the Tory party.

The new parliament (being the second of Great Britain) met the second of November, when the Whigs appeared to have a great majority. The queen, not thinking it decent to appear in the house so soon after the death of her consort, appointed, by a commission under the great-seal, the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the lord-steward, and the master of the horse, to represent her royal person, and to open the session. Sir Richard Onslow being chosen speaker of the lower house, received the queen's approbation. After which the lord chancellor made a speech to both houses, importing, "That the commissioners were appointed by her majesty to acquaint them, that she expected they would continue to prosecute the war with the same vigour and resolution, with which it had hitherto been conducted: that she hoped they would enable her to make such augmentation of her forces as they should judge necessary for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and perfect the union: that, if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufactures, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions; and that, as she had the most sincere regard for the preservation of their liberties and the support of the protestant succession, she would continue to exert her utmost endeavours to defeat the designs of the pretender, and of all his open and secret abettors †."

The addresses of condolance, both of lords and commons, to her majesty, for the death of the prince her consort, and those of congratulation on the success of her arms under the duke of Marlborough, being matters of form, I shall pass them over, to come to other business of the parliament, the chief of which was concerning the supply, the Scots elections and invasions, the naturalization of foreign protestants, and the trials of treason in Scotland.

Having considered the different branches of the supply, they approved of an augmentation of ten thousand men as necessary for the more vigorous prosecution of the war; and they voted above seven millions for the service of the ensuing year, which was to be raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, the duty on malt, and other articles: these funds however would have fallen very short of the sum voted, had not the bank of England agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in Exchequer-bills for the government, on condition that the term of their continuance as a bank should be prolonged for twenty-one years, from the first of August, 1711, and their stock of two millions two hundred and one thousand one hundred and seventy-one pounds should be doubled by a new subscription:

the two-third subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by this expedient.

The Scottish elections occasioned great debates in both houses; the question chiefly turned upon this point, Whether the eldest sons of Scottish peers were capable of sitting in the British parliament? What was principally urged against them was, their incapacity to sit in the parliament of Scotland before the union, and therefore ought to be so in respect to the parliament of Great Britain. Council was heard in behalf of the claimants; but little being offered on their side against this argument, the eldest sons of the peers of Scotland were declared incapable to sit in parliament. In consequence of this decision, given in the month of December, the speaker was ordered to issue writs for electing new members for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William lord Haddo, and James lord Johnston, the first eldest son to the earl of Aberdeen, and the other of the marquis of Annandale ‡. A petition, of a new nature, was much about the same time brought into the house of lords by some Scottish peers, claiming a right to vote and sign proxies in the election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. There were very warm debates in the house upon this subject; but at length, upon a division, it was carried, "That a Scottish lord, created a peer of Great Britain, should no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were under confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, under suspicion of being concerned in the late invasion, had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government."

But the principal affair that came under parliamentary consideration this session was, the naturalization of foreign protestants. This point was debated with great vehemence in both houses, and many shrewd arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. The Whigs spoke in favour of the bill; the Tories argued against it: the former affirmed that it would prove an effectual means to encourage industry, improve trade and manufactures, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned. They instanced the conduct of the king of Prussia, who by inviting the French refugees to settle in his dominions, had fertilized a barren and ill-peopled country, improved its trade and manufactures, augmented its revenues, and procured many other considerable benefits. But the chief motive of the Whigs in pushing this bill, was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The opposers of an act of naturalization objected thereto, that such a swarm of aliens as such a measure would necessarily bring over, might bring with them many dangerous consequences to the constitution; that it was in fact inviting so many spies and informers amongst us, since it could not be supposed that they would leave all affection for their mother-country behind them, though they might gladly embrace for the present the asylum offered them here. It was said, they would find means to insinuate themselves into many places of trust and profit, and even to seats in the great assembly of the national representatives, and by frequent inter-marriages, contribute to the extinction of the Eng-

† Proceedings of the House of Commons, iv. 98.

Ibid. iv. 99.

lish race. Lastly, that they would greatly increase the number of our poor, already so great a burthen to this country, and take out of the mouths of English tradesmen and labourers great part of the bread they now earned by their industry *. Cogent as these arguments appeared to be, the Whigs carried their point, and the bill, with some amendments, passed through both houses, and was at last confirmed by the royal assent †, though not without a number of protests entered by the Tory members, particularly the duke of Buckingham, and the lords Nottingham, Guernsey, Scarfdale, North, Grey, Anglesey, and Guildford.

Part of the time of the lords, as well as of the commons, was taken up in examining papers about the pretender's invasion. The Tories were for charging the ministry with great neglect of duty, in not providing timely and effectually against it. Those attacks, however, served only to betray the animosity, as well as weakness, of their party; for the Whigs having the lead in parliament, it was resolved by a great majority that the ministry had behaved with all the care and fidelity which could reasonably be expected from men in their station. This enquiry however gave rise to a bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason in Scotland: it was brought in under the title of "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms." By this law trials for treason in Scotland were to be conducted in the same manner as in England, with some small variation. This bill was warmly opposed by the Scottish members; but maugre all their efforts, it passed rapidly thro' both houses, and finally passed into a law; to render which the more palatable, her majesty was pleased to grant an act of grace, by which all treasons were pardoned, except those committed on the high-seas; and an excepting clause was enforced against those who had been aiding and assisting to the pretender, in his embarkation for his last expedition against this country ‡.

On the first of March 1709, the duke of Marlborough came over from Flanders, when the lords gave him the thanks of their house for his great services this campaign; and it being conjectured that he had brought over some proposals of peace, both houses addressed her majesty on this subject, wherein they desire her majesty, that the French king may be obliged to own her title and the protestant succession, and that the pretender may be removed out of his dominions, never to return again, and that the harbour of Dunkirk and its fortifications might be demolished.

An order of council having been made about this time for leaving out the prayer for the queen's having issue, on presumption that her majesty would continue in the state of widowhood; Mr. Watson, son to lord Rockingham, moved in the

lower house to address her majesty, "That she would not suffer her just grief to prevail so far, but that she would, in compliance with the earnest wishes of her subjects, entertain thoughts of a second marriage." This motion was carried, and the address actually presented to the queen, who returned for answer, "That the provision she had made for the protestant succession would always be a proof of her hearty concern for the happiness of the nation; but that the subject of their address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer:" a most gracious and prudent reply to a very impertinent and ill-timed address.

The affair of the Muscovitish ambassador, which still continued greatly to embarrass the queen and council, gave occasion to the bringing in and passing a bill in both houses, for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers. By this act the persons of ambassadors, and those of their servants, were effectually secured from the danger of arrest; though with this reasonable exception in favour of tradesmen, that no person should be prosecuted for arresting the servant of an ambassador or public minister, unless the name of such servant was first registered in the office of one of the secretaries of state, and by him transmitted to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who should hang it up in some conspicuous place in their office. Her majesty also thought proper some time after to make solemn excuses by her ambassador at the Russian court (Mr. Whitworth) to repair Mattheoff's honour by a letter, to order the offenders to be severely prosecuted, and to indemnify the ambassador for all his costs and damages, concessions with which the czar and his ambassador declared themselves well satisfied; and thus this troublesome affair ended.

These were the transactions of this session of parliament, which was prorogued on the first of April by the lord-chancellor, in virtue of a commission from her majesty, who still continued indisposed.

In consequence of the naturalization act, there came over in the month of May this year near seven thousand of the poor Palatines and Swabians from the borders of the Rhine in Germany, who had been utterly ruined, and driven from their habitations by the French. It was never known who encouraged them to this emigration. Certain it is, there was no settled or concerted plan for their establishment any where. Had they been all sent to some of our colonies on the continent of America, they would probably before now have raised a considerable addition to our strength in those parts. It was proposed by some to settle them in the new forest of Hampshire, where land might be parcelled out for them by shares or lots. Upon

* See Parliamentary Debates by Chandler. Proceedings of the House of Commons, iv. 100. Proceedings of the House of Lords, ii. 201.

† By this act it was provided, I. That all persons born out of the liegeance of her majesty, who shall take and subscribe the oaths and the declaration of the sixth of this reign, shall be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be her majesty's natural-born subjects, provided they shall have received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in some protestant or reformed congregation within this kingdom of Great Britain, within three months before their taking the said oaths; and shall produce a certificate, signed by the person administering the said sacra-

ment, and attested by two credible witnesses.

II. That the children of all natural-born subjects, though born out of the liegeance of her majesty, her heirs and successors, shall be deemed and adjudged to be natural-born subjects of this kingdom to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever. And,

III. The like naturalization of foreign protestants shall take place in Ireland [this clause is farther explained by cap. xxi. of the fourth of king George II.] This law was said to have been made with a view to the protestant Palatines brought this year into England.

‡ See Stat. 7. Annæ Reginae. Tindal. Burnet.

the whole, it was an ill conducted, though it might be a well meant affair. Being however come, there was a necessity of keeping them from perishing: a sufficient number of tents was erected for them on Blackheath and near Camberwell, and a brief was granted throughout Great Britain for a collection for them. Some were taken into private houses; 500 families of them were sent into Ireland, where twenty-four thousand pounds were granted by parliament for their support. Three thousand of them were at length sent over to New-York, and settled upon Hudson's river; but being badly received there, many of them removed to Pennsylvania, where they were kindly entertained by the quakers, which afterwards proved the means of drawing thither many thousands of German and Swiss protestants, whereby Pennsylvania is since become by far the most populous and flourishing colony for its standing of any in British America*.

This year her majesty thought proper, on account of the great multiplication of business, to appoint a third secretary of state; and accordingly James duke of Queensberry and Dover was sworn into that office.

France was now not only compleatly humbled, but even trembled for its own safety. Resources began to fail, credit was at a stand; and the people, who had idolized their monarch in his prosperity, began to murmur against him when he became unfortunate. The severity of the winter completed the despair of the nation. The olive trees, which bring in a great deal of money in the south of France, were all destroyed; almost all the fruit-trees were killed by the frost†: there were no hopes of an harvest, and there was little corn in the granaries; and what could be brought at a very great distance from the sea-port towns of the Levant and the coast of Barbary, was liable to be taken by the fleets of the confederates, to whom the French had hardly any ships to oppose. On the other hand, the allies were still fruitful in resources, especially the Dutch, who had been so long the carriers of other nations, that they had magazines sufficiently stored to supply the strongest armies the allies could bring into the field in a plentiful manner, while the French troops, diminished and disheartened, seemed ready to perish for want.

Under these fatal circumstances, Lewis determined to sacrifice all the considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interest of his grandson, to his desire of peace, which was become so necessary and indispensable. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1709, he dispatched the president Rouillé privately to Holland with general proposals of peace, and the offers of a good barrier to the States-general, in hopes by those offers to detach them from the confederacy. This minister had a secret conference with Buys and Vanderdussen, the pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda, at Mardyke; from whence he was permitted to pro-

ceed to Woerden, a place between Leyden and Utrecht. The states, unwilling to take any steps in an affair of this nature without the participation of their allies, communicated the proposals of France to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain; whereupon prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough went over to the Hague in the beginning of April, and conferred with the grand pensionary Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory.

Lewis then sent the marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with fresh offers. By this time the queen had sent over the lord viscount Townshend as her ambassador-extraordinary and joint plenipotentiary with his grace the duke of Marlborough. The conferences began about the middle of May; but, considering the disposition of the victors, very little was to be expected from them. Prince Eugene, Marlborough, and the pensionary Heinsius, were all three for continuing the war: the prince, because it at once gratified his glory and his revenge; Marlborough, because he gained both reputation and immense riches, of which he was equally fond; the third, who was guided by the other two, took a secret pleasure in returning upon the minister of the proudest of all princes, the arrogance with which his republic had been treated in 1672. The offers made by the French minister in his master's name were as follow; "That Lewis would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk; that he would abandon the pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions; that he would acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession; that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States-general demanded for their barrier; that he would treat with the emperor on the footing of the treaty of Ryswick, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburgh." The ministers of the allies spoke in the stile of conquerors; and without taking any notice of the French king's conditions, demanded the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire, and insisted upon Lewis restoring Strasburg in its present condition; upon his ceding the town and castellany of Lisle, demolishing Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen: they even went so far as to require that he should assist in driving his grandson from the throne of Spain within two months; and that, as a surety for his performance of this treaty, he should begin by ceding to the States-general for ever ten towns in Flanders, among which was Tournay, not yet taken. "Lewis little expected (says a celebrated French writer‡) some years before, when he refused a company of horse to prince Eugene||, when Churchill was only a colonel in the English army, and the name of Heinsius was hardly known, that one day these three men should impose such laws upon him." Indeed candour

* Anderson's Treatise of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 248.

† The scourge of this dreadful winter was general all over Europe: with us it began to freeze the night before Christmas-day, and was followed by great and heavy snows. The weather was mostly dark and gloomy: the frost lasted three months, during which time many cattle, especially sheep, and likewise birds, perished. The Thames was frozen over, and on the third of January people began to erect booths and set up tents on the

ice. The summer which succeeded this frost was very near as comfortable as the winter, by reason of the coldness and moisture of the air, pouring almost continual rains on the earth, which, as it retarded the maturity of the fruits, so in many places it occasioned a thin harvest, and consequently a scarcity of corn.

‡ M. de Voltaire, in his Age of Lewis XIV.

|| See p. 115 of this volume.

obliges us to confess, however we may detest the artifice and duplicity of the French in most of their political dealings, that these were rather the demands of persons rendered proud and wanton by success, than the endeavours of patriots and friends to mankind, to remedy the evils and inconveniences of a long, bloody, and expensive war, by a just and equitable peace. In vain did Torcy make use of every argument to obtain less rigorous terms; in vain had he recourse to soothing supplications and concessions in the name of his sovereign: he found the plenipotentiaries implacable, and therefore pretended to submit to these preliminaries, which were signed on the twenty-eighth of May, and Torcy returned to carry his master the orders of his enemies. Lewis XIV. received them with the mingled sentiments of grief, shame, and indignation: he rejected them with disdain, and now did what he had never before done towards his subjects: he exposed the extravagance and unreasonableness of the demands of the allies, in a circular letter addressed to his people; and after acquainting them with the farther burthens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to excite their indignation, to rouse their honour, and even to move their pity. This procedure had the desired effect: the French, a people remarkable for their affection to their kings, though impoverished and half-starved by the war, resolved to expend their whole substance in his support, and rather to fight his battles without pay, than abandon him to the infamy of accepting such dishonourable terms ¶.

The preliminaries being thus rejected by the French king, the conferences were broken off, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in twenty-four hours, and the confederate generals resolved to open the campaign without farther delay.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough repaired to Flanders, and on the twenty-second of June the allied army was assembled on the plain of Lisse to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men. Lewis, on his part, sent the marshal Villars, whom the French stiled the Fortunate General, to replace Vendôme, and make head against his enemies. Villars took possession of a very advantageous camp on the plain of Lens, where he threw up such intrenchments, that the allies did not think fit to attack him, but resolved to open the campaign with the siege of Tournay*. Accordingly that place was invested by the confederate troops on the twenty-seventh of June, N. S. On the twenty-seventh of July the trenches were opened: the town itself was easily taken; but the citadel was so strong, both by art and nature, and

the governor, lieutenant-general Surville, such an experienced officer, that, though he had a garrison of four thousand men only, and the place was scantily provided with provisions, he continued to hold out for the space of a month with incredible valour. As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, this siege proved extremely bloody, the miners on both sides frequently meeting underground, in the midst of mines and countermines, big with ruin and destruction. Of all the horrid scenes of war, this was the most dreadful: those who had braved death in every shape above-ground, were shocked at these encounters, and dreaded entering those dismal caverns, where they were not only in danger of being choked by rubbish, and perishing by the sword of the enemy, but very often by their friends, who were not easily to be distinguished from the foe. About four hundred of the confederates were blown into the air by the explosion of one of these mines. At length the besiegers having effected a breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault on the second of September, the governor surrendered, upon condition that all the officers and soldiers should retain their swords and baggage, and be permitted to return into France, with this restriction, that they should not serve until a like number of officers and soldiers of the allies that were prisoners, should be exchanged for them, and that they should leave their colours and fire-arms behind them †.

Tournay being reduced, the allies next resolved upon the siege of Mons ‡. With this view prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough made the army pass the Scheld, and dispatched the prince of Hesse Cassel to attack the French lines from the Haine to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh of September, marshal Boufflers arrived in the French camp, and joined Villars, who, after making several motions, in order to cover Mons, posted himself behind the woods of la Merte and Trainiere, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. On the ninth the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies approached so near, that they began to cannonade each other. The French army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, that of the confederates was nearly the same number: it being found impracticable to form the siege of Mons until the French were driven from their post, which they had fortified in the strongest manner, it was resolved to attack them at all events. This occasioned the bloodiest battle that ever was fought in Flanders. Accordingly, on the eleventh of September, in the morning, the duke ordered

¶ History of Europe. Annals of the Abbot St. Pierre. Voltaire. Burnet. Lamberti.

* Tournay is one of the most ancient cities of Flanders; it had belonged, time out of mind, to France, till, in 1513, it was taken by king Henry VIII. of England. It was soon after restored by the intrigues of cardinal Woolsey. The Spaniards took it in 1618, and kept it till 1667, when it was retaken by Lewis XIV. This prince had spared no cost to fortify it, and had made it one of the strongest places in the Netherlands. It is very advantageously situated, of a great compass, and is divided by the Scheld, as the army that besieges it must also be, which is always very incommodious and dangerous. Tournay is a bishopric, under the archbishop of Cambray; about fifteen miles east of Lisse, twenty north-east of Douay, thirty-two almost west of Mons, and thirty south of Ghent.

† History of Europe. Burnet. Tindal.

‡ Mons, or Bergen, a very large, fine, strong, and rich city of the Austrian Netherlands, and the capital of Hainault, situated on a hill, at the junction of the Haine and Trouille. The country round it may be so overflowed as to render an enemy's approaches very difficult. The French took it in 1691, but ceded it to Spain by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697; it was confirmed to the house of Austria by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, and made part of the barrier. The French, under count Saxe, took this city in the late war; but it was restored by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, after demolishing its fortifications. It lies twenty-four miles south-south-east of Tournay, and thirty south-west of Brussels; latitude fifty degrees thirty minutes north, longitude three degrees thirty-six minutes east.

batteries to be erected on the wings and in the center, and prepared for the attack.

The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, composed of the English and German troops in English pay; prince Eugene was in the center, and baron Fagel and the prince of Orange on the left, with the Dutch. Marshal Villars took the command of the left wing of his army, and left the right to marshal Boufflers, who was his senior officer.

About eight o'clock in the morning the attack was began by general Schuylenberg and the duke of Argyll, from the right, at the head of eighty-six battalions, supported by twenty-two battalions under count Lotum: these fell upon the left of the enemy with such fury, that in spite of all the resistance they could make, which was indeed extremely obstinate and well maintained, they were, in less than an hour, driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with thirty-six Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, who were posted in the wood of la Merte, and had secured themselves in such a manner, by triple entrenchments, with lines, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. The battle was here fought with the most desperate courage on both sides: the Dutch obliged the French to quit the first entrenchment, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter: the prince of Orange, in order to encourage his men, took a standard and planted it on the entrenchments, but not a man was found hardy enough to follow him. This gallant prince had two horses killed under him, most of his officers were either slain or disabled, and it is hard to say which side victory would have taken, had not marshal Villars, who had quitted his station to come and oppose the prince of Orange, received a wound in his knee, which obliged him to quit the field of battle, in order to have it dressed. The French, struck with this news, abated considerably in the vigour of their resistance; the prince of Orange returned to the charge with double fury, and at length forced the enemy's entrenchments, and drove them out of the wood into the plain, where their horse was all drawn up; and ours advancing upon them, the whole army engaged, and fought with great fury till three in the afternoon, when the French cavalry began to give way and retire. The allies pursued them to the defile of Bavay with great slaughter. Marshal Boufflers, who had taken the command upon the accident which had befallen marshal Villars, made a retreat in as good order as possible, with the assistance of the prince of Montmorenci, afterwards marshal Luxemburg. The French army rested between Quesnoi and Valenciennes: ours encamped upon the field of battle*.

It must be readily believed that the loss must have been very great on both sides, from so bloody a conflict. This was, indeed, the dearest victory the confederates had ever purchased, above eighteen thousand of them being either killed or wounded in the action, and among the former several officers of distinction: nevertheless the enemy had

little reason to boast of their success; for, although they did not lose above eight or nine thousand men, they suffered the disgrace of a total defeat, and were so severely handled, that they were not able to make any other attempt to relieve Mons, which surrendered about the end of October; and the French not caring to hazard another battle, remained inactive during the rest of the campaign, which was closed about the middle of November, when both armies retired to winter-quarters. If the glory of a victory consists in the number of lives sacrificed to gain it, the allies had, indeed, great reason to plume themselves upon this: the greatest masters in the military art were, however, very liberal of their censures on the duke of Marlborough's conduct, for not attacking the enemy before they began to form their intrenchments: the battle would certainly have been less bloody, and the prospect of victory was far more favourable, as to render it almost impregnable. It must, however, be acknowledged, that few generals were less guilty of rash actions than the duke of Marlborough; and it was generally believed he had suffered himself to be over-persuaded by the Dutch generals, who were ever remarkably slow, and ridiculously cautious in all their motions†.

This year's campaign on the Rhine proved very inconsiderable: the court of Vienna had taken so little care to provide for its army there, that it was some time before the elector of Brunswick could be prevailed on to assume the command of them: at length, however, he put himself at their head; but the whole of the operations was confined to one sharp action between a detachment of the French army commanded by the count de Borgh, and a body of Germans under count Merci, on the twenty-sixth of August, N. S. in which about two thousand men were slain on each side, but without any manifest advantage to either party, farther than that the French obliged the count to abandon an enterprize he had formed upon the Franche Comté, and to repass the Rhine‡.

The campaign in Piedmont was equally inactive. Field-marshal count Thaun commanded the confederates in that quarter, the duke of Savoy having refused to take the field, on account of some differences between him and the emperor, occasioned by the latter's refusing to confirm Vigevano, and other dependencies in the Milanese, which had by agreement been made over to the duke. Count Thaun had formed the design of besieging Briançon; but the duke of Berwick, who commanded for the French, took such precautions, as effectually disconcerted the count's enterprize, who found himself obliged to repass the Alps, which he had crossed, and marched his troops into winter-quarters in Piedmont, towards the latter end of September §.

The most important transaction relating to Italy, this year, was the emperor's obliging the pope (Clement XI.) to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain, which his holiness had hitherto delayed to do, under various pretexts, until he should see what turn the affairs of the house of Bourbon might take during this campaign. This Clement had,

* Broderick. Life of the Duke of Marl. Burnet.

§ Idem. Lamberti.

† Kane's Memoirs.

‡ History of Europe.

at the instigation of France, ventured to unsheathe the sword last year for a short time; but he had no sooner taken up arms, than he repented of it. He perceived the Romans were incapable of wielding the sword under a sacerdotal government; he therefore put Commachio (a small city and imperial fief in the duchy of Ferrara) into the emperor's hands, as a pledge of his future peaceable conduct, and acknowledged Charles as king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily*.

The military operations in Spain and Portugal were not by much so favourable to the allies, as those in Flanders. The castle of Alicant, garrisoned by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out during the whole winter against a very numerous army of the enemy under count d'Asfeldt, with a very large train of heavy artillery, excellently supplied with ammunition: at length the city being absolutely untenable, colonel Richards, the commander, retired with his garrison into the castle, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable. There colonel Sibourg, a French refugee officer, took the command, determined to hold it out to the last extremity. At length d'Asfeldt, who conducted the siege, caused the solid rock on which the castle stands to be undermined, and having lodged fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder therein, on the thirtieth of March summoned the castle to surrender on the most honourable terms; threatening however, if these were neglected, to shew no mercy to those who might fall into his hands; at the same time he desired the governor, Sibourg, to depute some of his most experienced engineers to examine the condition of the works. This offer was accepted, and the officers, at their return, assured the governor that nothing could preserve the whole castle from being carried up by the explosion, unless it took vent in their own counter-mines. D'Asfeldt had allowed Sibourg twenty-four hours to consider what he would do; the other remained firm to his purpose, and with an obstinacy which surprised the enemy, resolved to stand the explosion. The besiegers finding him immovable, set fire to the mine at the appointed hour. The centinels on the ramparts observing some smoke from the lighted matches and other combustible matter near the train, gave the alarm, upon which the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, attended by several officers: the mine at last blew up, the whole rock felt the concussion, and opening suddenly under their feet, and closing suddenly again, buried them in the abyss; about fifty other persons were swallowed up in different quarters. After the loss of the governor and chief officers, the command fell to lieutenant-colonel d'Albeaume, of Sibourg's regiment, who immediately drew out a detachment of the whole garrison, and with it made a desperate sally upon the enemy, who thought hardly a man was alive within the place; as would in all probability have been the case, had not the force of the explosion forced a vent through the veins of the rock and the counter-mine. D'Albeaume still continued to defend the castle†.

At length, a squadron of eighteen English men of war, under the command of sir Edward Whi-

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batteries to be erected on the wings and in the center, and prepared for the attack.

The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, composed of the English and German troops in English pay; prince Eugene was in the center, and baron Fagel and the prince of Orange on the left, with the Dutch. Marshal Villars took the command of the left wing of his army, and left the right to marshal Boufflers, who was his senior officer.

About eight o'clock in the morning the attack was began by general Schuylernberg and the duke of Argyll, from the right, at the head of eighty-six battalions, supported by twenty-two battalions under count Lottum: these fell upon the left of the enemy with such fury, that in spite of all the resistance they could make, which was indeed extremely obstinate and well maintained, they were, in less than an hour, driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with thirty six Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, who were posted in the wood of la Merte, and had secured themselves in such a manner, by triple entrenchments, with lines, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. The battle was here fought with the most desperate courage on both sides: the Dutch obliged the French to quit the first entrenchment, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter: the prince of Orange, in order to encourage his men, took a standard and planted it on the entrenchments, but not a man was found hardy enough to follow him. This gallant prince had two horses killed under him, most of his officers were either slain or disabled, and it is hard to say which side victory would have taken, had not marshal Villars, who had quitted his station to come and oppose the prince of Orange, received a wound in his knee, which obliged him to quit the field of battle, in order to have it dressed. The French, struck with this news, abated considerably in the vigour of their resistance; the prince of Orange returned to the charge with double fury, and at length forced the enemy's entrenchments, and drove them out of the wood into the plain, where their horse was all drawn up; and ours advancing upon them, the whole army engaged, and fought with great fury till three in the afternoon, when the French cavalry began to give way and retire. The allies pursued them to the defile of Bavay with great slaughter. Marshal Boufflers, who had taken the command upon the accident which had befallen marshal Villars, made a retreat in as good order as possible, with the assistance of the prince of Montmorenci, afterwards marshal Luxembourg. The French army rested between Quesnoi and Valenciennes: ours encamped upon the field of battle*.

It must be readily believed that the loss must have been very great on both sides, from so bloody a conflict. This was, indeed, the dearest victory the confederates had ever purchased, above eighteen thousand of them being either killed or wounded in the action, and among the former several officers of distinction: nevertheless the enemy had

little reason to boast of their success; for, although they did not lose above eight or nine thousand men, they suffered the disgrace of a total defeat, and were so severely handled, that they were not able to make any other attempt to relieve Mons, which surrendered about the end of October; and the French not caring to hazard another battle, remained inactive during the rest of the campaign, which was closed about the middle of November, when both armies retired to winter-quarters. If the glory of a victory consists in the number of lives sacrificed to gain it, the allies had, indeed, great reason to plume themselves upon this: the greatest masters in the military art were, however, very liberal of their censures on the duke of Marlborough's conduct, for not attacking the enemy before they began to form their intrenchments: the battle would certainly have been less bloody, and the prospect of victory was far more favourable, than after the French had so far fortified their camp as to render it almost impregnable. It must, however, be acknowledged, that few generals were less guilty of rash actions than the duke of Marlborough; and it was generally believed he had suffered himself to be over-persuaded by the Dutch generals, who were ever remarkably slow, and ridiculously cautious in all their motions†.

This year's campaign on the Rhine proved very inconsiderable: the court of Vienna had taken so little care to provide for its army there, that it was some time before the elector of Brunswick could be prevailed on to assume the command of them: at length, however, he put himself at their head; but the whole of the operations was confined to one sharp action between a detachment of the French army commanded by the count de Borgh, and a body of Germans under count Merci, on the twenty-sixth of August, N. S. in which about two thousand men were slain on each side, but without any manifest advantage to either party, farther than that the French obliged the count to abandon an enterprize he had formed upon the Franche Comté, and to repass the Rhine‡.

The campaign in Piedmont was equally inactive. Field-marshal count Thaun commanded the confederates in that quarter, the duke of Savoy having refused to take the field, on account of some differences between him and the emperor, occasioned by the latter's refusing to confirm Vigevano, and other dependencies in the Milanese, which had by agreement been made over to the duke. Count Thaun had formed the design of besieging Briançon; but the duke of Berwick, who commanded for the French, took such precautions, as effectually disconcerted the count's enterprize, who found himself obliged to repass the Alps, which he had crossed, and marched his troops into winter-quarters in Piedmont, towards the latter end of September§.

The most important transaction relating to Italy, this year, was the emperor's obliging the pope (Clement XI.) to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain, which his holiness had hitherto delayed to do, under various pretexts, until he should see what turn the affairs of the house of Bourbon might take during this campaign. This Clement had,

* Broderick. Life of the Duke of Marl. Burnet.

§ Idem. Lamberti.

† Kane's Memoirs.

‡ History of Europe.

at the instigation of France, ventured to unsheathe the sword last year for a short time; but he had no sooner taken up arms, than he repented of it. He perceived the Romans were incapable of wielding the sword under a sacerdotal government; he therefore put Commachio (a small city and imperial fief in the duchy of Ferrara) into the emperor's hands, as a pledge of his future peaceable conduct, and acknowledged Charles as king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily*.

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was offered to the earl of Oxford, who absolutely refused it, though he declared himself at the same time ready to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. The queen thought proper therefore to issue a commission, appointing the said earl of Oxford with sir John Leake, sir George Byng, George Doddington, and Paul Methuen, esquires, commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom her majesty settled a yearly pension of three thousand pounds, payable out of the revenue of the post-office, in consideration of his great and faithful services. Soon after, Mathew Aylmer, esq. was appointed admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's navy; the lord Dursley, vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, esq. rear-admiral of the red; sir John Jennings admiral, and sir Edward Whitaker vice-admiral of the white; sir John Norris, admiral, and John Baker, esq. vice-admiral of the blue ¶.

Though the events of this summer had been more favourable to France than Lewis had reason to expect, yet the domestic affairs of that kingdom were still in so languid a state, that he once more solicited peace at the close of the campaign; but not in so suppliant a manner as before. His minister, Torcy, maintained a correspondence with Mr. Petkum, the duke of Holstein's resident at the Hague, and through him proposed to the States-general a renewal of the negotiation. Their High Mightinesses could not well help taking some notice of these overtures; however, they refused to grant passes for the French plenipotentiaries to come to the Hague, but permitted Petkum to make a journey to Versailles. In the mean time, Lewis, to inspire the allies with a good opinion of his sincerity, withdrew his troops from Spain, as if he meant to leave his grand-son to take care of his own interests. This step might possibly have wrought the effect upon the minds of the confederated powers which was intended by it, had not Philip, at the same time, published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice: he named the duke of Alva and count Bergheyc for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials in form to the maritime powers; but no regard was shewn to their intimation. Petkum, after a short stay at Versailles, returned to the Hague on the seventh of December, bringing with him a memorial, importing, that the French king was ready to acknowledge the archduke Charles for king of Spain; to withdraw all assistance from his grandson and leave him to his fate; to deliver up four towns as cautionary places; to restore Strasburgh and Brisac; to resign the sovereignty of Alsace; to demolish all the fortified places between Basil and Philipsburgh; to fill up the long formidable harbour of Dunkirk, and demolish its fortifications; and to leave Lille, Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubeuge in the hands of the States general. These were in part the articles proposed to serve as a basis for the peace which he solicited; for the perfecting which, he declared himself ready to send plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with those of the allies, on the first of January ensuing. The States-general treated these offers as evasive

and insincere, and came to a resolution, that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and they wrote pressing letters on that subject to all their allies*.

On the fifteenth of November, the parliament of Great Britain met. The queen, who had not been in person there the whole session before, was pleased to go that day to the house of peers, and in her speech to both houses told them, "That the enemy had, in the beginning of the year, endeavoured, by false appearances, and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies and divisions among the allies; but they had been disappointed in their expectations; and such measures had been taken as made it impossible for them to disguise their insincerity: that God Almighty had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign; that she hoped they would enable her to prosecute the advantages she had gained, by reducing within proper limits that exorbitant and oppressive power, which had so long threatened the liberties of Christendom."

The parliament appeared to fall in entirely with the queen's opinion: they presented addresses of thanks for her speech, congratulated her on the success of her arms this campaign, and thanked the duke of Marlborough for his signal services; and so eager did they shew themselves for the continuation of the war, that in less than a month the commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year, and provided funds to answer the same. These immense grants of parliament struck the French prodigiously; for they demonstrated our credit to be in full vigour, while theirs was at its lowest ebb; and likewise shewed the disposition of our government to continue the war till the Grand Monarque was compleatly humbled.

The affair of Dr. Sacheverel made the principal business of this session. There were many reasons to believe that the queen had for some time been much disposed to change her ministry; and it is probable the same would have been effected, tho' perhaps not quite so soon, nor with so much noise, animosity, and violence. It happened, however, that Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, preached a sermon on the fifth of November, at St. Paul's cathedral, before sir Samuel Garrard, lord-mayor, which he afterwards printed under the odd title of "The Perils of false Brethren in Church and State." In this sermon he strenuously asserted the high notions of hereditary indefeasible right, passive obedience, and non-resistance; and made use of some expressions that seemed to reflect against the Revolution, the protestant succession, the union, and the toleration granted to the dissenters; and insinuating the church to be in danger under the present administration. Complaint was made of this sermon in the house of commons, who impeached the doctor before the lords for high crimes and misdemeanors, upon four several articles; to which he put in his

answers about the end of the old year. To this the commons made their reply. A day of trial was appointed by the lords, which came on at Westminster-hall on the twenty-seventh of February, 1710. Twenty managers were appointed by the commons, who were present in a grand committee at the trial, and the articles were opened against him by the attorney-general and Mr. Lechmere. The queen herself went *incog.* every day during the trial, which lasted till the tenth of March, when the doctor was at last sentenced "not to preach for three years, and his sermon to be burnt by the common hangman."

It would swell this part of my history to an unreasonable bulk, was I to relate the several arguments used as well at the bar as in both houses of parliament, in arraignment or support of this man, and the doctrine contained in his sermon: they may be found at large in Tindal, and some other of our voluminous writers; as also in the printed trial of Sacheverel, and the collection of Parliamentary Debates. I shall content myself with observing, that nothing could equal the ferment this affair raised in the nation. The enemies of the ministry seized this occasion to inflame the minds of the populace, by representing both in their conversation and writings, that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. These assertions had such an effect, that as the doctor passed to and from Westminster-hall the several days of his trial, he was attended by vast multitudes of people, who abused all that would not pull off their hats to him, and cry out, "God bless the church and Sacheverel!" Nay, they proceeded so far as to demolish several dissenting meeting-houses, and make bonfires of the materials, with loud huzzas of "High-church and Sacheverel!" In short, he was cried up as the patron of the church, and as persecuted for its sake; and the queen herself seemed to be not a little affected by it. If Mr. Harley and the Tory party were not at the bottom of this, they certainly made their advantage of it, to hasten the change they were aiming at; but it was some time before they could bring their matters to bear. However, the lenity of the sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by them as a victory obtained over their adversaries the Whigs, and celebrated as such by bonfires and illuminations.

This remarkable trial over, and such other business as came before the parliament being dispatched, the queen ordered it to be prorogued on the fifth day of April, 1710, after having in her speech to both houses, expressed her concern for the necessary cause which had taken up the greatest part of their time towards the latter end of the session: she declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the church than herself; and therefore it was very injurious, she said, to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that

the church was in danger under her administration *

Lewis XIV. still continued to solicit peace, and to defend himself. His ministers still kept up a correspondence with Perikem, and by means of that envoy obtained of the States-general a renewal of the negotiation. In order the more easily to obtain their content, he dispatched a new plan of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be re-established in their estates and dignities.

The allies, determined to have the triumph of discussing the submissive proposals of the French monarch, permitted his plenipotentiaries to come to the little town of Gertruydenberg, in the beginning of the year 1710, to present their master's supplications. Lewis made choice of the marquis d'Uxelles, a man of great coolness and composure of temper: with him he joined the abbé, afterwards cardinal, Polignac, one of the brightest wits and most eloquent orators of his age; but wit, prudence, and eloquence, are of no service in a minister, when the master is unsuccessful. The ambassadors of Lewis were rather confined in Gertruydenberg than received there. Bays and Vanderdussen, the deputies of the states, came to hear their proposals, which they communicated to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, the imperial plenipotentiary then at the Hague. Though the French plenipotentiaries carried their submission so far as to promise for their king, that he should furnish money to dethrone Philip V. they were not listened to: the Dutch deputies insisted upon his effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria; and in case his grandson should refuse to grant the same to his requisition, that he should engage alone to drive him out of Spain by force of arms. The negotiation lasted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth day of July, during which time the conferences were frequently interrupted, and a great many dispatches went to and from the court of Versailles. At length the French plenipotentiaries, wearied out with the absurd insolence of the Dutch negotiators, returned to Paris, after having wrote a letter to the pensionary Heinsius, importing, that the demands of the allies could not be granted.

The States-general, to give some colour of justice to their proceedings, came to a resolution, "That the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun; had studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of Spain and the Indies; and, in a word, that France had no other view than to sow jealousies and dissensions among the allies." This resolution was transmitted to the several powers in the grand alliance. The court of Great Britain answered it by another memorial, in which the queen was made to declare, that she entirely approved of their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negotiation; and that she was fully determined to prosecute the war with all possible vigour, until the

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, iv.

enemy should be compelled to accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquility of the Christian world.

While the allies were thus treating Lewis XIV. in the cabinet like masters irritated against his pride and grandeur, the operations of the field were not suffered to languish. On the fifteenth of April prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabant. Their first operation was the siege of Doway *, which they carried, after a resistance of two months, in which the allies, by their own computation, lost eight thousand men killed and wounded, with upwards of fifty officers of distinction. The place surrendered on the twenty-ninth of June. As soon as the trenches and other works before the place were levelled, and the breaches repaired, the confederate army, by several detachments, advanced towards Arras †, near which marshal Villars, who still commanded in Flanders, was strongly encamped, designing to bring that general to a battle, or lay siege to the last-named town, the possession of which would have laid all Picardy open to them; but Villars acted with such precaution, that the allies could bring neither the one nor the other of these projects to bear; they therefore turned their arms against Bethune ‡, which was invested on the fifteenth of July, and on the twenty-ninth of August was surrendered by the governor. During the siege of this latter place Villars quitted his intrenchments, with a design to oblige the allies to raise it; but upon viewing their situation, he thought the attempt too hazardous, and returned to cover Picardy, leaving the prince and the duke to make themselves masters of St. Venant § and Aire §, places of less consequence. St. Venant surrendered the thirtieth of September, and Aire the ninth of November; and then the confederate army broke up, and marched into winter-quarters ¶.

The campaign on the Rhine this year afforded no transaction worthy notice, both sides being equally incapable of entering upon action. The elector of Brunswick, who commanded the Imperial army, not brooking so inactive a life, thought proper to resign a command, from which he saw neither honour to himself, nor advantage to the general cause, was to be expected: his serene highness's place was supplied by count Gronsfelt. The military operations were equally languid on the side of Piedmont: the duke of Savoy being indisposed, the command of the forces still remained vested in count Thaun, who attempted to

cross the Alps, and force his way into Dauphiné; but the duke of Berwick, who commanded on the frontiers of that country, had secured the passes by such strong intrenchments, that the Imperial general found himself obliged to desist from his enterprise, and march his army back to their quarters.

In Spain the war was carried on with more spirit, and each party experienced success and disgrace in its turn. Count Staremberg, whom the court of Vienna had sent to retrieve the honour of king Charles's arms, was one of the most accomplished captains of his time: he had for colleague in the command, general Stanhope, an officer of unquestioned courage, but too fiery and impetuous. Lewis XIV. had been obliged to do that out of necessity, which the allies had exacted of him at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cause of Philip, by sending for those troops that were yet in Spain, for his own defence. This, with a considerable reinforcement of troops which the allies had received out of Germany, had made them more than a match for Philip's army in Spain; upon which consideration it was resolved to come to a decisive action as soon as possible. General Stanhope, at the head of the horse and dragoons, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almennara, on the seventeenth of July, O. S. Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew general Ameffaga, who commanded the body-guards of Philip: the Spanish horse were entirely defeated, together with nine battalions of foot, that escaped by favour of the night; and the main body of the army, which was encamped at some distance from the place of action, retreated with great precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement ensuing on the nineteenth of August, O. S. the Imperialists gained a complete victory over that army, in which Philip and his adherents had placed their chief hopes, and which was commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. On this occasion the enemy lost five thousand men killed, seven thousand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and standards. It is observable, that though the two rival kings were both within reach of their armies, and had actually reviewed them some few days before, yet neither were present at this battle: of all the princes for whom Europe was up in arms, the duke of Savoy was the only one who fought his own battles. In consequence of this victory, king Charles entered Saragossa** in triumph; while Philip retired with the remains of his army to Madrid, from whence having

* Doway, or Douay, is a strong city of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquise of the territory of Doway; an university, subject to the French, and taken by them in 1667. It stands on the river Scarpe, between Artois and Hainault, thirteen miles almost north of Cambray, fifteen almost east of Arras, and thirty-five west of Mons.

† Arras is the capital of Artois, in the French Netherlands, a regular fortified town, with a strong citadel on the river Scarpe. It is the see of a bishop, under the archbishop of Cambray. The tapestry made here, which from the town was first called Arras, is indeed beautiful, but comes short of that of Paris, Brussels, or Antwerp. It lies twelve miles south-west of Doway.

‡ Bethune is a fortified town of French Flanders in Artois, and in a district bearing its name, with a strong castle. The town is meanly built, but has a large and fine square for a market-place. It lies thirteen miles north of Arras.

§ St. Venant is a town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Artois. It stands by the borders of Flanders, about four miles east of Aire, twenty-six south of Dunkirk, and as many north of Arras.

§ Aire is a large and handsome city of France; it stands upon the Lys, twenty-five miles south of Dunkirk, twenty-eight north-west of Arras, and twenty-six east of Boulogne.

¶ Broderick. Hist. of Europe. Voltaire.

** Saragossa is a fine large city, and the capital of Arragon, in Spain, surrounded with old walls and other antique fortifications, at the confluence of the rivers Ebro, Galleyo, and Guerva, which run in a serpentine manner through the neighbourhood, rendering the country very fruitful. It lies one hundred and fifty-six miles west of Barcelona, and one hundred and eighty north-east of Madrid. The streets are broad and long, adorned on both sides with stately palaces, belonging to the grandees of the kingdom of Arragon. This city was the delight

having sent his queen and son to a place of greater safety, he repaired to Valladolid*, in order to assemble his scattered troops, and compose another army.

It is acknowledged on all hands, that Charles was indebted for this victory to the bravery of the English troops, who, in this action, surpassed their usual prowess: his triumph, however, proved but short-lived. A council was held at Saragossa, to deliberate on the most effectual means for improving the late success, when general Staremberg proposed remaining in Arragon and Catalonia, and for the army to form the siege of Lerida; but general Stanhope strongly insisted on the expediency of marching immediately to Madrid, alleging, that the city was altogether defenceless; that the soldiers would have an opportunity greatly to enrich themselves; that the army might be refreshed with all kind of provisions; and lastly, that king Charles being in possession of the capital of the kingdom, would have a great influence in bringing the Spaniards over to his side. Unfortunately this advice prevailed; and, after staying some time at Saragossa, to refresh his troops, Charles set out for Madrid, into which city he made his entry on the twenty-eighth of September, from whence he sent a detachment to take possession of Toledo, which, lying upon the Tagus, was looked upon as an advantageous post for facilitating a conjunction with the Portuguese, under the earl of Galway. But that people having had such ill success in their former march to Madrid, could never be brought to attempt that route again.

The day that Charles entered Madrid proved the most disgraceful of his life; he found the city abandoned by all the grandees, and had the additional mortification to perceive that the Castilians were to a man attached to his competitor. Hardly would the people deign to look upon him, the citizens shut up their shops, and kept themselves close within their houses; the money which he ordered to be thrown to the populace in the streets, was left untouched; a company of players having acted a piece composed in honour of him and his successes, many of them were knocked on the head, and the author who had written it was found murdered in the streets the next day. Charles, a day or two after his entry, had sent to the marquis de Mansera to come to kiss his hand: this nobleman, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Spain, and president of the council of Castile, was near an hundred years of age, and it was thought that his submission would have great weight in determining the rest of the nobility, as well as the people, in favour of the Austrian prince; but the marquis was not to be shaken: he sent by the person who came to him from Charles, the following remarkable answer; "I have but one faith, and one king, who is Philip V. to whom I have sworn

allegiance. I respect the archduke as a great prince, but can never acknowledge him as my sovereign. I have lived near an hundred years, and have never done any thing contrary to my duty, and I am determined not to bring dishonour upon myself during the little time I have to live."

These were not the only mortifications Charles had to encounter: his rival, Philip, was soon in a condition to face him again in the field. The king of France, at the earnest request of his grand-son, sent the duke of Vendosme to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendosme's reputation was alone worth an army; the Castilians flocked in crowds to his standard; in fine, within three months after his fatal defeat at Saragossa, Philip found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and now marched in quest of those before whom he had formerly fled.

Charles III. was by no means in a condition to keep the field against so powerful an enemy: he had been neglected by those whose interest it was to support him; the English government, under the influence of a great general, had all along slighted the war in Spain, to lavish millions in the Netherlands; Charles therefore, about the middle of November, found himself under the disagreeable necessity of marching back to Saragossa, and cantoned his troops in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where general Staremberg fixed his head-quarters. Vendosme, well knowing the weakness of the allies, immediately marched in pursuit of them, in order to force them to an engagement before they should be able to reach Catalonia: he came up with their rear at Brihuega, on the twenty-sixth of November, where he surprised general Stanhope, with a body of two thousand men, who, with the general and all their officers†, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

General Stanhope, upon the first approach of the enemy, had sent an account of his situation to Staremberg, who immediately assembled the troops, and set out to his relief; but all was over before he arrived, and he had the additional misfortune to find himself compelled to come to action near Villa Viciosa‡, with an enemy near double his number. They fell upon his left wing, but this gallant officer made such a noble defence, that, though he had only seven hundred horse to oppose against a body of six thousand horse and foot, the enemy were constrained to bring up their whole army to the charge: then, overpowered by numbers, courage could no longer avail, and the left wing of the allies was entirely routed; but the victors, instead of pursuing their blow, began to plunder the baggage, which Staremberg perceiving, brought up his right wing, and charged the enemy with such bravery and conduct, that he put them to the rout, retook the cannon which had fallen into their hands, toge-

light of Julius Cæsar, who erected here a very magnificent palace for himself (now inhabited by the archbishop), and built a large stone bridge over the Ebro, opposite to the middle of the town, consisting of a great number of arches, which is now as firm and strong as if it was a modern structure. To perpetuate his munificence to this city, he called it after his own name, Cæsar's Augusta, which we easily trace in the name Saragossa.

* Valladolid is an ancient city of Old Castile, in Spain, on the banks of the Pisuerga, in a most delightful situation on a fertile plain. The inhabitants make up about four thousand families, among whom is a great number of nobility and gentry.

It is the see of a bishop, has an university, and a considerable trade. Among the other stately buildings, the Great Piazza is one of the noblest, being the model of that of Madrid, consisting of five hundred arches, with gilded balconies. The city is encircled with a wall, but is not a place of strength. Here are about seventy convents, for both sexes. It lies eighty-six miles north-west of Madrid.

† Among whom were three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, and one brigadier.

‡ A town of New Castile, forty-seven miles north-east of Madrid.

ther with the Spanish artillery, and remained master of the field, where he continued till eight o'clock next day, the enemy retiring in disorder: but the allied army had suffered so severely in the action, that the general found he could not maintain his ground, and therefore, having caused the cannon to be nailed up, he returned to Saragossa, from whence he marched into Catalonia, whither he was followed by Vendôme, who obliged him to take refuge under the walls of Barcelona. In the mean time the duke de Noailles, another French general, laid siege to Gironne, which he took, notwithstanding the severity of the season (it being now the month of December); so that Charles was now confined to the single province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to the incursions of the enemy.

After the battle of Villa Viciosa, Charles's affairs became every day more and more desperate. The Portuguese were so far from being in a condition to afford him any succours, that it was with difficulty they could defend their own country against the encroachments of the enemy. The earl of Galway had returned to England, to solicit supplies of men and money from the ministry, but they were too much taken up with party distractions at home to attend to foreign affairs; or, indeed, the English were now almost weary of lavishing their treasures, and draining the veins of their brave countrymen, without any prospect of advantage to themselves. They began to feel the evils of so long and burdensome a war, and a sudden revolution of affairs at length put an end to the public calamities, and to the triumphs of those who had alone profited by them. This great change seems to have been chiefly brought about by the affair of Dr. Sacheverel. In the course of that gentleman's trial, and in the debates in parliament consequent thereupon, the Whig party had declaimed against monarchical power in such indecent terms as had given great offence to the queen, who had assisted at them all incognita, and found herself, by their doctrine, reduced to a mere creature of the people's, and that she had in effect given her confidence to a set of people who were, by their very principles, the professed enemies to monarchy. Her majesty, however, did not suffer herself to be carried away by these first impressions; she resolved to examine the matter more closely. She had for some time been cooled in her affection towards the duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto governed her in the most absolute manner: this change of disposition towards the favourite was not occasioned by caprice or inconstancy, but was the pure result of reason, repeatedly offended by the insupportable haughtiness with which that lady had treated her royal mistress.

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Treasury at his command, through the means of the lord-treasurer Godolphin, his son-in-law; Sunderland, who had married another of his daughters, and was secretary of state, submitted every thing in the cabinet to him; and the queen's household, where his wife had unlimited controul, was at his devotion: he was master of the army, and had the disposal of all military posts.

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It was at this juncture that a certain set of men, called Tories, resolved to rescue their sovereign from the domestic slavery in which she was held, and to give peace to their country, exhausted by a war, in which it had been made the tool of half Europe. I am well aware that it has been alleged by a great number of writers, copying the one after the other, that this was the last effort of a party, determined, if possible, to place the pretender on the throne of England; but there appears no just foundation for charging the Tories with harbouring any such design: it is, indeed, very probable there might be some Jacobites among them, who secretly wished for such a revolution; nay, who would, perhaps, have ventured a great deal to effect it; but it is certain they carefully concealed their designs from the party with whom they associated, well knowing that the Tories could never be brought to alter that succession which they themselves had established.

The Tories made use of Mrs. Masham's interest with the queen to operate the change they meditated. That lady, as I have elsewhere observed, was intimately connected with Mr. Harley, the late secretary of state, who, from time to time, directed her in what manner she was to carry it with the queen, and what springs to put in motion, in order to effect the desired purpose. Masham, agreeable to her instructions, left no one winning art untried to fix herself in the esteem of her royal mistress. She succeeded to the height of her wishes: she then ventured to engage her majesty in conversations of a political turn, in the course of which she took opportunities of acquainting her with many things to which she had hitherto been kept an utter stranger; and when she found she had awakened her curiosity, she referred her for farther satisfaction to her relation Mr. Harley, of whom the queen had entertained an high opinion. That statesman was admitted to several private conferences with the queen, to which he was introduced by Mrs. Masham, at certain appointed hours: by him her majesty was informed of the general discontent which prevailed throughout the kingdom, at seeing its most essential interests sacrificed to gratify the ambitious and

greedy views of a private family, who lorded it even over majesty itself. He assured her, that the majority of the kingdom were inspired with principles of true loyalty, and entirely devoted to her service; and engaged, if she would remove from about her person the petty tyrants who kept her enslaved, and call a new parliament, such representatives would be sent up as were the truest friends to monarchy and the established church, as well as to the protestant succession.

Won by these arguments, the queen resolved upon a total change of the ministry. It was, however, some time before she declared herself, for these matters were agitated as early as the spring of this year. In the mean time the duchess of Marlborough, finding a visible alteration in her majesty's behaviour towards her, desired an audience, in order to justify herself of any thing that might be laid to her charge: she hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, and retrieve the influence she had lost; she had recourse to tears and supplications, but they proved in vain; the queen began to taste the sweets of acting independent of the haughty will of an inferior, and dismissed her with this reply, "You desired no answer, and none you shall have;" alluding to an expression the duchess had used in one of her letters to her majesty*. After this interview, which happened on the sixth of April, the queen never saw the duchess, nor had any correspondence with her, except twice on public occasions; for she was not yet divested of her employments, it being, perhaps, not yet determined who should succeed her.

At length the queen resolved to break through all obstacles, which that family and its numerous friends and adherents had laid in her way, and shew the Whigs she could reign without them. In the first place, about the beginning of June, she removed the earl of Sunderland from his office of secretary of state, and gave the seals to the earl of Dartmouth, one of the lords commissioners of trade, and son-in-law to the earl of Nottingham; when the moneymongers, who had fattened on the public taxes, fearing that another ministry might not be for keeping up the war so warmly as the present, tried every expedient to support the tottering interest of the Whigs: several rich citizens, as well in private life as in public offices, waited on the queen with an address, representing, that the public credit could not be supported but by the present ministry. The city of London have, indeed, more than once affected to make the interest of a party that of the nation, and to dictate to their sovereign in the choice of ministers. But the most astonishing piece of insolence was that offered by the Dutch, who seeing that they could never find a ministry and a general more completely their friends than those who had now the management of the cabinet and the field, commissioned their envoy, Mr. Vryberge, to present a memorial to her majesty, representing the dismal effects a change in her ministry would produce abroad. The queen with great justice highly resented this procedure, and returned for answer, "that she was surprised a matter of this kind should come from the States; that it was the greatest insult that was ever offered to the crown of England: however, it should not

lessen the esteem she had of her allies, or alter her resolution in her own affairs."

Accordingly her majesty proceeded to make other changes. On the eighth of August, the treasurer's staff was taken from the earl of Godolphin; and John, earl Powlett, Robert Harley, esq. fir Thomas Mansel, baronet, and Robert Benson, esq. were made commissioners of the treasury; and at the same time Mr. Harley was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer and under-treasurer, in the room of Mr. Smith: Mr. St. John was made secretary of state, in the room of Mr. Boyle; fir Simon Harcourt lord-keeper, in the room of lord chancellor Cowper, who resigned; the earl of Rochester president of the council, in the room of lord Somers; the duke of Buckingham steward of the household, in the room of the duke of Devonshire; the earl of Portmore was appointed general of the forces in Portugal, in the room of lord Galway; and the duke of Ormond was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Wharton: an alteration was also made in the lieutenancy of London. All these changes were in favour of the Tories, and were soon followed by others; and finally, in favour of them, the parliament was dissolved in September, and a proclamation issued for calling a new one, in which, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Whigs, they were able to carry the elections of a very few members only. Before these changes, upon the death of lord chief-justice Holt, fir Thomas Parker, a famous manager against Dr. Sacheverel, was made lord chief-justice of the Queen's Bench.

The new parliament met on the twenty-fifth of November, when Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition, and approved by the queen, who, on the twenty-seventh, made a speech to both houses, in which she recommended prosecuting the war with vigour, especially in Spain; she declared herself resolved to support the church of England, to preserve the British constitution agreeable to the Union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to scrupulous consciences, and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The lords and commons, in their respective addresses, at present concurred with her majesty's sentiments of carrying on the war vigorously, especially in Spain, and in embracing all reasonable measures towards procuring an honourable peace. The commons were particularly warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her majesty to discountenance all such principles and measures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; "measures which (say they), whenever they might prevail, will prove fatal to the whole constitution, both in church and state†." By this, perhaps, they would be understood to mean the antimonarchical and levelling principles so freely broached by the Whigs in Sacheverel's affair, who, in their proceedings in relation to that madman (for he was little better), seemed rather to aim at casting an odium on the clergy in general, and on the friends of kingly government, than to correct him for his private errors or mistaken zeal. But to return.

The commons set about granting the supplies for the ensuing year so heartily, that the queen, by the

* Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

† Burnet. Proceedings of the House of Commons, iv.

ther with the Spanish artillery, and remained master of the field, where he continued till eight o'clock next day, the enemy retiring in disorder: but the allied army had suffered so severely in the action, that the general found he could not maintain his ground, and therefore, having caused the cannon to be nailed up, he returned to Saragossa, from whence he marched into Catalonia, whither he was followed by Vendôme, who obliged him to take refuge under the walls of Barcelona. In the mean time the duke de Noailles, another French general, laid siege to Gironne, which he took, notwithstanding the severity of the season (it being now the month of December); so that Charles was now confined to the single province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to the incursions of the enemy.

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twenty third of December, passed the land-tax bill, of four shillings in the pound. In the house of peers, the earl of Scarborough moved, that the thanks of the house should be returned to the duke of Marlborough; but some objections being started thereto, that general's friends did not think proper to push it, for fear of meeting with a rebuff, that would still lessen his and their credit.

About the beginning of December the earl of Peterborough was nominated to go ambassador extraordinary to the court of Vienna, as was the earl of Rivers to that of Hanover, and Mr. Hill was appointed envoy extraordinary to the States-general, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan. About the same time lieutenant-general Meredith, major-general M^cCartney, and brigadier Honeywood, on information laid and proved against them for having drank "damnation to the new ministry and the enemies of the duke of Marlborough," were deprived of their regiments, as an example to deter other officers of the army, many of whom had let fallen expressions that favoured strongly of supporting their general in an unwarrantable manner. Indeed, this period of the English history appears disgraced by the violent and rancorous conduct of two turbulent factions; for when the duke of Marlborough arrived in England, towards the latter end of December this year, the party in power, not contented with humbling him by the dismissal of all his friends, suffered him to be insulted and reviled in the grossest manner by their understrappers and hirelings; while his grace, in justice be it acknowledged, acquiesced in his sovereign's will with a moderation that did him great honour: he avoided all shew of popularity, he attended his duty at the council-board, nor did he take the least notice of the rancorous libels in which he was every day traduced: however, perceiving the queen's affection was wholly alienated from his duchess, he carried to her majesty a resignation of her places, which were those of groom of the stole, mistress of the robes, and keeper of the privy-purse: the two first the queen bestowed on the duchess of Somerset, and the last upon the new favourite, Mrs. Masham.

News being arrived at court of the ill success of our affairs in Spain, her majesty, on the third of January, 1711, sent a message to the two houses to impart to them the substance of the dispatches she had received; upon which they returned an address, by way of answer, importing, "that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future." Some attempts had been made before, in the house of lords, to procure the thanks of that house to the earl of Peterborough, for his services in that country, but the same had been eluded by the Whigs, under various pretences; but now, upon the duke of Beaufort's motion, their lordships made application to the queen, to stay for some days the earl's journey to Vienna, that they might make use of such lights and informations as he was able to give them, concerning the affairs in Spain: and having taken those affairs into consideration on the fifth of January, in a committee of the whole house, his lordship was examined by them, when he gave a full relation of all facts and transactions in the course of the war, in which he obliquely

charged the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, with all the miscarriages which had happened therein. The lords, either being, or affecting to be perfectly satisfied with this nobleman's testimony, came to the following resolution: "That the earl of Peterborough had given a faithful account of the councils of war in Valencia." Several lords, indeed, entered their dissent against this vote. After this the lords ordered the earl of Galway and lord Tyrawley to appear before them the next day, which they did accordingly; when the first of these noblemen gave their lordships an account of his conduct, from his first setting out for Portugal till the time he was recalled; but desired, as he said his memory might fail him, that he might be allowed to give in writing what he had delivered by word of mouth, which was granted. The lord Tyrawley was more upon the reserve, saying, "He kept no diary, and always carried a sword, which he used the best he could, upon occasion."

On the ninth, the lords entered into a very memorable debate upon this affair, at which the queen was present, and heard it all. Upon summing up the matter, it was thought by all impartial persons, that if the earl of Peterborough's advice had been followed, both before, at, and after the council of war in Valencia, things would have succeeded better in Spain. Be that as it may, it having been carried, upon the question, to give the earl the thanks of the house, it was accordingly done by the lord-keeper Harcourt, who could not help taking this opportunity to reflect obliquely on the great rewards that had been bestowed on the duke of Marlborough. The house also came to the following resolutions: "That the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, by advising an offensive war in Spain, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle of Almanza, and one great cause of our misfortunes in Spain, and of the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon. They farther voted, "That the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain, was approved and directed by the ministers, who were therefore justly blameable, as having contributed to our misfortunes in that kingdom, and to the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon: that the earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services; and if his opinion had been followed, it would have prevented the misfortunes that succeeded."

Finding also that the earl of Galway had given the right of the combined army (which is the post of honour) to the Portuguese, at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, "That the earl, in yielding that point, had acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great Britain." The earl had alleged in his defence, that, by the treaty with Portugal, the troops of that crown were to have the right in their own country, and that, in order to engage them to march to Madrid, he was obliged to allow them the same honour, without which they would not have stirred out of Portugal. Though this apology carried great reason with it, yet, lest such a condescension should be drawn into precedent, they thought fit to pass the above resolution, which was carried by a majority of sixty-four against forty-four. The several resolutions above recited were included in an address to the queen, and to every separate vote was attached a severe

severe protest*. In short, both sides seemed to be less actuated with a regard for candour and national justice, than with the venom of party zeal and rancorous animosity.

While the lords were employed in this enquiry, the commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen. An enquiry was also made upon what invitation or encouragement the poor Palatines had come to England; and several votes were passed against the adviser of that measure. This enquiry begat such an heat in the house, that they passed a bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all protestants; but this was rejected by the house of lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, that no person should be capable of representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a year; and that every burghers should have an annual income of half that sum. The design of this bill was to exclude trading people from the house of commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the landed gentlemen†.

About the latter end of January the duke of Argyll was appointed ambassador extraordinary to king Charles III. and commander in chief of her majesty's forces in Spain. In the same month, sir John Leake was made admiral and commander in chief of the fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, esq. and sir Thomas Hardy was made rear-admiral of the blue. Not long after, the lord viscount Townshend, her majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States general was recalled, and the lord Raby was appointed to succeed him.

On the eighth of March, being the day of her majesty's accession to the throne, the marquis de Guiscard, a French refugee, was apprehended for high-treason, by virtue of a warrant from Mr. Secretary St. John. This was the same person, of whose project for the invasion of France I have already taken notice. The late ministry had such a confidence in him, that they had procured him a pension, for which it may be justly supposed he was to act the part of a spy for them; but instead of that he played the counterpart, which was discovered by Mr. Harley, who got possession of some letters he was sending to the court of France, upon which he was seized.

While he was under examination at the council-board, the desperate villain took an opportunity to stab Mr. Harley in two places in the breast, with a pen-knife he had concealed about him. One or two of the lords present seeing Mr. Harley fall, drew their swords, and wounded the assassin in several places: the door-keeper, alarmed with the noise, rushed in and secured him, though with difficulty (for he made a desperate resistance), and conveyed him to Newgate, where he soon after died of the wounds he had received. Mr. Harley continued for some time in a dangerous way, but at length happily recovered. This attempt upon his life, however, by an emissary of France, did great service to his political character. The two houses, in addresses to the queen, declared their belief that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty,

and his zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery: they entreated her to take all possible care of her sacred person.

A proclamation was accordingly issued, commanding all papists to remove a certain distance from the metropolis; and the queen returned a very affectionate answer to the addresses of her parliament. At the same time, in order to prevent the like desperate attempts for the future, an act was passed, making it felony without benefit of clergy, to attempt the life of a privy-counsellor, in the execution of his office.

On the seventeenth of April, 1711, an express arrived at court, with the news that the emperor Joseph I. died of the small-pox, at Vienna, on the seventeenth of April, N. S. He left the dominions of the house of Austria and the German empire, together with the pretensions to Spain and the West Indies, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor, some months afterwards.

The earl of Rochester dying this spring, who was the only competitor in the royal favour with Mr. Harley, that gentleman soon became sole minister; and on the fourteenth of May was created baron of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford, and raised to the rank of earl by the ancient and noble titles of Oxford and Mortimer; and, as a farther instance of her regard towards him, her majesty was pleased to appoint him lord high-treasurer of Great Britain. The new prime minister, upon his accession to power, saw it to be his interest, as well as that of his country, to put an end to the war with France and Spain as soon as possible: yet, as he could not avoid carrying on the war at least for this year, and until he could more firmly fix himself in power, he judged it principally necessary to find means to quiet the minds of the moneyed people, and restore the public credit, which the Whig party, on their dismissal, had used all their endeavours to impair; and to bring all parties into good humour, he this session introduced the great project of paying the public debts, by incorporating a trading company to the South Seas: upon this plan, however, more was built than the foundation would bear. The original design of allowing six per cent. to people who had trusted the government with their money, was certainly a very commendable scheme, and an easy method of liquidating that great debt; though possibly the giving out, that the stock would produce fifty or sixty per cent. might do more mischief than all the other projects for raising money, whether by lottery or otherwise, since the war commenced.

Before the session broke up, the commons, in consequence of an address from the house of convocation, then sitting, and a message from the queen, enforcing the same, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster, and allotted for this purpose a duty upon coals, which had been granted for the rebuilding the cathedral of St. Paul, now finished. Towards the close of the session, the commons presented a very severe remonstrance, or representation to the queen, charging the late ministry with great malversation in the management of the treasury, the navy, and the army, by which the nation had been needlessly loaded with a

* Burnet. Tindal. Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the House of Lords, iv.

† Proceedings of the

House of Commons, iv.

very heavy debt. This remonstrance being circulated through the nation, awakened the kingdom to a strict consideration of its condition: besides, the death of the emperor Joseph had in part dissipated those prejudices, which had put arms into the hands of so many nations. The English in particular began to reflect, that as the war had been undertaken to prevent Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, in the name of his grand-son, it would be highly absurd for us to exhaust our treasures, and weary ourselves in efforts, to unite all these kingdoms in the family of Charles, whose succession to the empire was in a manner secured. We had already been at greater expence in the war than Germany and Holland together: the expence of this year alone amounted to near seven millions sterling; what sufficient reason then could be brought, for the nation's ruining itself merely to procure a part of Flanders for the Dutch, our avowed rivals in trade? Such were the arguments made use of by the unprejudiced part of the people, by the partisans of the new ministry, and in fine by all those who had not private and lucrative views to answer by the continuation of the war; and these arguments emboldened the queen and her new counsellors to prepare matters for a general peace.

On the twelfth of June her majesty came to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for up, she made a speech to both houses, and then put an end to the session.

The king of Prussia, and several other princes in the grand alliance, insisting on the arrears due to their forces from the States-general, before they would suffer them to march out of their winter-quarters, the campaign did not begin so soon in Flanders as it was intended; but these difficulties being adjusted, the duke of Marlborough, to whom the queen still continued the command of her army, with the disposal of all military offices, repaired to the continent, and assembled the army, on the thirtieth of April, at Orchies, between Lisle and Douay: the next day he passed the Scarpe, and encamped between Douay and Bouchain; while the enemy, under marshal Villars, posted themselves behind the Sanset, in a camp that was looked upon as inaccessible. Prince Eugene of Savoy being detained at Vienna on occasion of the emperor's death, did not join the duke of Marlborough till the twenty-third of May.

On the fourteenth of June the army under the duke resumed its march, and having passed the canal of Arleux and the Scarpe, near Vitri, in presence of the enemy, encamped in the plains of Lens; the same day prince Eugene marched with the Imperial and Palatine troops, consisting of fifty squadrons and twelve battalions, to the Upper Rhine, to make head against the French on that side, who gave out, that they intended to penetrate again into Bavaria, and harraß the empire while it remained without a head.

On the other hand, marshal Villars thought his lines so secure and impenetrable, that he bid defiance to all the efforts of the duke of Marlborough. These lines began at Bouchain, on the Scheld, and were continued, along the Sanset and the Scarpe, to Arras; and from thence, along the Upper Scarpe and the river Ugy, to the Canche, the opening between these rivers being entrenched

and fortified, with all possible care, by a large ditch, defended with redoubts and other works. But Marlborough, whose knowledge in the art of war could be only equalled by the constant success that ever waited on his arms, by a feigned march so diverted the mind of Villars, that he entered the French lines on the fourth of August, O. S. near Arleux, without any opposition; Villars taking it for granted, that his grace's intention was to attack him on the side of St. Omer's, whither he had for some time seemed to have directed his manœuvres. This was acknowledged to be the boldest attempt that had been made during the whole war, and did infinite honour to Marlborough; while Villars was not only censured at Paris, but even ridiculed by his own officers. Malevolence is ever blind to merit: notwithstanding this master-piece of military skill, the hirelings of faction were set to work at home, to depreciate the English general by every method they could devise; they not only endeavoured to ridicule the last action, as a thing of no importance, but they even taxed the duke with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Whatever might be the errors or weaknesses of the duke of Marlborough, nothing could be more provoking and ungrateful than such treatment of a great man, who had done so much honour to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in its service: at a time too, when he knew himself to be in disgrace with his sovereign, and singled out by a powerful party as the object of their resentment. Thus much candour exacts from the historian, who, while he fearlessly lays open the failings, should never invidiously conceal or detract from the merit of distinguished personages. But to return.

On the tenth of August the duke invested Bouchain, contrary to the opinion of the deputies of the States-general, who proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who had passed the Scheld at Creveœur, in order to cover Bouchain; but the duke prudently resolved not to hazard an engagement within the French lines, rightly judging, that any misfortune there might be attended with the most fatal consequences. The reduction of Bouchain, however, was in general considered as impracticable, inasmuch as it was situated in the middle of a morass, strongly fortified, supplied with store of provisions, defended by a numerous garrison, and in the neighbourhood of an army superior to that of the allies, who were likewise exposed to the excursions of the garrison of Valenciennes and Condé. It was, indeed, hazarding a great deal; but daily experience shews, that a general accustomed to conquest, will attempt with confidence what the less fortunate cannot look upon without shuddering: perhaps, likewise, his grace might think his honour concerned, to excel himself, if possible, this campaign, because his enemies had given out that nothing would be done this year in Flanders, the duke, they said, being resolved that nothing should succeed under the present administration, if he could help it. However this might be, Marlborough, by his superior skill and capacity, rendered ineffectual all the attempts that Villars made to raise the siege, baffled a scheme that general had formed to surprise Douay, and, by the assistance of the valour and

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intrepidity of the confederate troops, who idolized him, carried his purpose into execution. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, viz. on the thirtieth of August, O. S. Bouchain was compelled to surrender, on no better terms than the garrison remaining prisoners of war. The duke would next have proceeded to the reduction of Quesnoy, in order to secure the whole quarter; but the deputies of the States refusing their consent, he was obliged to relinquish his intentions. The conquest of Bouchain was the last military achievement performed by the duke of Marlborough, for by that time the breaches in the place were repaired, and the fort put into a proper posture of defence, the season of the year obliged the opposite armies to separate, and the allied troops were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be ready at hand to take the field early in the spring. The campaign in Flanders thus concluded, the duke returned to the Hague the latter end of October, and about the middle of November arrived in England*.

In the beginning of this year the duke of Argyll was appointed ambassador extraordinary to king Charles III. and commander in chief of her majesty's forces in Spain. His grace landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence, so that it was very late before they could take the field; at length count Staremberg with the Spaniards and Germans, and the duke of Argyll with the English, advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the Prato del Rey, a considerable pass, which was so vigorously defended by the confederates, that the duke of Vendosme was obliged to retire, and leave them in possession of the pass. The duke of Argyll was soon after seized with a violent fever, and obliged to be carried back to Barcelona. In the beginning of June sir John Jennings with a fleet arrived before that city, and superseded sir John Norris, who returned to England. Vendosme laid siege to the castle of Cardona in the month of August, which was gallantly defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place by count Staremberg, defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and made themselves masters of all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Nothing farther of importance was transacted in this quarter this campaign; and the duke of Argyll being recovered from his illness, returned to England.

The electors of the empire appearing unanimously disposed to bestow the imperial crown on Charles, that prince, leaving his queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy in the month of September, and, after having had a conference with the duke of Savoy, who of late had appeared very cool in the prosecution of his engagements, repaired to Germany, where he was soon after elected to the imperial dignity, and declared emperor, by the name of Charles VI. and crowned with the usual solemnity at Frankfort. No action happened on the Rhine this campaign, prince Eugene having taken effectual precautions against the attempts threatened by the enemy†.

Charles VI. soon after his accession to the empire, concluded a treaty of pacification with the Hungarian malecontents‡.

No action happened at sea this year of any importance. The marine of France was in too deplorable a situation to make any figure on that element. The famous du Gué Trouin, who had not as yet any rank in the sea-service, with the assistance of some merchants who furnished him with money, fitted out a small fleet, and sailed to the Brasils, where he took one of the principal cities the Portuguese had on that coast, called St Sebastian de Rio Janiero. He and his crew returned home laden with riches, and the Portuguese suffered a very considerable loss by this expedition; but the mischief he had done in the Brasils did not alleviate the miseries of France§.

The new British ministry had laid a plan, in the spring of this year, at the solicitation of general Nicholson (who came to England purposely on that design) for the attack of Placentia, in Newfoundland, and (which was still of more importance) for the conquest of Quebec, and the rest of Canada, from France: troops were accordingly brought over early in the year from Flanders; and in the month of May, a powerful armament, consisting of twelve sail of the line and fifty transports, having on board five thousand men, under the command of brigadier Hill (brother to Mrs. Masham), sailed from Plymouth: sir Hovenden Walker had the command of the fleet. At Boston, in New England, they were joined by two regiments of provincials, and about four thousand men, composed of American planters, Palatines, and Indians. At this place they were detained so long for want of provisions, which it is said they ought to have carried out with them from England, that it was the beginning of August before they sailed into the river St. Lawrence, which was considerably too late in the year. General Nicholson, with the provincials, Palatines, and Indians, proceeded overland to Albany, which was to be the general rendezvous. But when the fleet had got a little way up that dangerous river, they were attacked, on the twenty-first of August, by a violent storm, and driven among the rocks, where eight transports were lost, with about eight hundred men; and many other of the ships were miserably shattered. The admiral, after this loss, sailed immediately back to Spanish River Bay, where it was resolved, in a council of war, that, as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and as they could not depend upon supplies from New England, they should return, which they accordingly did in October, without having made any attempt on the French at Placentia. This unsuccessful expedition was the first and only warlike one undertaken by the new ministry; and the disappointment was no small mortification to them, as it had cost the public a great sum of money. To complete the misfortune, the admiral's ship, the *Edgar*, blew up at Spithead, with a great number of persons on board (besides the crew, consisting of four hundred men) who were come to welcome their friends home: the admiral, and the greatest part of the officers happened fortunately to be on shore.

* Broderick. Life of the Duke of Marl. Hist. of Europe.
§ Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

† Burnet.

‡ Idem.

Having given an account of the military transactions of this year, I shall next take a view of our civil affairs : and first of Ireland.

About the middle of June his grace the duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, set out for that kingdom, and arrived at Dublin the third of July. On the twelfth of the same month the parliament assembled, to whom he made a speech suitable to the present situation of affairs. I shall not enter into a detail of the particular matters transacted this session, but only observe, that the majority of the peers shewed themselves to be strong friends to the Tory party and the new ministry in England ; while the commons expressed no less zeal for the Whig interest. The commons being informed that the lords, in an address to the queen this session, had reflected on the honour of their house, and a paper, alleged to be a copy of the said address, being read, they immediately addressed the queen upon it. The lords, in their turn, addressed in vindication of their former address; and also drew up a representation, at the solicitation of the bishops, against the dissenters in that kingdom. In fine, the heats between the two houses grew to an alarming height, so that the lord lieutenant found himself under a necessity to put an end to the session, which he did on the ninth of November, after giving the royal assent to such acts as were ready, and then returned to England.

In Scotland, the Jacobite party began to grow extremely insolent upon the change in the ministry. The duchess of Gordon presented the faculty of advocates with a silver medal, representing the pretender, and on the reverse the British islands, with the motto, REDDITE (return) : the faculty received it, and even voted thanks to the duchess for this token of her regard. This affair made a very great noise : the matter was laid before the queen, who ordered the lord-advocate of Scotland to enquire into the particulars. The faculty, dreading the consequences of their foolish proceeding, passed a solemn act, by which they declared their attachment to the queen and the protestant succession, and alleged in their excuse, that the affair of the medal had been transacted by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent. The court was satisfied with this concession ; but the Hanoverian resident having presented a memorial to the queen, desiring that some punishment might be inflicted on the principal persons concerned in accepting the medal and returning thanks for the same, the government ordered a prosecution to be commenced against Dundas of Arncliffe, and one Horne ; and sir David Dalrymple, the lord-advocate, was removed, on account of his remissness : and thus the affair was dropped ||.

Both the queen and the ministry being now intent upon peace, and the French king having made new overtures this spring, Mr. Prior was sent to France, in company with the abbot Gualtier. This person, during marshal Tallard's embassy to king William, had acted as his chaplain ; and soon af-

ter getting into the earl of Jersey's acquaintance, who was ambassador in France after the peace of Ryswick, and whose lady was a Roman Catholic, was retained in that nobleman's family : here he got acquainted with Mr. Prior, who was that earl's secretary. Afterwards, returning to England, he became chaplain to count Gallas, ambassador from Charles III. of Spain. The earl of Jersey recommended him to Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, as a proper person to go over with Mr. Prior to sound the intentions of the court of France. They were to let the king of France know, that the present ministry were desirous of peace ; but that they would make it only on such terms as should be to the satisfaction of the allies of Great Britain, agreeable to the treaties and stipulations entered into by the confederates. They then proposed, "That the trade of Holland should be restored, and the Dutch have a barrier, as well as the emperor and the duke of Savoy, for their security : that care should be taken to keep the balance in Italy ; and that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. In relation to Great Britain, that our commerce should be settled to the satisfaction of the British subjects ; the government to be acknowledged in France, as now settled in Great Britain ; Dunkirk to be demolished ; the Assiento to be enjoyed by Great Britain, after the peace, as the French had it at present ; Newfoundland to be entirely given up to the English, but the trade of Hudson's Bay to be continued in the hands of the French and English ; and all things in America to remain in the state they should be found in, at the conclusion of the peace : that all advantages of trade granted to the French by the Spaniards, should be equally granted to the British subjects ; and in the last place, the secret should be inviolably kept, till allowed to be divulged by the mutual consent of both parties concerned."

With these propositions Mr. Prior went to France, in the beginning of July this year, but without any powers to negotiate, and was ordered to return immediately, if the French started any difficulties, and was particularly directed to see if they had full powers from Spain. The French not finding him sufficiently empowered to treat, sent over Mesnager, deputy of the council of commerce in France (with whom Mr. Prior returned). Mesnager remained here till the latter end of September, when, having finished his negotiations, he took leave of the British court, and returned home, having first obtained liberty for marshal Tallard, who had remained a prisoner here ever since the battle of Hochstet, to go to France for four months, upon his parole. On the ninth of October the offers made by France were communicated to count Gallas, and to the other ministers of the allies. The proposals obtained the name of Preliminaries, though they were signed only by the French agents, and contained only the offers made on the part of France : what those were, the reader will find in the note*.

These

|| Burnet. Tindal.

* These articles imported, that Lewis acknowledged the title of the queen of Great Britain, and the succession of that crown, according to the present settlement: that he would freely, and bona fide, consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures for hindering the crowns of France and Spain from ever being united on the head of the same prince;

persuaded that such excess of power would be dangerous to the peace and tranquility of Europe : that all the parties, engaged in the present war, should, each of them, obtain a reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace which should be concluded ; and that trade should be established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of Great-Britain and Holland, and of the other nations, who had been accustomed to exercise commerce:

These offers being communicated to the foreign ministers residing in London, by Mr. secretary St. John, who at the same time notified to them, that her majesty had pitched upon the city of Utrecht for the place of congress, and that the conferences would begin on the first of January, O. S. count Gallas, now the Imperial ambassador, was pleased to treat them in a manner so disrespectful to our government, that the queen sent him a message forbidding him her court, and at the same time to acquaint him, that the sooner he left England, the more agreeable it would be to her. The States-General also thought proper to send over M. Buys, one of their deputies, in whose eloquence they had great confidence, to persuade her majesty not to give ear to any proposals made by the court of France: but they were disappointed in their expectations: the queen was determined to procure peace, and put a stop to the vast effusion of blood, which had for many years deluged half Europe, nor would longer suffer such numbers of her faithful subjects to throw away their lives, not in defence of their own country, but to gratify the covetousness and ambition of our allies. Accordingly the earl of Strafford, the English ambassador at the Hague, was ordered to demand the immediate concurrence of the States, declaring, in the queen's name, that she should look upon any delay as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Their High Mightinesses, considering that they were altogether unable to prosecute the war without the assistance of England, and that by separating their interests from those of Great Britain, they should not be able to obtain a barrier to their mind, thought it most adviseable, after long deliberation, to fall in with the queen's measures. Baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from his electoral highness of Hanover, also presented a memorial, dissuading her majesty from treating with the court of France, until the demands of the allies were fully complied with, by way of preliminaries. In order to quiet the apprehensions which that count had been inspired with by the Whig party, who represented all these measures as so many steps to bring in the pretender, the earl of Rivers, the English ambassador at Hanover, was ordered to assure the elector, that his succession to the crown should be effectually secured in the treaty. Charles, the new emperor, wrote to the queen on the same subject, and with the like arguments of dissuasion; but her majesty, for certain reasons, did not honour his letter with an answer. She had already done a great deal, perhaps even more than, in justice to her subjects, she ought to have done, in favour of the house of Austria; but there was no reason for aggrandizing that family any more than the house of Bourbon, at the expence of her own kingdom, and that of the peace of all Europe.

But that all parties might be made as easy as possible, her majesty wrote a letter to the allies, explaining to them the steps she had taken, and inviting them to the congress; she even condescended to have a conference with the dukes of Marlborough, Grafton, and St. Albans, the earls of Dorset and Scarborough, the lords Somers, Cowper, and others, on the same subject; but they remained fixed and steady in their opposition to a pacification. Her majesty, however, proceeded steadfastly in her measures, notwithstanding all the opposition she met with, both at home and abroad: and the parliament being assembled on the seventh of December, she made a speech to both houses, in which she expressed herself to the following purport: "That, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and place for a general congress were finally appointed: that her allies, especially the States-general, whose interests she considered as inseparable from her own, had, by their ready concurrence, expressed an entire confidence in her conduct: that her chief concern was, that the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation should be preserved inviolate, by securing the succession as it was limited by parliament, in the house of Hanover: that she should make it her endeavour, in the ensuing negotiation, to obtain all the advantages of trade and commerce, which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people: that, with regard to the princes and states who were engaged in the war, she would leave no means unattempted to obtain for each of them all reasonable satisfaction: that, as the best way to forward the treaty, would be to make early provision for opening the campaign, she hoped they would grant the necessary supplies for the ensuing year; and she begged they would proceed in this affair with such dispatch, as might convince the enemy, that if she could not obtain a good peace, she was ready to prosecute the war with vigour."

The earl of Nottingham, from being one of the chief supports of the Tory party, had of late associated with the Whigs in opposing the measures pursued by the court towards a pacification, and therefore, when her majesty's speech came to be canvassed in the house of lords, he objected to that part of it which related to this matter, asserting that the preliminary offers of the French court were vague, loose, and indeterminate; and on a motion being made for returning her majesty the thanks of the house for her speech, he proposed that a clause should be inserted in the address, importing, "that it was the humble opinion and advice of that house, that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon." This occasioned a violent debate, in the

merce: that he would faithfully observe the conditions of peace when it should be concluded; and as the only object which he proposed to himself was, to secure the frontiers of his kingdom, without disturbing the neighbouring states, he readily agreed by the ensuing treaty, that the Dutch should be put in possession of the fortified places which should be mentioned in the Netherlands, to serve for the future as a barrier for securing the quiet of the republic of Holland against any attempts from the part of France: that he likewise consented, that a sufficient and convenient barrier should be formed for the empire, and the house of Austria: that, though he had expended very large sums, as well in purchasing, as fortifying Dunkirk; and though an additional expence would be necessary

for razing the works, he would yet engage to cause them to be demolished, immediately after the conclusion of the peace, on condition, that, for the fortifications of that place, a proper equivalent should be given him; and as it could not be expected that England should furnish that equivalent, the manner of raising it should be left to the plenipotentiaries appointed to conduct the negotiations for peace: and that, when the general conferences for peace should be opened, the pretensions of all the princes and states, engaged in the war, should be carefully considered, and nothing should be omitted to regulate and settle them to the entire satisfaction of all the parties. Burnet. Tindal.

course of which the earl of Anglesey represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expensive war: he affirmed, that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by some persons, who prolonged the war for their own private interest. The duke of Marlborough, conceiving himself struck at by this assertion, rose up, and, in a very long speech, endeavoured to vindicate himself from such a charge, and, with a most solemn oath, declared that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. At last, the question being put upon that clause, it was carried for insertion by a small majority. To this address her majesty returned for answer, that she was very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon. The commons, in their address, inserted no such article, and therefore her majesty answered them in a more gracious style*.

Duke Hamilton, one of the sixteen peers for Scotland, having been created duke of Brandon in England, his right of sitting in the house of peers as a peer of Great Britain, was questioned, and counsel being heard on both sides of this point, it was resolved, upon the question, "That Scots peers created peers of Great Britain since the Union, have no right to sit in the house of peers, as peers of Great Britain." The bill against occasional conformity was revived this session by the earl of Nottingham, but in more moderate terms than the former, so that it passed both houses. On the twenty-second of December, her majesty being indisposed with an agueish disorder, granted a commission to the lord keeper and some other peers, to give the royal assent to this bill, and another for the land tax. Then the commons adjourned to the fourteenth of January, and the lords to the second of the same month, but not till they had, at the motion of the earl of Nottingham, presented an address to the queen, desiring she would instruct her plenipotentiaries in the ensuing negotiation, to act in perfect concert with the ministers of the allies; an address which was very disagreeable to her majesty, as it implied a suspicion of her ministers, as if they had clandestine views in their transactions with the enemy.

All this time the duke of Marlborough, equally insatiable of glory and riches, tried every possible expedient, both by himself and his adherents, to render the proposed peace abortive; but his influence was now in its wane, and his enemies, the more effectually to ruin him with the queen, caused a charge of peculation to be brought against him in parliament, by the commissioners for examining the public accounts, who reported, that they had discovered, that the duke had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds, from sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in contracting

for bread for the army; and that he had pocketed a deduction of two and an half per cent. from the foreign troops maintained by England. His grace alleged in his justification, "That the present from the Jew was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army; that the deduction of two and an half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from the queen; that all the articles in the charge, joined together, did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed by king William for contingencies; that the money was expended in providing intelligence, which was so exact, that the allied army under his command had never been surprised." Upon the whole, however, the great caution and secrecy with which this money was constantly received, gave reason to suspect, that it was not thought a justifiable perquisite; for Mr. Edward Cardonnel, the duke's secretary, and auditor of the bread-account, declared upon oath, that he never knew or heard of such perquisite, till the rumour of this affair being brought before the commissioners. However this might be, her majesty was pleased, on the thirtieth of December, to declare in council, that she thought fit to dismiss the duke of Marlborough from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was next day imparted to him, in a letter under the queen's own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received from him and his friends. The royal protection thus withdrawn from this great man, it soon appeared how little reliance is to be placed on the opinion of the people. He, whom they had in a manner deified and adored, whose praises had filled every mouth, was now pointed at, as an object of the most indecent satire and most bitter invectives: he, who had so lately possessed the confidence of almost every court in Europe, and had seen his friendship sought after by their respective sovereigns, now found himself obliged, to elude the persecution of his enemies, to seek refuge in foreign country.

The ministry finding how strongly the house of lords opposed the measures for a peace, persuaded the queen to make use of an expedient, which nothing but necessity could justify, and which no English prince had ever before attempted. This was, to create no less than twelve new peers; a number which they imagined would secure them the majority in the upper house. Accordingly, on the last day of December, lord Compton and lord Bruce, sons to the earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ; and the other ten were created by patent†.

The new emperor, Charles VI. thinking that of all the allies he was likely to be the greatest sufferer by a peace with France, thought proper to dispatch prince Eugene to the British court, as the most likely person to promote his interest with the

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Burnet. Tindal.

† These were: lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created baron Hay, of Pedwardin, in the county of Hereford; lord viscount Windor of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy in the isle of Wight: Henry Paget, son to lord Paget, created baron Burton in the county of Stafford; sir Thomas Mansel, baron Mansel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan: sir Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton, of Middleton in the

county of Warwick: sir Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor of Bromham in the county of Bedford: George Granville, baron Lansdowne, of Biddeford in the county of Devon: Samuel Masham, (husband to Mrs. Masham, the queen's favourite) baron Masham of Oates in the county of Essex: Thomas Foley, lord Foley of Kidderminster in the county of Worcester: Allen Bathurst, baron Bathurst of Battelsden in the county of Bedford.

queen in this conjuncture, and hoping that his presence, with the assistance of the Whigs, who were very liberal of their invectives against the new ministry, might raise such a flame of discontent in the nation, as would turn out to the advantage of the advocates for war. His highness arrived at Harwich on the first of January, 1712, O. S. and on the seventh was introduced, by Mr. secretary St. John, to a private audience of her majesty: after a short compliment, which her majesty very graciously returned, his highness delivered to her a letter from the emperor, which he desired her majesty to peruse, saying, it contained all his errand. After reading the letter, the queen was pleased to tell the prince, "she was sorry that the state of her health did not permit her to speak with his highness as often she would be glad to do; but that she had ordered those two gentlemen (meaning the secretary and treasurer, then present) to receive his proposals, and confer with his highness as frequently as he should think proper."

The chief business with which the prince was charged, was to dissuade the queen from agreeing to the settlement of the crown of Spain on the house of Bourbon; and his memorial consisted of proposals and methods to carry on the war in that country with success. Mr. secretary St. John accordingly acquainted the house of commons, when they met, that he had received her majesty's commands to communicate to that house a proposition made to her majesty by prince Eugene, in the name of the emperor, for the support of the war in Spain; viz. "that his Imperial majesty judges that forty thousand men will be sufficient for this service, and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to four millions of crowns; towards which his Imperial majesty offers to make up the troops which he has in that country thirty thousand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself." It was observed that no minister stood up to say any thing to this message, which gave the prince a bad preface of the success of his negotiation; and therefore, soon after taking leave of her majesty, he hastened back to the continent, to end the war alone, with the fresh incentive of a prospect of victory without a companion to share the glory.

In the mean while the duke of Marlborough's posts were all filled up, and the duke of Ormond was pitched upon as the fittest person to be captain-general: a commission was accordingly made out, appointing him commander in chief of her majesty's forces within the kingdom of Great Britain, and of those employed abroad in conjunction with the troops of the allies †. But to resume our parliamentary affairs.

The lords reassembled, agreeable to their adjournment, on the second of January, when the queen was pleased to return the following answer to their late address: "That she thought her speech to both houses would have given satisfaction to every one; and that she had given instructions to her plenipotentiaries according to the desire of their address." This done, the lord-keeper delivered to the house a message from the queen, importing, "That her majesty having matters of great importance to communicate to both houses of parlia-

ment, she desired the house of lords to adjourn immediately to the fourteenth, being the same day to which the commons had adjourned themselves." A warm debate arose upon this message, many lords being against an adjournment; but it was carried in the affirmative by eighty-one against sixty-eight.

The same day many of the Scots peers in town presented to the queen an humble representation concerning the late judgment of the lords in relation to the validity of the duke of Hamilton's patent, as duke of Brandon, which her majesty communicated to their lordships; who, when they came to debate this affair, resolved, that it was cognizable only by their house, and at last dropped it.

Her majesty, by reason of her indisposition, being unable to go to the house in person on the fourteenth, sent a message to the commons, importing, that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and were employed in concerting measures for procuring satisfaction to all her allies; that the terms of peace should be communicated to the parliament before they were finally concluded; that in the mean time she was resolved to make preparations for an early campaign; and she therefore hoped the commons would grant the necessary supplies for that purpose ||.

The duke of Devonshire having, in consequence of a motion he had formerly made, prepared a bill for giving precedence to the elector of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge, before the rest of the English nobility, the treasurer, Harley, not to be behind-hand, introduced a bill for giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover, by his brother, Mr. Thomas Harley *.

The commons now entered on the observations of the commissioners for the public accounts, which had been laid before them on the twenty-first of December; and finding that Mr. Robert Walpole, who had for some time enjoyed the post of secretary at war, had received the sum of five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred more, on account of two contracts for forage for her majesty's troops quartered in North Britain, they voted him guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption, and, on the twentieth of January, expelled him their house, and committed him to the Tower †.

This done, they proceeded, on the twenty-fourth of January, to take the duke of Marlborough's affairs into consideration, when, after a long debate, it was resolved, by two hundred and seventy voices against one hundred and sixty-five, "That the taking several sums of money annually by the duke of Marlborough, from the contractors for furnishing the bread and bread-waggons for the army in the Low Countries, was unwarrantable and illegal." After which it was also resolved, by a great majority, "That the two and an half per cent. deducted from the foreign troops in her majesty's pay, was public money, and ought to be accounted for; and that the said resolution should be laid before her majesty by the whole house;" which was done accordingly on the twenty-sixth. Whereupon her

† Burnet. Tindal. Hist. of Europe.
|| Proceedings of the House of Commons.

* Idem. Burnet.
† Proceedings of the House of Commons. Burnet.

majesty gave orders to her attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had so deducted. It must be confessed, indeed, that he had the queen's own warrant for doing it; but still such practices were mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished those glories which the duke had justly acquired by his military abilities and other shining qualities.

An affair of a more public nature next engrossed the attention of the commons, namely, the barrier-treaty with the Dutch, which had been concluded with the States by the lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this treaty England guarantied a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the States bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the queen's title and the protestant succession. The places to be guarantied to the States as a barrier, were chiefly Lisle, Tournay, Menin, and Douay, and they were to be kept still by them. The commons, after examining this treaty, voted, "That there were several articles therein destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain: that the lord viscount Townshend had no orders or authority to conclude several articles in that treaty; and that he, and all those who had advised its being ratified, were enemies to the queen and kingdom*." On this occasion the Whigs, or low-church party, were, or at least pretended to be, strangely alarmed, as if there was a real design on foot to overturn the protestant succession, and no industry was wanting to propagate that notion among the people. But the event shewed, that this was not the thing intended by such a procedure, and that the negotiators of that treaty were those chiefly aimed at.

On the fourth of February, the commons, having deliberated on the state of the war, came to the following resolutions in regard to our allies the Dutch: "That the forces supplied by the States for the service of Spain, from 1705 to 1708, were no more than twelve thousand two hundred men; and that they had since sent thither no forces at all: that the States, during the course of the war, had furnished less than their proportion in Flanders, twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven men: that the queen had paid in subsidies, more than her proportion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five crowns." These resolutions, with the votes concerning the barrier-treaty, were all digested into a long and spirited representation, which they presented to the queen, and in which they asserted, that, during the war, England had been over-charged nineteen millions; a circumstance which, they said, implied either fraud or mismanagement in the late ministry†.

The States-general, alarmed at these resolutions, and fearful of losing their beloved barrier, thought proper to write a respectful letter to the queen; at the same time they sent over a memorial, in which they endeavoured to vindicate their own conduct in the course of the war, against the representation of the commons. This memorial was inserted in one of the English news-papers, evidently with a view to make an impression upon the minds of the people to the disadvantage of the present administration; whereupon the commons voted the said memorial a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting on the resolutions of the house; and caused

the printer and publisher to be taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege‡.

The commons in fact seemed determined to alter every thing that had been done by the late ministry: they repealed the naturalization act; they passed a bill for tolerating the episcopal clergy in Scotland; and passed several other bills which greatly disgusted that nation, particularly an act for discontinuing the courts of justiciary during Christmas (called, An Act for discharging the Yule Vacance), as the observing of holidays was contrary to the principles of the presbyterians; and an act for restoring patronages, which their parliament had abolished by law, as a grievance. These measures occasioned much altercation; but the Scots were at length obliged to submit||. They had enjoyed their days of triumph over the church of England, which they had not exercised in the most tender manner; it seemed therefore but just that they should experience some little mortification in their turn. The house of lords were so disgusted with the sudden and unprecedented introduction of the twelve new peers among them, that a strong party was formed to revive, and if possible to carry into an act, the place-bill; but the ministry bestirred themselves so effectually, that all the Whig faction could effect, was to have the bill passed to take place after the demise of the queen, instead of after the determination of the present parliament, which was what they pushed for, so that it was no more thought on§. Soon after the commons proceeded to the consideration of the supplies, which they readily granted, amounting in the whole to about six millions, part of which was to be raised by two lotteries. About the same time the treasurer formed a bill for resuming all the grants made since the Revolution; but this scheme was strenuously opposed by all the Whig party, and the bill was rejected, though but by a small majority¶. But it will be necessary, before we bring this session to a conclusion, to look back a little, and observe how the negotiations for peace proceeded at Utrecht.

The British plenipotentiaries were Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford; the chief of the Dutch deputies were Buys and Vanderdussen; and the French king granted his powers to the marshal d'Uxelles, the abbot de Polignac, and mons. Mesnager, who had been in England; the ministers of the emperor and of Savoy likewise assisted at the congress, to which the empire and the other allies afterwards sent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. The conferences began on Friday, the twenty-ninth of January, N. S. 1712. On the eleventh of February the plenipotentiaries of France delivered their proposals in writing: and upon the twenty-fifth of March the ministers of the allies delivered to those of France their respective demands, and insisted on the latter giving in a specific answer in writing to their specific demands. This the French ministers declined, though at the same time they declared themselves ready to enter into a negotiation with all the allies, in the usual manner observed at other treaties. But it appearing very plain, that the Imperial and Dutch ministers had no inclination to treat at all, and refusing absolutely to enter into any measures with the British ministers, the latter found themselves under an absolute necessity of

* Proceedings of House of Commons, iv. 263.

† Idem.

‡ Burnet. Tindal.

|| Proceedings of the

House of Commons, iv. Burnet.

§ Proceed. of the House of Lords.

¶ Proceed. of the House of Commons.

carrying on the treaty without them. The Dutch, to shew their aversion to peace, ordered a fast to be proclaimed in April for the success of the war, which was observed with unusual strictness: their general, the earl of Albemarle, also opened the campaign with burning the magazines of Arras.

The specific explanation of the offers of France for a general peace being transmitted to England, were found to be (so far as related to Great Britain) as follow:

“The French king will acknowledge, at the signing of the peace, the queen of Great Britain in that quality; as also the succession of that crown according to the present settlement, and in the manner her Britannic majesty shall please.

“His majesty will cause all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demolished immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his satisfaction.

“The Island of St. Christopher, Hudson's Bay and streight of that name, shall be yielded up entire to Great Britain; and Acadia, with Port Royal and the Fort, shall be restored entire to his majesty.

“As to the island of Newfoundland, the king offers to yield up that also to Great Britain, reserving only to himself the fort of Placentia, and the right of catching and drying fish, as before the war.

“It shall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce, before or after the peace, as England shall chuse; the conditions of which shall be made as equal between the two nations as they can possibly.”

When these offers came to be debated upon in parliament, they gave rise to long and very warm debates, especially in the house of peers, several lords treating them as trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies. Some endeavours were used to adjourn the debates, but in vain; and it was resolved, without dividing, to present an address to the queen, representing the just indignation that house entertained at the insolence of France, in having proposed to acknowledge her majesty's title to these realms no sooner than when the peace should be signed; as also at the terms of peace offered to her and her allies by the plenipotentiaries of France; declaring at the same time, that they would assist her majesty to the utmost of their power in prosecuting the war, until they should obtain a safe and honourable peace*.

It must be confessed, that the specific demands delivered in by the ministers of the allies, ran as high as the French explanation another way. The emperor asked the whole Spanish monarchy; England demanded the restitution of Newfoundland, and the demolition of Dunkirk; the States required their whole barrier; and every ally insisted upon satisfaction to all the other allies as well as to himself. England and the States-general declared, that they demanded Spain and the West Indies for the emperor; in fine, the high pattern set by the French was fully imitated by the allies.

The duke of Ormond being appointed to command the queen's forces in Flanders, went over in the beginning of April to Holland, and had several conferences with the deputies of the States, who assured his grace, that they had given orders

to their generals to live in a good correspondence with his grace. On the twenty-first of May his grace, in concert with prince Eugene, assembled the army between Douay and Marchiennes, which, upon a review, was found to consist of two hundred and ninety-five squadrons, and one hundred and forty-three battalions, amounting in the whole to one hundred and twenty-two thousand two hundred and fifty men; with which forces the general marched towards the enemy, and passing the Scheld, encamped at Solemnes and Keufville. But prince Eugene proposing to attack the French army under marshal Villars, or to invest the town of Quesnoy; the duke of Ormond, who had by this time received fresh orders from Mr. secretary St. John, gave the prince and the deputies of the States-general to understand, that her Britannic majesty having a prospect that the negotiations for peace would prove successful, had given him orders not to act offensively against the enemy.

The prince, and the deputies of the States were thunderstruck at this intimation, and immediately transmitted advice thereof to the Hague. Whereupon the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had orders to complain to the bishop of Bristol, in the name of their masters, against these orders, which the duke said he had received, as they were given without their concurrence: to which that prelate made answer, that he was instructed to intimate to the States-general, that as their High Mightinesses had not thought proper to concur with her majesty in the measures she had taken for procuring a salutary peace, they ought not to be surprised if she now thought herself at liberty to procure that convenience for herself. The plenipotentiaries of the States then remonstrating, that such a step would be contrary to all the alliances between the queen and the States-general; the bishop said, his instructions farther imported, “That, considering the conduct of the States towards her majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their High Mightinesses”

The States-general hereupon sent over a letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. It contained an excuse for the backwardness they had shewn to act in concert with her majesty: “That all the difference between her majesty and them was a disparity of sentiments; and if for such a cause, confederates united by the strongest ties, might quit their engagements, no engagements could be relied on for the time to come.” It seems the States-general, at the time of sending over this letter, had given orders to their envoy (with what view may be easily guessed) to publish copies of it in the public papers, which he did; and they were printed and dispersed in England at the very instant, if not before, the letter came to the queen's hands.

The queen was so highly incensed at this procedure of the Dutch, which she considered as a remonstrance rather than a representation, and an appeal to the people rather than an address to the sovereign, that she wrote them a very sharp answer thereupon: nor was this all; the commons took it under consideration, and voted an address to her majesty, wherein they assured her “of the just sense the house had of the indignity offered to her by printing

and publishing a letter from the States-general to her majesty; and humbly desired her that she would so far relent such indignities, as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorials that should be so printed and published." Nevertheless, her majesty, hoping she might at length bring the confederates to join with her in procuring a general peace, did condescend to permit the duke of Ormond to concur with the confederates in a siege, who thereupon invested Quesnoy on the eighth of June †.

Great efforts, however, were made in the house of lords, to procure the censure of that illustrious assembly upon the orders given to the duke of Ormond, not to act offensively. The friends of the Marlborough family, and the Whig party in general, clubbed their united strength on this occasion. Lord Halifax made a motion for this purpose: many and harsh were the reflections thrown out by both parties against each other, which at length went so far, that the duke of Marlborough, on coming out of the house, sent a challenge to earl Powlett, for certain expressions of his highly reflecting upon his grace; but the government interposed, and prevented any ill consequences; and the Whig faction had the mortification to find their attempts baffled on this occasion, and the motion was rejected ‡.

A motion of the same nature being made in the house of commons, it was not only rejected by a great majority (viz. two hundred and three against thirty-seven), but they came to this resolution, namely, "that this house hath an entire confidence in her majesty's most gracious promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace, before the same shall be concluded; and that they will support her majesty in obtaining an honourable and safe peace, against all such persons, either at home or abroad, who have endeavoured, or shall endeavour, to obstruct the same." To this address the queen returned the following most gracious answer: "That she thanked her faithful commons very heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable, at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or force one disadvantageous to Great Britain."

The articles of the treaty being now in some measure adjusted, the queen thought fit to propose a cessation of arms to the allies. On the fifth day of June her majesty came to the house of peers, and communicated the plan of peace ||, according to the promise she had made; upon which an address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, and presented to the queen by the commons in a body. But the lords were not so acquiescent, the Whig party predominating in that house. The Tories had embarrassed them in their administration during the last year of the war, and the Whigs in return were resolved to make the Tories as uneasy as possible: both parties were, in their turns, gainers by this manner of acting; but both parties were gainers at the expence of the nation, and therefore they had no reason, they had no right, to reproach each other. When the house

of lords took the speech into consideration, the duke of Marlborough asserted, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with the allies; that they sullied the glories and triumphs of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all nations. To this the earl of Strafford, who was lately returned from Utrecht, answered, that the allies would not have shewn such backwardness to a peace, had not they been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who had fed them with hopes of being supported by a strong party in England; but if England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honour, to withdraw herself from a confederacy which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate, but a slave to the alliance. In fine, after a great display of rhetoric, for and against the plan of a peace, the majority agreed to an address, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary condescension in communicating the conditions to her parliament, and expressed an entire satisfaction in her conduct.

On the twenty-first of June, the queen thought fit to put an end to the session by prorogation, after having made a short speech to both houses, in which she expressed her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had received; observed, that should the treaty be broke off, many mischiefs would ensue; their burdens would be continued, if not increased; Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe; and, though some of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would suffer in the common calamity *.

In the mean time the duke of Ormond, pursuant to the directions he had received from court, declared to prince Eugene, that if he purposed to carry on the siege of Quesnoy, he could no longer continue to co-operate therein, as he should, within three days, publish a suspension of arms between his army and that of the French; and should send off a detachment to take possession of Dunkirk, which place the king of France had offered to put into the hands of the English, as a security for the performance of his promises; and that he himself must march off with the rest of his army in three days: and proposed that the suspension of arms should be generally published by the whole confederate army. Prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States, desiring some time to write about this to their respective sovereigns, the duke of Ormond suspended the march of his troops some days beyond which he had limited, to give time to the rest of the allies to come into the cessation of arms ¶.

The bishop of Bristol executed his instructions at Utrecht with no less punctuality than the duke of Ormond had done in the army. A meeting of the ministers being held, he communicated to the other plenipotentiaries the concessions which

† Quesnoy is a small but strong town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Hainault and territory of Valenciennes, subject to the French. It stands seven miles south-east of Valenciennes, eighteen south-west of Mons, and eighteen almost north-east of Cambray. Burnet. Tindal. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Lords.

|| Which was nearly the same as that finally concluded upon, which see in its place.

* Proceedings of the House of Commons. Proceedings of the House of Lords.

¶ Burnet. Life of Prince Eugene. Hist. of Europe.

France would make to the allies; and proposed a cessation of arms for two months, that they might confer in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on this subject.

On the twenty-eighth of June, N. S. the duke of Ormond sent his adjutant with a written order to the generals of the foreign troops in the British pay, to hold their forces in readiness to march; but, to his grace's unspeakable surprize, they all refused to obey his orders, except four squadrons and a battalion of the troops of Holstein Gottorp, and a regiment of dragoons of the troops of Liege. This refusal, on the part of the others, was owing to prince Eugene's having before tampered with them: and, indeed, it was not in the least to be wondered at, that these mercenaries should prefer their trade of war to any peace whatever. But to proceed: on the third of July, Quesnoy surrendered to the allies, the armies not being yet separated, and the garrison being made prisoners of war, were sent home. The earl of Strafford, having returned to Holland after the prorogation of the parliament, proposed a cessation of arms to the States-general, by whom it was rejected: then he repaired to the army of the duke of Ormond, where he arrived a few days after the surrender of Quesnoy. The duke of Ormond, on the sixteenth of July, marched off with his forces towards Ghent and Bruges; while prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except those already mentioned. The elector of Hanover himself, who was to succeed queen Anne on the throne of England, notwithstanding her remonstrances, continued his troops in the pay of the allies, which plainly shewed that he did not think the pretensions of his family to the British crown depended upon the queen's will†.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the assistance of the English, was still superior by twenty thousand men to marshal Villars, as likewise by his position, and by his numerous and well-furnished magazines; so that Villars could not prevent him from laying siege to Landrecy, from whence he detached several considerable bodies, who entered Champagne, ravaged the country, and advanced as far as the gates of Rheims. The alarm produced by this irruption reached as far as Paris; all France was seized with consternation. The death of the king's only son, which fell out this year; the duke of Burgundy, the duchess his wife, and their eldest son, all carried to their graves the same day, and the only remaining child at the point of death; all these domestic misfortunes, added to those from without, and the sufferings of the people, made the close of Lewis XIV.'s reign considered as a time pointed out for calamities. Precisely at this period the duke of Vendôme died in Spain: the general dispiritedness which seized the French nation upon this occasion is hardly to be expressed; they placed no great dependence on the conferences at Utrecht, which might be all overthrown by the successes of prince Eugene. Lewis therefore sent notice to queen Anne, that notwithstanding the allies refused to concur with Great Britain in a general cessation of arms; yet, to shew his sin-

cere intentions for peace, and the confidence he reposed in her majesty, he was ready to deliver up Dunkirk into her hands, not doubting of her endeavours to bring the allies into the plan of peace concerted between the crowns of France and Great Britain. Hereupon Sir John Leake, and brigadier Hall, with a body of troops, sailed from the Downs on the seventh of July, and the same day came to an anchor before Dunkirk; and the next day, the troops being landed, the French marched out of the citadel, and all the other forts, of which the English took possession, and placed guards at all the gates; after which the count d'Aumont, the French governor, delivered to brigadier Hall the keys of the town. Notice of this being sent to the duke of Ormond, who with the English forces now lay in camp at Avelne le Sec, in the road to Ghent, his grace proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months between the French army and ours; and the same day marshal Villars did the like in his camp‡.

Some little time before the separation of the confederate troops, the deputies of the States-general did not scruple to say publicly, that they hoped the duke of Ormond did not intend to march thro' any of *their* towns (would any one imagine that they meant the towns that had been conquered for them by the English arms? but so it was); and now, being farther exasperated by the cessation of arms lately published, they sent orders to the respective governors not to allow the earl of Strafford to enter Bouchaine, nor the British troops to pass through Doway, though in the latter of these towns we had left a great quantity of stores, together with our principal hospital. The duke of Ormond hereupon, in order to reduce their High Mightinesses to reason, bent his march immediately for the city of Ghent, where part of his artillery and stores were laid up. Prince Eugene, and the deputies, sensible that his grace would soon have it in his power to revenge the affront that had been put upon the English, dispatched count Nassau Woodenburgh to excuse the insolent behaviour of the commandants of Bouchain and Doway, pretending that what had been done was without their authority or privity. The duke, however, continued his march, and, with the earl of Strafford, arrived at Ghent the twenty-third of July; which place, together with Bruges, he took possession of for the queen of England, and then detached six battalions to reinforce the garrison of Dunkirk, with a train of artillery and ammunition.

It was not long before the confederates felt the fatal effects of separating themselves from the British troops, and refusing to come into the queen's measures. Prince Eugene had formed the siege of Landrecy, without having consulted the duke of Ormond; however, he continued to push the siege with vigour: but he committed some essential faults, which ended in his disgrace; for his lines were too much extended, and his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a distance; so that the earl of Albemarle, who was posted at Denain on the Scheld, to secure the communication with Marchiennes and the prince's camp, was not within reach of the latter's assisting him soon enough in case he was attacked. Marshal Villars saw this

† Conduct of the Duke of Ormond. Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

‡ History of Europe. Torcy's Memoirs. Voltaire.

error, and like a skilful general made a proper advantage of it; he put a deceit upon prince Eugene. A body of dragoons was ordered to advance in sight of Landrecy, as if going to attempt the relief of that place: in the mean time the marshal himself marched towards Denain, with his army drawn up in five columns, forced the earl of Albemarle's entrenchments, defended by thirteen battalions, and thirty squadrons, who were all killed or made prisoners. The general himself surrendered prisoner of war, with five princes of the house of Nassau, the prince of Holstein Gottorp, the prince of Anhalt, and all the officers of the detachment; and the French found in the camp twelve brass cannon, great quantities of horses, and a very considerable booty. Prince Eugene, on the first news of this attack, marched in haste to the assistance of the earl, but did not come up till the action was over; and in endeavouring to get possession of a bridge that led to Denain, he lost a number of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after having been witness of a defeat which was big with fatal consequences to the interest of his master. This action happened on the twenty-fourth of July, 1712.

Landrecy, which still continued invested, had not ammunition for holding out a week longer, while the army of the besiegers were provided for twice that length of time; notwithstanding which, prince Eugene thought proper to abandon the siege with precipitation, while marshal Villars carried all the posts belonging to the confederates upon the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, one after another, with the utmost rapidity. He then pushed for Marchiennes itself, which was defended by four thousand men: the French carried on the siege with the greatest vigour, and in three days time the garrison were made prisoners of war. All the ammunition and provision that the confederates had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into the hands of the enemy. The superiority was now wholly on the side of Villars; the confederates in despair retreated every where before those very troops whom they had so lately held in contempt; and soon afterwards saw Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain, retaken by the French. Lewis XIV. now beheld his frontiers in safety. Prince Eugene drew off his army, after having lost near fifty battalions, forty of whom were made prisoners between the fight of Denain and the end of the campaign. All the compensation they obtained for this great loss, was the conquest of Fort Knocque, which was surprised by de Rue, a famous partisan in the allied army. About the end of October, both sides put their troops into winter quarters*.

While these military transactions were going on, the British ministers at Utrecht continued to press the Dutch and other allies to join in the suspension of arms; but they declared their resolution to continue the war with the utmost vigour. It was then proposed to admit the plenipotentiaries of king Philip to the congress; but this the other ministers would not hearken to. Upon which the queen, and her ministry, finding that the allies were determined to pursue their own measures, thought she had equal right to do the same; and in the be-

ginning of August, secretary St. John (now created viscount Bolingbroke) was dispatched to the court of Versailles, to put a finishing hand to the treaty between France and Great Britain. He was received at the French court with the most distinguished marks of respect; and having adjusted, with the marquis de Torcy, the principal interests of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria, he fixed the time and manner of the renunciations that were to be made, and consented to a renewal of the suspension of arms between the crowns of France and England, for four months longer, viz. from the twenty-second of August to the twenty-second of December. His lordship then returned to England, leaving behind him Mr. Prior, in the character of resident at the French court†.

The British ministers at Utrecht had insisted that Philip V. now settled on the throne of Spain, should renounce his right to the crown of France, which he had hitherto constantly maintained, and that the duke of Berry, his brother, presumptive heir to that crown, after the only remaining great-grandson of Lewis XIV. then at the point of death, should likewise renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, in case he should come to be king of France. They likewise exacted the same of the duke of Orleans. These conditions being all accepted by the several parties concerned, lord Lexington was sent from England to Madrid, in the month of September, to be present at the renunciation of king Philip, which was drawn up in form, and signed by that monarch on the fifth of November, N. S. the cortes or states of Spain being assembled on that occasion, to add greater force to it. Philip in that assembly formally renounced all pretensions which he or his descendants might have to the crown of France, and desired the concurrence of the states therein‡.

In Catalonia there was little action this year. On the eighth of September brigadier Pierce, who commanded the British troops there, notified to count Staremberg, that a cessation of arms having been agreed upon between England and France, he should separate from the army with his troops. Accordingly he marched to Sitias, on the coast between Barcelona and Terragona; and soon after the Germans as well as the Spaniards went into winter-quarters.

The Portuguese had hitherto continued obstinately to refuse their concurrence with the pacific measures going forward; but at length, consulting their own interest, they thought fit to come into the cessation of arms; and a treaty to that effect was signed between their ministers and those of France at Utrecht, on the seventh of November, which put an end to the war on that side. Much about the same time the duke of Argyll was sent from England to take possession of Port Mahon, and the island of Minorca, for her Britannic majesty, which he accordingly did. The campaign in Flanders being over, the duke of Ormond returned to England, and on the fourth of November was graciously received by her majesty.

On the fifteenth of November, a duel was fought between his grace the duke of Hamilton and the lord Mohun, principals, and colonel Hamilton and

* Hist. of Europe. Con. Pr. Eug. Broderick. Tindal. Voltaire.

† Kane's Memoirs. Tindal.

‡ Hist. of Europe. Voltaire.

colonel Macartney, their seconds. The two principals died upon the spot; Macartney disappeared, and found means to escape in disguise to the continent; colonel Hamilton surrendered himself to a committee of the council, and made a deposition, in which he charged Macartney with having stabbed the duke of Hamilton, after he had fallen by the sword of his antagonist, and lay wounded on the ground. Hereupon a reward of five hundred pounds was offered by the government for apprehending Macartney, to which the duchess of Hamilton added a promise of three hundred pounds. The falseness of this report, however, appeared sufficiently in the sequel: Macartney submitted to a fair trial, and, upon the clearest evidence, was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge; and colonel Hamilton incurred such disgrace by his behaviour, that he was obliged to sell his company in the guards. As this had been a party-duel, several severe reflections were thrown out against the duke of Marlborough, who was said to have taken all opportunities of fomenting the animosities between the two factions; upon which account, as also seeing that his enemies became every day more powerful, his grace thought fit to retire to the continent, whither he was followed by his duchess; and they took up their residence at Aix la Chapelle, and returned no more to England till the day the queen died. His friend Godolphin, the late treasurer, had died in September, with the character of an upright and honest statesman. This year was also distinguished by the death of Richard Cromwell, once lord protector, and son of the great Oliver, in an advanced age.

The British ministry considering themselves as answerable to their country, and to all Europe, for their actions at this critical conjuncture, neglected nothing that concerned the interest of England and its allies, and the safety of the public weal. In the month of November, a new plan of peace was transmitted to the earl of Strafford in Holland, who presented it to the States-general, for their approbation. In this new plan the queen promised to procure to the States-general the city of Tournay, and some other places, which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty. Their High Mightinesses having considered the new plan proposed, and sensible of the circumstances they had reduced themselves to, by haughtily contemning all former propositions made them by her majesty, determined at length to reconcile themselves to her; and on the twenty-ninth of December, N. S. wrote a very submissive letter to her majesty, wherein they told her, "They thought themselves obliged to return her majesty thanks for the overtures she caused the earl of Strafford to lay before them, and for the assurances, no less obliging than strong, she had added to them both of her majesty's desire to procure a good peace for all Europe, and to provide for the safety, and even augmentation of their state: and declared, they were resolved to join with her majesty in the measures she had taken, and to conclude and sign the peace at the same time jointly with her; also to enter into a new treaty with her majesty, about the succession and barrier, and to conclude and sign it before the peace."

For the better understanding the latter part of this letter, it will be necessary to inform the reader, that when the earl of Strafford presented the new

plan of peace, he at the same time told the States-general, that he had also brought with him a plan of a new treaty of succession and barrier, and must insist that this treaty might be signed before the peace; for in the present treaty of barrier, made in 1709, many things were inserted disadvantageous to Great Britain, and which could not be reconciled either to the letter or spirit of the grand alliance.

The cessation of arms being near expiring, it was again continued for four months longer, viz. from the twenty-second of December to the twenty-second of April, N. S.

On the fifth of December, the marquis de Monteleone, whom king Philip appointed to be one of his plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, arrived at London, in his way thither, when he had an audience of her majesty, to whom he addressed the following short compliment (which was most graciously received by her majesty):

"Madam,

"The Catholicking, my master, hath sent me to give your majesty a thousand thanks for the great pains you have been pleased to take to procure peace to Europe; the whole Spanish nation in particular, owe their lives to your majesty; for had the war continued, there is not one faithful Spaniard who would not have spent the last drop of blood in my master's quarrel.

Her majesty having named the duke of Shrewsbury, lord chamberlain of her household, to be her ambassador to the court of France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton, deceased, his grace set out for that kingdom on the fourteenth of December; and before the end of the month the duke d'Aumont arrived at London, as ambassador from the French king.

The queen, extremely well pleased with the compliment the Dutch had made her, and their promise of coming into her measures, sent a letter to the States, expressing her satisfaction on that head: and the Dutch having received advice that the Turks threatened to revive the troubles in Hungary, in which case they knew the emperor would recall great part of his troops from the Netherlands, and leave the burthen of the war upon their shoulders, they resolved to come into the new treaty of barrier and succession proposed by queen Anne, which was accordingly signed on the nineteenth of January, 1713, and sent over to England to be ratified. By this treaty, to which the Dutch were indebted for a mighty accession of territory, and a very great increase of power, "the States engage to assist and defend the succession of the crown of Great Britain, according to the act of settlement, against all opposers; and her majesty stipulated and agreed, that the States should garrison Furnes, Fort Knocque, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Tournay, Mons, Charleroy, the town and castle of Namur, the castle of Ghent, the forts La Perle, Philip, and Damme; and fort Rodenhugfen by Ghent should be demolished, and that the revenues of those towns which had been taken from France (over and above what was necessary for the support of the civil government, should belong to the States, for the maintenance of their garrisons: that a million of florins yearly, or an hundred thousand crowns every three months, should be paid also to the States, out of the clearest and

most certain revenues of the Spanish Low Countries, which the late king Charles was in possession of at the time of his death, towards the expence of the other garrisons.

“ That the English and Dutch shall be upon the same foot in point of trade in the Netherlands.

“ That England shall assist the Dutch with ten thousand men, and twenty men of war, in case they should be attacked: and the States shall assist the English with six thousand men and twenty men of war; and if this should not be sufficient, they shall assist each other with their whole forces.”

The coming in of the Dutch to the measures of the British court seems to have had a considerable influence upon the other powers; even the emperor's plenipotentiaries seemed to talk in more moderate terms. Count Zinzendorf declared, that his master was well disposed to promote a general peace, and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria; he also consented to evacuate Catalonia, and accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic majesty. Philip's ministers, together with those of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congress, and now the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the allies. On the first of March the instruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and on the fourth of the same month the dukes of Berry and Orleans renounced their right to the crown of Spain in the parliament of Paris, to which renunciation the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Prior, her Britannic majesty's ministers, and the duke d'Offuna, minister from the court of Spain, were witnesses. These preliminaries being thus settled, the great work of peace advanced more briskly, and by the end of the month was brought to its conclusion*.

On the first of April, O. S. the famous treaty of Utrecht was signed, as some would have it believed in a clandestine manner: the fact, however, stood thus. The British ministers having the day before presented a memorial to the plenipotentiaries of France, in behalf of the French protestants, they went to count Zinzendorf, the Imperial minister, to communicate to him the plan of peace they had agreed on with France for the emperor and empire, which his Imperial majesty was to have time to consider of till the first of June, and declared again they were going to sign the peace between Great Britain and France; and they afterwards made the like declaration to the ministers of the rest of the allies, but without notifying the precise time, to prevent disputes and protests, which might have furnished matter for factious and dangerous disputes at home: with the same view it was resolved to sign the treaty privately, at the house of the bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference, which being a thing frequent during that congress, rendered the matter the less suspected. The earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol signed first, then the ministers of the duke of Savoy (declared king of Sicily by that treaty), those of the king of Portugal after them, then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Prussia, and those of the States-general last of all: the whole was over about

two in the morning, occasioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were signed; and when the business was over, the respective ministers withdrew to their own places, and expresses were dispatched by them to notify this transaction to their respective courts†.

Peace being thus happily concluded between France and all the allies, except the emperor and empire, I shall here give an abstract of the most material articles in the several treaties, passing over matters of mere form, and such other particulars as have no relation to Great Britain.

By this treaty the French king acknowledged the protestant succession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, and engaged, for himself and his heirs and successors, not to suffer the pretender to return into France, nor any way to succour or assist him.

“ That the crowns of France and Spain should never be united under one head, and renunciations made on both sides in due form; and that they should never be united under any pretence whatsoever.

“ That the trade between France and Spain shall be on the same foot as in Charles II's time.

“ That the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. That the queen and kingdom should be fully restored to the Bay and Straights of Hudson, and satisfaction made to that company for damages sustained.

“ That the whole Island of St. Christopher be only hereafter possessed by the English, and also Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the port now called Annapolis Royal.

“ That the Island of Newfoundland should belong of right wholly to Great Britain; the French to have only huts to dry their fish, and liberty to fish only from Cape Bonavista to the northern point of that island, and so down to the western side as far as port Riche; only they were to retain Cape Breton and the other islands in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

“ The French in Canada not to molest the Five Nations of the Indians subject to Great Britain; and we to do the same by them.

“ All letters of reprisal, marque, and counter-marque, to be annulled.

“ That justice should be done to the Hamilton family concerning the duchy of Chatelrault; to the duke of Richmond, concerning such requests as he had to make in France; and to Charles Douglas, concerning certain lands to be reclaimed by him.

As for the allies, Portugal and Savoy were satisfied; the latter had the island of Sicily given him, with the title of king, and on the continent the towns of Fenestrelles and Exilles, with the valley of Pragelas; so that they took from the house of Bourbon to aggrandize him. The title of King was allotted to the elector of Bavaria, together with the island of Sardinia, as an indemnification for his losses. The Dutch had a considerable barrier given them, which they had always been aiming at: and if the house of Bourbon was despoiled of some territories, in favour of the duke of Savoy, the house of Austria was on the other hand stripped to satisfy the Dutch, who were become, at its ex-

* Burnet. Oldmixon. Life of Queen Anne. Hist. of Europe.

† Burnet. Hare. Lamberti. Torcy.
8 pence,

pençe, the guarantees and masters of the strongest cities in Flanders. Due regard was paid to the interest of the Dutch with respect to trade; and there was an article stipulated also in favour of Portugal. The sovereignty of the ten provinces of the Netherlands was reserved for the emperor, together with the advantageous lordship of the barrier-towns: they likewise guaranteed to him the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with all his possessions in Lombardy, and the four ports on the coast of Tuscany. But the court of Vienna would not subscribe to those conditions, as thereby the emperor had not sufficient justice done him; and the Imperial ministers gave out, that they would still carry on the war, and hazard all rather than submit to such usage. The king of Prussia had Upper Gueldres, in lieu of Orange and the other estates belonging to his family in Franche Compté. For France, who demolished Dunkirk, and gave up so many places in Flanders that her arms had formerly conquered, and that had been secured to her by the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick, she got back Lille, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. Thus did the English ministry, to all appearance, do justice to every one; but this was denied them by the Whigs, who reviled the memory of queen Anne for having done the greatest good that a sovereign could possibly do, in giving peace to so many nations. Every unprejudiced person, however, attributed their clamours to the true source from whence they sprung, madness and resentment at being excluded from the management of public affairs, and not from any principle of real patriotism or love for their country. We must not forget to take notice of one glorious act of her's in this treaty of peace; I mean her having engaged Lewis XIV. to consent to set at liberty a great number of his protestant subjects, who were confined in prison and in the galleys on account of their religion: this was dictating laws, but laws of a very respectable nature.

At the same time with the treaty of peace the English plenipotentiaries concluded another of navigation and commerce with France, by which a free trade was established, according to the tariff of 1664, except in some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in the year 1699. It was agreed, that no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France, imported into England, than those that were laid on the same commodities from other countries; and that commissaries should meet at London to adjust all matters relating to commerce. As for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished. This treaty might not, perhaps, be so advantageous to Great Britain, in point of commerce, as might have been established; but to say that the treaty of Utrecht did nothing, and that all our expences, and all our victories, in this long war, were absolutely thrown away, is paying no regard to truth: but that a better treaty might have been made, I shall not take upon me to dispute.

The parliament, after many prorogations, was at length permitted to sit on the ninth of April, 1713, when the queen, in her speech, acquainted the two houses, that the treaty of peace was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged: she hoped, she said, that what she had

done for the protestant succession, and the perfect friendship that subsisted between her and the house of Hanover, might convince such who wished well to both, and had the quiet and safety of their country at heart, how vain all attempts were to divide them. Addressing herself to the commons in particular, she said, she left it entirely to them to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons: "Make yourselves easy (continued this excellent princess), and I shall be satisfied: next to the protection of divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people: I want no other guaranty." She then recommended to their care those brave men who had served well by sea and land, during the war, and could not be employed in time of peace. Then, directing herself to both houses, she said, she hoped they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom; for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery; for employing the hands of idle people; for suppressing the scandalous and seditious libels that were every day published; and for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling: concluding with this pathetic exhortation: "Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let me conjure ye all to use your utmost endeavours for calming mens minds at home, that the arts of peace may be cultivated. Let no groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, effect that which our enemies could not. I pray God to direct all your consultations for his glory, and the welfare of my people."

Addresses of thanks and congratulation were immediately presented by both houses of parliament, and their example was followed by the houses of convocation, and all the principal corporations in the kingdom. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth day of May, the very day the war had been declared, eleven years before. It was about this period that the chevalier de St. George caused a printed remonstrance to be conveyed, under covers, to the several ministers at the congress, protesting against whatever might be transacted there to his prejudice.

Mean while, in pursuance of the convention for evacuating Catalonia, sir John Jennings was commanded to carry the empress (consort of the late Charles III. of Spain, now the emperor Charles VI.) from Barcelona to Italy; and accordingly he set sail with her Imperial majesty from Barcelona, and landed her safely at Genoa, from whence she afterwards proceeded to Milan, whither admiral Jennings followed her; and having had several conferences with the ministers there, about the transportation of the German troops from Catalonia, he afterwards proceeded to the court of Turin, to confer with the duke of Savoy concerning his taking possession of the kingdom of Sicily, in which service the British fleet was to be employed*.

The commons having presented an address, entreating her majesty to communicate to the house, in due time, the treaties of peace and commerce with France, her majesty on the ninth of May, sent a message to them, which, by several, was censured as rather too authoritative, though in it-

self true, viz. "That as it was the undeniable prerogative of the crown to make peace or war, she had ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with France, which had been signed by her orders; and had concluded a treaty with Spain, which would be signed as soon as the Spanish ministers were arrived: that she determined from the first, on this extraordinary occasion to communicate these treaties to her parliament, and had therefore now ordered them to be laid before the house." This message was delivered to the house by Mr. Benson, chancellor of the Exchequer, who at the same time presented to the house the copies of the treaties of peace and commerce made at Utrecht, with translations of the same*.

The treaties being read, a day was appointed to consider of the treaty of commerce; when it appeared that the ministry had not paid all the attention to the commercial interests of the kingdom which might have been expected from men of their talents and abilities. By the VIIIth and IXth articles, for instance, it was agreed that Great Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other, that either granted to the most favoured nation: and that no higher customs should be exacted on the commodities of France than what were drawn from the same productions of any other people. After a violent dispute, in which some insisted upon the advantages which would accrue to the nation by a free trade with France, and others as stiffly upon the prejudices of it, it was resolved, however, by a great majority, that a bill should be brought in, to render this treaty more effectual. The Portuguese minister, alarmed at this resolution, presented a memorial, declaring, that should the duties on French wines be reduced to a level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his master would prohibit the importation of the woollen manufactures and other commodities of Great Britain. The whole trading part of the nation exclaimed also against this treaty, which was universally allowed by all, who understood the subject, to be a wretched piece of politics, inasmuch as the said VIIIth and IXth articles did in general terms put France on an equal footing with Portugal, or any of our best allies, in point of commerce: but the IXth article struck more directly at the very root of our Portugal trade, since by introducing the tariff of 1664, the wines and brandies of France would be poured in upon us in lieu of those of Portugal, which latter country took off great quantities of our woollen cloth, iron, and other manufactures, and sent us in return a large yearly balance of money in our favour, over and above all the wines, oil, and fruits, which we took from them.

In fine, the clamour against this treaty grew so loud, that it was no longer to be slighted; and although a great majority of the house of commons was, in other respects, closely attached to the ministry, the bill for agreeing to the purport of the said two articles was rejected by a majority of nine voices, after the most eminent merchants had been heard at the bar of that house, to the great joy of the whole trading part of the nation, and indeed of all other impartial people. Thus the commerce between us and France has ever since remained in a

kind of a state of prohibition on both sides, especially with respect to the principal points.

Bad as our ministry managed at this time with respect to commerce, we ought, however, to do them the justice to acknowledge their circumspection in regard to our then treaty with king Philip of Spain, which was signed at Utrecht, on the twenty-second of July, O. S. by the bishop of Bristol, the lord privy seal, and the earl of Strafford, her majesty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke d'Osuna and the marquis de Monteleone, plenipotentiaries from his catholic majesty. As a proof of this, I shall here give an abstract of what is material in that treaty. By this agreement, the kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever; Philip acknowledged the protestant succession, and renounced the pretender. By the Xth article, "The full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great Britain in property, to be held and enjoyed absolutely with all manner of right for ever, without any impediment or exception whatsoever." By the IXth article, "His catholic majesty doth in like manner, for himself, his heirs, and successors, yield to the crown of England the whole island of Minorca, transferring to the said crown for ever all right and most absolute dominion over the said island, and in particular over the town, castle, and fortifications of Port Mahon; all that Spain reserved to itself being no more than the right of pre-emption, in case the crown of Great Britain shall at any time think fit to alienate or dispose of the said fortress of Gibraltar or island of Minorca." The XIIth article grants "to her Britannic majesty, and to the company of her subjects appointed for that purpose [i. e. the South Sea company] (as well the subjects of Spain as all others being excluded), the contracts for introducing of negroes into several parts of the dominions of his Catholic majesty in America (commonly called el Pacto del Asiento de Negros), at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes yearly, for the space of thirty years successively, beginning from the first of May, 1713, on the same conditions on which the French company had formerly enjoyed it."

As it has been peremptorily asserted, that queen Anne, after having drawn the Catalans into a war, in support of the interest of Charles III. did, by this treaty with king Philip, leave them wholly at the mercy of their enraged sovereign, without stipulating any thing in their behalf; therefore, once for all, to confute this groundless and impudent calumny, I shall here recite verbatim the XIIIth article of this treaty of peace between her Britannic majesty and king Philip, viz.

"Whereas the queen of Great Britain has continually pressed, and insisted with the greatest earnestness, that all the inhabitants of the principality of Catalonia, of whatsoever state or condition they may be, should not only obtain a full and perpetual oblivion of all that was done in the late war, and enjoy the entire possession of all their estates and honours, but should also have their ancient privileges preserved safe and untouched; the Catholic king, in compliance with the said queen of Great Britain, hereby grants and confirms to all the inhabitants of Catalonia whatsoever not only the am-

* Proceedings of the House of Commons. Burnet.

neſty deſired, together with the full poſſeſſion of all their eſtates and honours, but alſo gives and grants to them all the privileges which the inhabitants of both Caſtilles, who, of all the Spaniards, are moſt dear to the Catholic king, have and enjoy, or hereafter may have and enjoy."

The Scots, during this ſeſſion of parliament, ſhewed themſelves very uneaſy, and particularly on account of the duty upon malt, which, after the peace, was to extend to that kingdom. Their nobility and gentry had ſeveral conſultations in London upon this affair, during the adjournment of parliament on account of the Whiſun holidays, when the duke of Argyll, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and Mr. Cockburn of Ormſtoun, were deputed to lay their grievances before the queen. A remonſtrance was accordingly drawn up, and preſented to her majeſty, importing, that their countrymen, with great impatience, bore the violation of ſome of the articles of Union, and that the laying ſuch an inſupportable burthen as the malt-tax upon them, was like to raiſe their diſcontent to ſuch an height as to prompt them to declare the Union diſſolved. Her majeſty answered this addreſs by ſaying, that this was a precipitate reſolution, and ſhe wiſhed they might not have reaſon to repent it; but, however, ſhe would endeavour to make all things eaſy.

The Scots, not content with this answer, reſolved to lay their grievances before the houſe of lords; and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of May, the earl of Finlater (one of the ſixteen peers for Scotland) made a motion in the houſe of peers, that ſome day might be appointed to conſider of the ſtate of the nation; and the firſt of June being fixed upon, he then made a representation of the grievances of the Scots, which he reduced to theſe four heads, viz. "I. That they were deprived of a privy-council. II. That the laws of England, in caſes of high-treaſon, were extended to Scotland. III. That the Scots were made incapable of being peers of Great Britain, as was adjudged in the caſe of the duke of Hamilton. And IV. That the Scots were hardly dealt with in being ſubject to the malt-tax, in time of peace, when they had reaſon to expect to enjoy the benefits of peace; and it was the more inſupportable now, in that they had never borne it during the war."

He then concluded with ſaying, that ſince the Union between the two nations had not been attended with thoſe good effects that were expected and hoped from it, he therefore moved, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for diſſolving the ſaid Union, and ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, eſtabliſhing the queen's prerogative in both kingdoms, and preſerving an entire amity and good correſpondence between the two nations." Hereupon aroſe a very great and memorable debate; the Scots lords, and thoſe who had been moſt zealous in promoting the Union, now urging many arguments for the diſſolution of it. Upon the whole, the court lords were all againſt diſſolving the Union, arguing, that the very moving of ſuch a thing was of very ill conſequence, and therefore deſired ſuch an effectual ſtop might be put to it, that no one ſhould ever offer the like again; and ſo the matter ended*.

There was another affair which gave the queen no leſs uneaſineſs than the buſineſs of Scotland: it ſeems, great part of the revenue, which uſed to be applied to the civil liſt, having been by a former parliament appropriated to other uſes, her majeſty found herſelf under very great difficulties in paying her ſervants, and ſome other private demands; and this was more grievous to that princeſs, having been always remarkable for her œconomy, and regular and punctual payments; whereupon ſhe ſent a meſſage to the commons, in conſequence of which that houſe reſolved, that the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed on the civil liſt revenue. About this time advice being received that the chevalier St. George had for ſome time taken up his reſidence in Lorrain, the two houſes of parliament ſeverally addreſſed her majeſty, that ſhe would uſe the moſt preſſing inſtances with the duke of Lorrain, and with all the princes and ſtates in amity with her majeſty, that they would not receive or ſuffer the pretender to her crowns to continue in any of their dominions; which ſhe promiſed them ſhe would do.

Some little time before, the commons had addreſſed the queen to let them know what equivalent ſhould be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and ſhe gave them to underſtand, that this was already in the hands of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: what it was, however, ſhe did not think proper to explain, ſo that the commons were left as much in the dark as ever. They afterwards beſought her majeſty, that ſhe would not evacuate the towns in Flanders, which were in her poſſeſſion, until thoſe who were entitled to the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Netherlands, ſhould agree to ſuch articles for regulating trade, as might place the ſubjects of Great Britain upon an equal footing with thoſe of other nations: to which her majeſty returned a favourable answer†.

On the ſixteenth of July her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, which was not at all agreeable to the violent Whigs, becauſe it did not contain a word about the pretender and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, from whence they inferred that ſhe was biſſed in favour of the chevalier de St. George. The lord-chancellor, by her majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament to the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, but it never ſat more; for on the eighth of Auguſt a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and declaring her majeſty's intention of calling a new one. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of the ſame month, writs were iſſued in due form, and the new parliament appointed to meet on the twelfth of November.

This ſummer the magiſtracy of Dunkirk ſent a deputation with an addreſs to the queen, humbly imploring her majeſty to ſpare the port and harbour of that town, and repreſenting that they might be uſeful to her own ſubjects. To this addreſs lord Bolingbroke, by her majeſty's order, returned this answer; "That the queen had read, with attention, the addreſſes he had preſented to her in the name of the magiſtrates of the town of Dunkirk, and ſhe had commanded him to tell them, that ſhe beheld with ſorrow the damages which the inha-

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Burnet.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Burnet. Tindal.

bitants of that town would sustain by the demolishing of its ramparts and harbour; but that she did not think it convenient to make any alteration in a thing agreed on and determined by a treaty." Hereupon mons. Fugghe, the principal deputy, presented a second address or memorial to her majesty on the same subject, which he caused to be printed and published. The arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Mainwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk entirely demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground, and the harbour was filled up. On the other hand, the queen, by her instances at the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six protestants from the galleys; but hearing that one hundred and eighty-five more were detained on the same account (that of religion), she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released, and thus by her powerful influence restored to the greatest of all human blessings, liberty, they proclaimed her majesty's piety and goodness through the world.

On the twenty-fourth of August, the queen was seized with a violent ague-fit, which at first proved alarming; but her majesty soon appeared abroad again, to the great joy of all her subjects.

I shall here take notice of some promotions that were made in the course of this year. In February, Dr. Offly was made bishop of St. Davids, in the room of Dr. Blis, who was translated to the see of Hereford; in April, the lord-keeper Harcourt was made lord-chancellor of Great Britain; on the eighth of June, sir Thomas Powys took his place as one of the judges of the Queen's Bench; and sir John Bannister sat the first time as baron of the Exchequer: and about the same time the Rev. Dr. Atterbury was made bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster; Robert Benson, esq. chancellor of the Exchequer, was created baron Bingley; Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol, late plenipotentiary at the congress of Utrecht, was translated to the see of London; and the lord Willoughby of Brooke, was made dean of Windsor. Her majesty was also pleased to bestow some marks of her favour on the earl of Peterborough, by creating him knight of the Garter, in the room of the late duke Hamilton, and appointed him to go ambassador to the new king of Sicily.

After the peace there were nothing but quarrels and contentions among the ministers: Bolingbroke was for undermining the treasurer, as not enduring to be second in the administration; and, the better to gratify his ambition, was for pushing matters to extremity against the Whigs, and was even suspected of designs against the protestant succession. Bolingbroke found means to insinuate himself into the confidence of lady Masham, to whom the earl of Oxford had given some cause of disgust: by the intrigues of this favourite he daily gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, while the treasurer lost in the same proportion. Bolingbroke had formed a scheme to put himself and chancellor Harcourt at the head of the High-church party, and had opposed the duke of Shrewsbury's being sent over to France. The lord-treasurer, however, brought his own scheme to bear, which was, "That the duke of Ormond should stay in Eng-

land to attend the army-affairs, which was necessary at the time of disbanding; that the duke of Shrewsbury should go to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, upon his return from France; that the earl of Finlater should be chancellor of Scotland; the earl of Mar, third secretary of state; the lord Dartmouth, privy-seal; Mr. Speaker Bromley, secretary of state; and sir William Wyndham, chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Robert Benson, esq. lately created lord Bingley, and named ambassador extraordinary to the court of Madrid. This new scheme perfectly defeated that of lord Bolingbroke and his friends, which threw them into a great rage; and the lord chancellor declared the promotion of the earl of Finlater to be against law, and would not treat that nobleman with decency; and lord Mar and secretary Bromley received many instances of ill usage. Most of these changes were declared from the middle of August to the middle of September; and about that time Thomas Foley was appointed auditor of the imprest accounts, in the room of Mr. Maynwaring deceased; the lord Lansdown, treasurer of the household, in the room of the earl of Cholmondeley, formerly removed; sir John Stonehouse, comptroller of the household, in the room of the lord Lansdown; the lord Delaware, treasurer of the chamber, in the room of the lord Fitzharding, deceased; Francis Gwin, secretary of war, in the room of sir William Wyndham; and Thomas Moore, brother to Arthur Moore, pay-master of the land-forces abroad, in the room of Mr. Bridges. About this time likewise the duke of Northumberland and sir John Stonehouse were sworn of the privy-council; and the earl of Denbigh made one of the tellers of the Exchequer*.

The duke of Shrewsbury being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, convoked the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, when it soon appeared that the divisions in England had affected that island. Prodigious riots were made at the elections, and one in particular at Dublin, which could not be appeased without the soldiery: however, by the choice of a speaker (Mr. Allan Broderick), chairman of the committee of elections, and other methods, the Whigs got the majority in the house of commons, who began the business of the session by ordering a prosecution against one Edward Lloyd, for publishing a book entitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George." Then they fell upon sir Constantine Phipps, the chancellor, one of the violent Tory party, and voted an address to the queen, to remove him. This gentleman's conduct had, indeed, been very exceptionable; and it was no secret, that he had an attachment to the exiled family. The house of lords, however, who were chiefly Tories, opposed the commons by a counter-address to the queen, in favour of the chancellor, as did likewise the convocation. During these convulsions, the duke of Shrewsbury behaved with wonderful temper and prudence; and left nothing undone to keep things in some order; but finding that the commons were resolved to oppose all the measures of the court, he thought proper to prorogue the parliament; and leaving chancellor Phipps, with the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom, he returned to England in the beginning of the year 1714.

* See the earl of Oxford's letter to the queen, in the report of the secret committee, anno 1715.

All this while the party-writers and managers on both sides were extremely busy in England in preparing the minds of the people to favour their respective interests in the new elections for parliament; but, notwithstanding the weight and influence of the court, and the visible partiality of some returning officers, a far greater number of Whigs were chosen than was by many expected: the meeting of the parliament, however, was delayed by repeated prorogations to the tenth day of December, a delay partly owing to the queen's ill state of health, partly to the contests that prevailed among her ministers, which were frequently carried to very indecent lengths even in the royal presence. Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by the lord-chancellor Harcourt, sir William Wyndham, and Mr. secretary Bromley: Oxford perceived the decline of his own influence, and began to think of retirement.

In the mean time, the queen was, on the twenty-fourth of December, taken very ill at Windsor. It was given out to be no more than an ague-fit, for which she took the bark, which had its effect; but, whatever the distemper was in reality, it was so sudden and violent, that for some minutes she was thought to be dead. The Jacobites appeared greatly elated at this period, while those who were friends to the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, trembled at the prospect of what might happen. The public funds immediately fell, and a great run was made upon the Bank: the queen, being made acquainted with these circumstances, signed a letter to sir Samuel Stanier, lord-mayor of London, declaring that she was recovered of her late indisposition, and that she was determined to open the new parliament on the sixteenth day of February.

While England was harrassed by these intestine commotions, the emperor Charles III. now left to contend singly with all the power of France, wrote circular letters to all the princes of the empire, to acquaint them with the reasons why his ministers could not concur in the peace, and soliciting their aid: to which the diet of the empire returned for answer, that they had resolved to support his imperial majesty, in the prosecution of the war, with all possible vigour, not doubting, they said, but by the effects of this resolution, so unanimously taken by the whole body of the empire, and their united forces, to reduce the exorbitant power and intolerable ambition of France, and restore Germany to its former flourishing condition. But they found themselves miserably mistaken; for marshal Villars having (as I have already related) secured the rest of French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, and, after making himself master of Spire, Worms, and all the circumjacent country, he took Landau, which the emperor might have kept by acceding to the peace; forced the lines which prince Eugene had ordered to be drawn from Brisgau; defeated marshal Vaubanne who defended those lines; and lastly besieged Friburg, the capital of Upper Austria, which surrendered on the thirtieth of October, 1713. The court of Vienna pressed the circles of the empire to send the succours they had promised, but no succours came. The emperor now began to be sensible, that without the assistance of England and Holland he could

never prevail against France, and resolved upon peace when it was too late. Accordingly conferences were opened, at the instances of the electors of Cologne and Palatine, at the castle of Al Rastadt, between marshal Villars and prince Eugene, on the twenty-sixth of November. In the beginning of February, 1714, they separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion; but all the articles being settled between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again at the latter end of the month; the treaty was signed on the third of March; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all hostilities.

There was no notice taken in this treaty of the pretensions which the emperor still maintained to the Spanish monarchy, nor of the empty title of Catholic King which he continued to bear after Philip V. was in quiet possession of that kingdom. Lewis XIV. however agreed to yield to the emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Friburg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with fort Kehl. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Hunningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and fort Louis. The town and fortress of Landau were yielded to the king of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the king of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarter of Gueldres. In conclusion, the contracting parties agreed, that a congress should be held in the month of May at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and prince Eugene and marshal de Villars were declared their first plenipotentiaries*.

Her majesty, as soon as she was able, came from Windsor to St. James's, when she was pleased to translate sir William Dawes from the see of Chester to the archbishopric of York. On the sixteenth of February, 1714, the new parliament (the fourth of Great Britain), was opened by commission, and sir Thomas Hanmer, who had distinguished himself in the last session by his opposition to the bill for rendering effectual the treaty of navigation and commerce with France, was chosen speaker of the house of commons: then the house adjourned to the second of March. During this adjournment, the ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain (of which I have already taken notice) being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed in London, and the articles were approved by the greatest part of the nation. On the second of March, the queen, who still continued in a bad state of health, was carried in a chair to the house of lords, when she made a speech to both houses, importing, "that she had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greatest part of her allies; and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe: that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate, that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government; but those, who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to disturb the

public tranquillity: that, after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, and to transmit them safe to posterity, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her that attempts to weaken her authority, or render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession."

It is not very easy to account for the queen's expressing her hope, that her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe, seeing that the emperor, who was at this very time engaged in a treaty with France, would neither admit her ambassador to the conferences, nor even acquaint her with the substance of the negotiation. But this, and some other inconsistencies which were contained in this speech, were overlooked by the parliament; and both houses, together with the convocation, concurred in very affectionate addresses to the queen, who returned most gracious answers*.

It was not long, however, before the lords presented another address to her majesty, against a pamphlet, entitled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," which was principally levelled against the duke of Argyll, though, through him, the sixteen Scottish peers who sat in the house, were reflected upon, and the Union treated with great contempt: Barber (afterwards lord-mayor of London), the printer, and Morphew, the publisher, were both taken into custody of the black-rod, and a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds to any person for discovering the author†.

On the other hand, a complaint was made in the house of commons, by Mr. auditor Foley, against the author of certain scandalous papers called "The Englishman," and "The Crisis," as containing several paragraphs tending to sow sedition, reflecting upon her majesty, and arraigning her administration and government. Mr. Richard Steele, a member of the house, acknowledging himself the author of those pieces, a day was appointed for his trial. On the thirteenth of March Mr. Steele made a very long defence, in which he was assisted by his friends, Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole. The attack against him was managed by sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. In a word, he was cast by a great majority of two hundred and forty-five against one hundred and fifty-two, and it was voted that he should be expelled the house.

The lords taking into consideration the state of the nation, addressed her majesty to acquaint them with the steps that had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain; that she would communicate to them an account of the negotiations of peace; an account of the instances that had been made in favour of the Catalans; and an account of the moneys granted by parliament since the year 1710, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state

of the navy, the particular writs of "Noli prosequi" granted since her accession to the throne, with several other matters; and then the house adjourned itself to the last day of March.

A report being industriously propagated about this time, of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper, by command of his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, the minds of the people had been too deeply practised upon to be convinced by this or any other declaration; and what seemed to rivet their apprehensions, was the great alteration now made in military and civil posts, which were bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were at the bottom attached to the pretender. This measure, however, is to be imputed rather to Bolingbroke than the treasurer, who advised moderate measures, and who is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party, who, alarmed at a change so much to their disadvantage, and either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the pretender's accession to the throne of Great Britain, held secret consultations with baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They also maintained a correspondence with that elector and the duke of Marlborough, who, in case of necessity, would have easily procured the States-general to support any design he thought proper to form. Not content with this, they actually formed a plan for seizing the Tower, upon the first appearance of danger in regard to the queen's life (who now visibly decayed from day to day), and confining in it such persons as were obnoxious to them. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation; but they were moreover guilty of unpardonable falsehoods, to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

The house of lords being again met, the distressed state of the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession, furnished a variety of changes upon the alarm-bell of sedition and party malevolence; but nothing so much disgraced this illustrious assembly as that spirit of persecution and rancorous hatred, which they exerted with respect to the pretender. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed earnestly bent to extirpate him from the face of the earth, as if it had been a crime in him to be born; they even proceeded so far as to address the queen to set a price upon his head. To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the Whig lords only, the queen replied in these words: "My lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end was put to those groundless fears and jealousies, which have been so industriously promoted: I do not, at this time, see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I will give orders for having it issued: with regard to the other particulars of this address, I will take care to give the proper directions‡."

* Proceedings of House of Commons. Tindal.

† Proceed. of the House of Lords.

‡ About this time an agent of the late king James's queen offered to file a bill in chancery, wherein he demanded in

her name, the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds due to her by the crown of England, for the dowry of fifty thousand pounds per annum, since the death of king James; but the agent having in the bill, given her the title of "Queen-mother,"

The Whig party were not a little dissatisfied with this answer; and in order to give her all the mortification possible, the earl of Wharton proposed this question in the house of lords, Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration? A warm debate ensued, but at length the succession was voted out of danger, by a majority of voices.

About this period an accident happened, which was not a little surprising, and occasioned many speculations at this time. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, demanded of the lord chancellor a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge. The chancellor, in some surprize, said it was a matter that demanded some consideration, to make out writs for peers who did not reside in the kingdom; however, he would immediately acquaint the queen with it. The envoy replied in a menacing tone, that he doubted not but his lordship knew the nature of his office; but as to the difficulty by the prince's absence, he was resolved to come over, and very possibly might be landed before the writ was made out. The queen was so offended with the baron's applying to the chancellor, without first signifying his intention to her, that she forbade him the court; and, resolved not to afford her enemies the malicious pleasure of turning their backs upon her in her life-time, to worship the rising sun, she wrote the following letter to the princess Sophia, which, from the good sense and spirit that display themselves in the composition, well deserves a place in this work.

"Madam, sister, aunt,

"Since the right of succession to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you, and your family, there have always been disaffected persons, who, from particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am yet living. I never thought, till now, that this project would have gone so far, as to have made the least impression on your mind. But, as I have lately perceived, by public rumours, which are industriously spread, that your electoral highness is come into this sentiment, it is of importance, with respect to the succession of your family, that I should tell you, such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences, that might be dangerous to the succession itself, which is not secure any other way than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (such is our misfortune) many persons, who are seditiously disposed. So I leave you to judge, what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent, that the least thing should be done, which may disturb the repose of me and my subjects.

"Open yourself to me with the same freedom I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the succession. I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate

from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain. I am, with great affection, &c."

At the same time, she wrote a letter to the duke of Cambridge, in these terms:

"Cousin,

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* Proceedings of the House of Lords.

public tranquillity: that, after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, and to transmit them safe to posterity, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her that attempts to weaken her authority, or render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession.*

It is not very easy to account for the queen's expressing her hope, that her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe, seeing that the emperor, who was at this very time engaged in a treaty with France, would neither admit her ambassador to the conferences, nor even acquaint her with the substance of the negotiation. But this, and some other inconsistencies which were contained in this speech, were overlooked by the parliament; and both houses, together with the convocation, concurred in very affectionate addresses to the queen, who returned most gracious answers*.

It was not long, however, before the lords presented another address to her majesty, against a pamphlet, entitled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," which was principally levelled against the duke of Argyll, though, through him, the sixteen Scottish peers who sat in the house, were reflected upon, and the Union treated with great contempt: Barber (afterwards lord-mayor of London), the printer, and Morphew, the publisher, were both taken into custody of the black-rod, and a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds to any person for discovering the author†.

On the other hand, a complaint was made in the house of commons, by Mr. auditor Foley, against the author of certain scandalous papers called "The Englishman," and "The Crisis," as containing several paragraphs tending to sow sedition, reflecting upon her majesty, and arraigning her administration and government. Mr. Richard Steele, a member of the house, acknowledging himself the author of those pieces, a day was appointed for his trial. On the thirteenth of March Mr. Steele made a very long defence, in which he was assisted by his friends, Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole. The attack against him was managed by sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. In a word, he was cast by a great majority of two hundred and forty-five against one hundred and fifty-two, and it was voted that he should be expelled the house.

The lords taking into consideration the state of the nation, addressed her majesty to acquaint them with the steps that had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain; that she would communicate to them an account of the negotiations of peace; an account of the instances that had been made in favour of the Catalans; and an account of the moneys granted by parliament since the year 1710, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state

of the navy, the particular writs of "Noli prosequi" granted since her accession to the throne, with several other matters; and then the house adjourned itself to the last day of March.

A report being industriously propagated about this time, of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper, by command of his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, the minds of the people had been too deeply practised upon to be convinced by this or any other declaration; and what seemed to rivet their apprehensions, was the great alteration now made in military and civil posts, which were bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were at the bottom attached to the pretender. This measure, however, is to be imputed rather to Bolingbroke than the treasurer, who advised moderate measures, and who is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party, who, alarmed at a change so much to their disadvantage, and either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the pretender's accession to the throne of Great Britain, held secret consultations with baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They also maintained a correspondence with that elector and the duke of Marlborough, who, in case of necessity, would have easily procured the States-general to support any design he thought proper to form. Not content with this, they actually formed a plan for seizing the Tower, upon the first appearance of danger in regard to the queen's life (who now visibly decayed from day to day), and confining in it such persons as were obnoxious to them. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation; but they were moreover guilty of unpardonable falsehoods, to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

The house of lords being again met, the distressed state of the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession, furnished a variety of changes upon the alarm-bell of sedition and party malevolence; but nothing so much disgraced this illustrious assembly as that spirit of persecution and rancorous hatred, which they exerted with respect to the pretender. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed earnestly bent to extirpate him from the face of the earth, as if it had been a crime in him to be born; they even proceeded so far as to address the queen to set a price upon his head. To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the Whig lords only, the queen replied in these words: "My lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end was put to those groundless fears and jealousies, which have been so industriously promoted: I do not, at this time, see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I will give orders for having it issued: with regard to the other particulars of this address, I will take care to give the proper directions‡."

* Proceedings of House of Commons, Tindal.

† Proceed. of the House of Lords.

‡ About this time an agent of the late king James's queen offered to file a bill in chancery, wherein he demanded in

her name, the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds due to her by the crown of England, for the dowry of fifty thousand pounds per annum, since the death of king James; but the agent having in the bill, given her the title of "Queen-mother,"

The Whig party were not a little dissatisfied with this answer; and in order to give her all the mortification possible, the earl of Wharton proposed this question in the house of lords, Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration? A warm debate ensued, but at length the succession was voted out of danger, by a majority of voices.

About this period an accident happened, which was not a little surprising, and occasioned many speculations at this time. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, demanded of the lord-chancellor a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge. The chancellor, in some surprize, said it was a matter that demanded some consideration, to make out writs for peers who did not reside in the kingdom; however, he would immediately acquaint the queen with it. The envoy replied in a menacing tone, that he doubted not but his lordship knew the nature of his office; but as to the difficulty by the prince's absence, he was resolved to come over, and very possibly might be landed before the writ was made out. The queen was so offended with the baron's applying to the chancellor, without first signifying his intention to her, that she forbid him the court; and, resolved not to afford her enemies the malicious pleasure of turning their backs upon her in her life-time, to worship the rising sun, she wrote the following letter to the princess Sophia, which, from the good sense and spirit that display themselves in the composition, well deserves a place in this work.

"Madam, sister, aunt,

"Since the right of succession to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you, and your family, there have always been disaffected persons, who, from particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am yet living. I never thought, till now, that this project would have gone so far, as to have made the least impression on your mind. But, as I have lately perceived, by public rumours, which are industriously spread, that your electoral highness is come into this sentiment, it is of importance, with respect to the succession of your family, that I should tell you, such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences, that might be dangerous to the succession itself, which is not secure any other way than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (such is our misfortune) many persons, who are seditiously disposed. So I leave you to judge, what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent, that the least thing should be done, which may disturb the repose of me and my subjects.

"Open yourself to me with the same freedom I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the succession. I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate

from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain. I am, with great affection, &c."

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* Proceedings of the House of Lords.

the lord-treasurer, the lord-chancellor, the lord privy-seal, and another privy-counsellor, were for it; but the lord Bolingbroke having opposed it, and carried the negative, resolved to push his point, and, by his subsequent behaviour, gave but too much reason to suspect him of a design to defeat the protestant succession. However that might be, from this time he broke all measures with the treasurer. On the twelfth of May, sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill "to prevent the growth of schism, and for the farther security of the church of England, as by law established." The design of it was to prevent dissenters from teaching in schools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each house, as a species of persecution, which in truth it was: nevertheless, it made its way through both houses, and received the royal assent; but the queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

On the twenty-ninth of June, baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, arrived in London, and having had a private audience of her majesty, he notified the death of the princess Sophia. This princess, walking in the gardens of Herenhausen, on the eighth of June, in the evening, was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died in the arms of the electoral princess (afterwards queen Caroline), before any one could come to her assistance. She was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederic, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth his consort, daughter of king James I. and was born at the Hague, on the third of October 1630. Upon her death the court of England appeared in deep mourning, and the elector of Brunswick was ordered to be prayed for by name, in the Liturgy of the church of England.

About this time the house of commons concurred with the lords in voting the protestant succession out of danger. The Whigs, however, had great advantage over the Tories in the upper house, in reference to the treaty of commerce with Spain; and all that could be said in defence of the ministry availed very little. Sir William Hodges, Mr. Mead, and about thirty more eminent merchants trading to Spain being called into the house of lords, unanimously averred, that unless the explanation of the third, fifth, and eighth articles were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing twenty or twenty-five per cent. These explanations had been made at Madrid, after signing the treaty at Utrecht. It was observed the treasurer joined with the lords who insisted on hearing the Spanish merchants, which was strenuously opposed by the lord Bolingbroke. But, after a long debate, it was resolved to address the queen "to cause all the papers relating to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, to be laid before the house, together with the names of the persons who advised her majesty to that treaty." The ministry were so confounded at this sudden attack, that they could think of no better answer to put into the queen's mouth, than "that she had been given to understand the three explanatory articles of the treaty of commerce with Spain were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, and therefore she had consented to their being ratified with the said treaty."

This answer was excepted to by several members, as unsatisfactory; and, among the

rest, the earl of Wharton and lord Halifax said openly, "that if so little regard was shewn to the addresses and applications of that august assembly to the sovereign, they knew not what business they had in that house." The same lords then moved for a representation to the queen, to lay before her the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade upon the foot of the late treaty; which being agreed to, and presented, the queen returned this general answer, "that it had been her care to procure all possible advantages for her subjects in trade, and that she should continue her endeavours to obtain farther benefits, and particularly in the trade with Spain, which was so useful to her people." The lords were as little pleased with this answer as with the last, and some of them took occasion to complain of her majesty's silence in relation to the desire of the house, that she would be pleased to name the persons who had advised her to ratify the treaty of commerce with Spain; and it was moved that another address might be presented, in which the house should insist in stronger terms on her majesty's naming the persons who had advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles, and some hot speeches were made on both sides on that affair; but the lottery bill being ready for the royal assent, the queen came the very next day (July 9) to the house of peers, and put an end to the session. It was the general opinion, that if the parliament had sat one day longer, the lords would have ordered a prosecution against Mr. Arthur Moore, a member of the lower house, who was an agent of lord Bolingbroke's, and had the chief management of the treaty, and who by several circumstances appeared to have been corrupted by the Spanish court: nay, many expected that their lordships would have carried their resentment of his and Bolingbroke's conduct in relation to this treaty, so far as to commit them both to the Tower.

Her majesty, in her speech to the two houses at the end of this session, and which was the last she made in parliament, after thanking them for the supplies they had granted, assured them, that her chief care was to preserve the protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquility of her kingdom: she then concluded in these words: "But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be attained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside, and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people." The parliament was then prorogued to the tenth of August; a day, however, the queen lived not to see.

Her majesty's constitution was now quite broken; one fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the anxiety of her mind, occasioned partly by the discontents which had been raised and fomented by the enemies of her government, and partly by the dissensions among her ministers, which were now become intolerable; for, forgetting their duty to her, and regard for their country, they consulted only their ambitious views, so that whenever they met in council, they studied rather to cross each other's proposals, than to settle or pursue any regular plan: and to such a monstrous extravagance did

did these jealousies arrive at last, that it is believed a quarrel between the treasurer and lord Bolingbroke, in her presence, proved in some measure the cause of her death. In the mean time, the latter prevailed, and the earl of Oxford was, on the twenty-seventh day of July, divested of all his employments. This occasioned the dukes of Somerset and Argyll to come into the council, who were followed by some other privy-councillors, friends to the Hanover succession, which gave a turn to that board; and, by their advice, the queen, two days after, gave the white staff to the duke of Shrewsbury, tho' he was lord-chamberlain and lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the same time. This was no small mortification to Bolingbroke, who did not doubt of succeeding his rival as prime minister in the administration of affairs, and is said to have formed a design of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. It has been asserted that Oxford had attempted the same expedient, but had met with a repulse from the duke, who had solemnly vowed never to be reconciled to that minister.

The general confusion that followed at court, upon the dismissal of the treasurer, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on the event, had such an effect upon the queen's spirits, that, on the twenty-ninth of July (being then at Windsor) she was seized with a lethargic disorder, and the next day, about seven in the morning, was struck with an apoplexy; and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon she recovered her senses a little, and then it was that, at the request of her privy-council, she gave the treasurer's staff to the duke of Shrewsbury, bidding him use it for the good of her people. This was the last act of her government, for the council now took upon themselves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkeley to command the fleet, and sending general Witham to take the command of the troops in Scotland. Orders were dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster; seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands, were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible dispatch: an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions were given for equipping all the ships of war that could soonest be got ready for service: in a word, no one step was omitted, that seemed likely to over-awe the Jacobite faction, and secure the peaceable accession of that illustrious prince on whom the crown of these realms was now about to devolve.

In the mean time the queen continued in the hands of her physicians and domestics, some of whom flattered themselves with false hopes to the last; but the blisters, which had been applied as

the last resort, not rising, her majesty, about seven in the morning of the first of August, 1714, breathed her last, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Queen Anne was, in her person, of the middle stature, and well proportioned; her complexion and shape excellent, till her constitution was impaired by grief and sickness. She appeared to best advantage speaking, for she had a clear harmonious voice, great good sense, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected, her humility was sincere, her good-nature conspicuous: she was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection, a tender mother, a warm friend, and a munificent patron.

Her character, viewed in a political light, is sufficiently apparent from the transactions of her reign, the greatest part of which was glorious, and the whole might have been so, had she not been abused by those in whom she reposed her confidence. That there were several schemes formed to restore the pretender to the crown of these realms, during the latter part of her reign, cannot be doubted; but that she herself designed him to be her successor (as is to this day believed by many weak or prejudiced persons), does not appear from any part of her conduct. Besides, it will be very difficult to make any honest thinking person believe that, after so many repeated and solemn assurances from the throne, of her being entirely in the interest of the house of Hanover and its succession, there could be so much hypocrisy lodged in the breast of a princess, who was otherwise so conspicuous for her virtue and piety, and who had given such evident proofs of her zeal for the protestant religion, in the most dangerous and worst of times. It is not the least addition to the glory of her reign, that it may be called Bloodless, no person having been executed, at least beheaded for treason, during the course of it; which cannot be said of any one of her predecessors since the reign of Edward I. who died in 1307. To conclude, nothing was wanting to have made her administration the most illustrious of any in the annals of history, but to have had subjects more united among themselves, and more capable of discerning the tenderness and sincerity of her affection for them.

Her majesty had issue, by the prince of Denmark,

1. A daughter that was still-born, the twelfth of May, 1684.
2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born June 2, 1685, and died in February, 1690.
3. Anne Sophia, born May 12, 1686, and died the February following.
4. William, duke of Gloucester, born July 24, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age.
5. The lady Mary, born in October 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized.
6. George, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM

The Accession of the Illustrious Family of BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG, or HANOVER, A. D. 1714, to the Ratification of the Peace of Versailles, A. D. 1763.

PART XIII.

GEORGE I. A. D. 1714.

I Am now to enter upon a new period of time, and a total change in the order of succession to the throne of these realms; a change, however, to which we owe innumerable blessings, and which stamps upon this part of our history a still greater value than even the important Revolution, with which we ushered in this volume. The birth of a son to king James II. having been judged an imposture, calculated to answer the ends of tyranny and popery, the pretended prince of Wales was solemnly abjured by act of parliament, and all access to the throne of Great Britain for ever shut against him. Hereupon the house of Savoy came to be next in claim to the British dominions, as they drew their right from the princess Henrietta, daughter of king Charles I. but all catholics having been declared incapable of succeeding to the crown, as the only effectual means to preserve the protestant religion and the liberties of the state, it devolved of course to the house of Hanover, as the nearest protestant family to the line of succession. Upon this foundation it was, that, upon the death of the duke of Gloucester, by a statute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the succession of the crown, it was provided, that after the death of the queen, then princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the princess Sophia, of the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the

next protestant heir, and that princess was acknowledged for lawful heir to the imperial crown of Great Britain.

Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before she married Frederick, elector Palatine and king of Bohemia, was styled the Princess Elizabeth of Great Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, in whom united all the hereditary claims to the crown of these realms. But the princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George Lewis, elector of Hanover, her son, became heir of this crown on the demise of queen Anne. The protestant succession in the house of Hanover had been so firmly established by several acts of parliament, that it happily took place immediately on the queen's death, August 1, 1714, and king George had an easy and peaceable accession to the throne.

This prince possessed every qualification requisite to form a great sovereign. Endowed by nature with an extensive genius, which had been cultivated by a liberal education, he was perfectly capable to support the weight of a crown; at the same time his mature age, being then fifty-four years old (for he was born May 28, 1660), his experience, and his personal qualities, were such as seemed to leave his new subjects nothing to apprehend from

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MORTIMER'S
History of ENGLAND.



GEORGE I.

S. Wale delin.

C. Grignon sculp.

his conduct. He had waged war in person with success, and his valour had gained him the esteem of the English, even before he came to be their sovereign. Filled with those sentiments that distinguish great minds, he loved to render justice impartially to all men, and delighted in conferring benefits on the deserving: "My maxim (said he, soon after his arrival in England) is never to abandon my friends; to do justice to all men; and to fear no man." As he had been born and educated in the bosom of the protestant church, the bulk of the English nation had fixed their hopes on him for the preservation of the constitution both in church and state. In a word, if ever a king mounted a throne with a prospect of tasting all the sweets of royalty, without experiencing any of its chagrin, it was George I. But, however, he was not without his disturbances.

By an act of parliament in the last reign, the administration of the government was vested in lords-justices: those expressly appointed by the act were the archbishop of Canterbury and the great officers of state for the time being. These were,

Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury.

Lord-chancellor Harcourt.

John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire, lord-president.

Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, lord-treasurer.

William Legge, earl of Dartmouth, lord privy-seal.

Thomas Wentworth earl of Strafford, first commissioner of the admiralty.

Sir Thomas Parker, lord chief-justice of the King's Bench.

Besides these, the successor was empowered, by the same act, to add what other regents he pleased, by three instruments, one of them to be deposited with the archbishop of Canterbury, another with the lord-chancellor, and the third with the Hanover resident, which were to be opened at the queen's death. Accordingly his grace of Canterbury, as soon as he heard that her majesty was expired, immediately repaired to court, where he had not been for some time, and with his colleagues, produced the instruments, wherein his electoral highness had, under his own hand, nominated the following lords to be added to the others in the regency, viz.

The duke of Shrewsbury.

The duke of Somerset.

The duke of Bolton.

The duke of Devonshire.

The duke of Kent.

The duke of Argyll.

The duke of Montrose.

The duke of Roxborough.

The earl of Pomfret.

The earl of Anglesey.

The earl of Carlisle.

The earl of Nottingham.

The earl of Abingdon.

The earl of Scarborough.

The earl of Orford.

The lord viscount Townshend.

The lord Hallifax.

The lord Cowper*.

The regency thus fixed, the form of a proclamation was ordered by the lords of the council,

for proclaiming "The high and mighty prince, George, elector of Brunfwick Lunenburg, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland;" which was accordingly performed the same day, with the usual solemnity, in the cities of London and Westminster, and as soon as possible all over England. His majesty was likewise proclaimed at Edinburgh on the fifth of August, and the next day at Dublin; at the same time the lords justices of Ireland issued a proclamation for disarming papists and seizing their horses. There was not the least disturbance or interruption given in any place to the proclaiming the king, only at Oxford, where the mayor received from a person, in a bachelor's gown, a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. This being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. secretary Bromley, member of parliament for the university, and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author.

On the thirty-first of July, the queen being then declared by her physicians past all hopes of recovery, Mr. Craggs had been dispatched to Hanover with the news, and the next day baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian resident, sent Mr. Godick, his secretary, with advice that she was actually deceased, and that his majesty had been joyfully and peaceably proclaimed: the lords-justices also appointed the earl of Dorset to carry the king the news of his accession, and to wait on him in his journey to England. They soon after appointed Mr. Joseph Addison their secretary, and ordered the post-master to send to him all the letters and packets directed to the secretaries of state, whereby the management of affairs was entirely taken out of the hands of the lord viscount Bolingbroke.

The parliament being continued after the queen's demise, pursuant to the act for regulating the succession, met in the afternoon of the day she died, though it was Sunday; and four days after, viz. August 5, the lord-chancellor, in the name of his brethren the lords-justices, made a speech to both houses, suitable to the present occasion. Both houses immediately agreed upon addresses of condolence for the death of the queen, and congratulations for his majesty's happy accession, promising to support his undoubted right to the imperial crown of these realms against the pretender and all other persons whatsoever: and desiring his speedy presence amongst them. These addresses were transmitted to his majesty by their excellencies the lords justices, and received most affectionate answers. That to the lords was as follows:

"I take this first opportunity to return you my hearty thanks for your address, and the assurances you have given me therein. The zeal and unanimity you have shewn upon my accession to the crown, are great encouragements to me; and I shall always esteem the continuance of them, as one of the greatest blessings of my reign. No one can be more truly sensible than I am, of the loss sustained by the death of the late queen, whose extraordinary piety and virtues so much endeared her to her people, and for whose memory I shall always have a particular regard. My best endeavours shall never be wanting to repair this loss to the nation. I will make it my constant care to preserve our religion, laws, and liberties inviolable,

* Tindal. Smollett.

and to advance the honour and prosperity of my kingdoms. I am hastening to you, according to your desire, so affectionately expressed in your address *."

The answer to the commons was much to the same effect.

On the thirteenth of August, Mr. Craggs arrived in London, with letters from his majesty to the lord-justices, who thereupon went to the house of lords, and acquainted the parliament therewith, when both houses resolved upon an address of thanks to his majesty for the satisfaction he expressed in the loyalty and affection of his subjects. After this, the commons having finished the bill for the civil list, and one for making some alterations in the act for a state lottery, which, with some other bills, received the royal assent from the regency, the two houses were by his majesty's command, prorogued to the twenty-third of September.

Mr. Prior having intimated the queen's death to the court of Versailles, Lewis XIV. declared that he would inviolably maintain the peace of Utrecht, particularly with regard to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover. The earl of Strafford also having notified the same event to the States-general, and Mr. Klingraef having presented them with a letter, in which his master demanded the performance of their guaranty, they promised to fulfil their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness on his accession to the throne of Great Britain, invited him, at the same time, to pass through their dominions, assuring him that his interests were as dear to them as their own.

On the twenty-eighth of August, Mr. Murray arrived express from Hanover, with an account that the king had deferred his departure for some days; and brought several orders for the lord-justices and council, particularly one for removing the lord viscount Bolingbroke from his post of secretary of state, which was done on the thirty-first, not without some marks of the royal displeasure; the dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and the lord Cowper, three of the lords-regents taking the seals from him, and locking and sealing up all the doors of his office. The lord viscount Townshend was soon after appointed to succeed him.

It may be necessary to acquaint the reader, that by this time the duke of Marlborough was come over to England. He had been here some days sooner, had he not been detained at Ostend by contrary winds. He happened to land at Dover the very day the queen died: it is said he knew nothing of this event any more than the mayor and jurats of Dover, by whom he was received in their formalities, with the acclamations of the people, and with a discharge of a great number of guns. He had been invited over, first by the lord-treasurer Harley, when he thought to ingratiate himself with the Whigs, and lastly by lord Bolingbroke, who wanted a colleague to support him in power, and great promises were made to

the duke. His grace, indeed, seemed to be so elated with the prospect of returning greatness, that he for once lost sight of that prudence which had hitherto been the invariable guide of his conduct: he affected to make a kind of public entry; about two hundred of the inhabitants of Southwark, with their member at their head, resolved to meet and attend him through the Borough; he was likewise escorted as he passed through the city by a like number on horse-back. He was deservedly censured by all moderate people for his conduct, which was a flagrant insult upon the queen's memory, who was but just dead, and to whose partial friendship, when living, he had owed perhaps as much as to his own merit (consummate as that was represented), the surprising pitch of grandeur and power to which he arrived. But to proceed.

The king having entrusted the administration of his German dominions to his brother, prince Ernest, and a council, and made all the necessary preparations for his journey, set out from Herenhausen† on the last day of August, with the prince royal his son. On the fifth of September he arrived at the Hague, where he was complimented on his accession, by a solemn deputation from the States, and by all the foreign ministers. On the sixteenth he embarked for England, under convoy of a squadron of British and Dutch men of war, commanded by the earl of Berkley, vice-admiral of the red‡, and arrived the next day in the Hope. On the eighteenth he landed, with the prince, at Greenwich, where they were attended by the lords of the regency, the great officers of state, and a vast number of nobility and gentry. Many were honoured with particular marks of respect, but the duke of Ormond, and others concerned in the late measures, were coldly received; and the next day his grace was removed from his office of captain-general, which was restored to the duke of Marlborough. On the twentieth, his majesty, attended by two hundred coaches and six, made his public entry through the city to St. James's, in the most grand and magnificent manner, amidst innumerable crowds of people, and the loudest acclamations of joy. In fine, as I have already observed, no king ever came to a throne with a greater prospect of an happy and tranquil reign; however, the event shewed, that George knew little of the real dispositions of his new subjects, which his ministers concealed from him, or were themselves imposed upon.

The reader may remember what has been said in several parts of this history in relation to the Whigs and Tories: it is well known, the mutual animosity and hatred of these two parties, which were carried to a degree of phrenzy, brought Charles I. to the scaffold, and operated a surprising revolution in affairs towards the latter part of the late queen's reign. The same causes continuing still to operate, made her successor totter on his throne before he was well seated in it. Till very

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Tindal.

† A palace near Hanover, belonging to the elector, with fine water-works, equal, it is said, to those of Versailles.

‡ It may not be improper, in order to render the subsequent history more clear, to give the reader a short state of the commands in the navy, at the accession of George I.

Sir John Leak, knight, rear-admiral of Great Britain.

Matthew Aylmer, esq. admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet.

Sir James Wisheart, knight, admiral of the white squadron.

Sir John Norris, knight, admiral of the blue.

James, earl of Berkeley, vice-admiral of the red.

Sir Edward Whitaker, knight, vice-admiral of the white.

John Baker, esq. vice-admiral of the blue.

Sir Charles Wager, knight, rear-admiral of the red.

Sir Hovenden Walker, knight, rear-admiral of the white.

Sir Thomas Hardy, knight, rear-admiral of the blue.

lately the whole weight of authority had been in the hands of the Tories, while the Whigs remained without credit or influence, and had the additional mortification to see their chief patrons and supporters in disgrace or exile. The high-church men indulged themselves in an insolent triumph over their fallen enemies; while the low-church party, bereft of all means of revenge, were obliged to keep a respectful silence, which proceeded rather from conscious inability than motives of virtue or patriotism. The new government was less attentive to the religious causes of the hatred that subsisted between the two parties, than to the influence which either of those parties might have on the affairs of state. The king had taken a strong prepossession against the Tories, whom he had been misled to look upon as Jacobites, and thought the Whigs his only true friends; upon which he threw aside all reserve, and declared openly in their favour. An instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. I shall mention only some of the chief: lord Cowper (afterwards earl Cowper) was again made lord-chancellor; the earl of Wharton, lord privy-seal; the earl of Nottingham (who had opposed the measures of the late ministry), president of the council; the earl of Sunderland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household; James Stanhope, esq. (the general), and the duke of Montrose, secretaries of state, the former in the room of William Bromley, esq. and the latter in the room of the earl of Mar; the duke of Somerset, master of the horse; the duke of Argyll, general and commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; William Pulteney, esq. secretary of war; Robert Walpole, esq. pay-master-general of the army; and Allan Broderick, esq. lord-chancellor of Ireland, in the room of sir Constantine Phipps, who had rendered himself very obnoxious to the Whig party. On the twenty-ninth of September, his majesty dissolved the privy-council, and appointed a new one. Soon after, there were new commissions for the treasury, and admiralty: Charles, lord Halifax, was made first commissioner of the treasury; sir Richard Onslow, chancellor of the Exchequer; Edward, earl of Orford, first commissioner of the admiralty; and John Aislabie, esq. treasurer of the navy: the duke of Shrewsbury kept his post of lord-chamberlain. In a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs, and the Tories were in their turn reduced to the same state of humiliation in which they had so lately exultingly beheld their adversaries.

His majesty having assembled his privy-council two days after his arrival in town, was pleased to make a declaration to the following effect: "That it was his firm purpose to do all that was in his power for the supporting and maintaining the churches of England and Scotland, as they were severally by law established, which, he was of opinion, might be effectually done, without the least

impairing the toleration allowed by law to protestant dissenters, so agreeable to Christian charity, and so necessary to the trade and riches of this kingdom."

The prince-royal George Augustus (afterwards our most gracious sovereign George II.) was now declared prince of Wales; and addresses, congratulating his majesty's accession, were presented by the two universities, and by all the counties, cities, boroughs, and corporations of the kingdom. On the 11th of October arrived the princess of Wales (afterwards queen Caroline) with her two eldest daughters, the princesses Anne (afterwards princess of Orange) and Amelia; the princess Caroline came over some time after.

On the twentieth of October his majesty was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity, at which the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke assisted. Previous to this ceremony his majesty was pleased to create some new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles, as may be seen in the note *.

As the demolition of Dunkirk was represented not to go on so fast nor so effectually as had been stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, Mr. Prior, our resident at the French court, was ordered to present a memorial to hasten this work; as also to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. Lewis having returned an equivocal answer, Mr. Prior was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of Versailles, where he prosecuted this affair with great vigour. At the same time as the barrier-treaty, which was now on the carpet between the emperor and the States-general, was of great consequence to the trade of this nation, general Cadogan, an intimate friend of the duke of Marlborough, was sent to Antwerp to assist at the conferences.

All this time, the manifest partiality shewn by the court to the Whig party, greatly inflamed the minds of those who were already but too much discontented at the late changes; and the Jacobites, impatient at a revolution that took from them all hopes of having the family of the Stuarts again to rule over them, joined the malcontents. The royal party were in many places interrupted in their rejoicings on account of the coronation, by disorderly and tumultuous rabbles, who, setting up the cry of "Down with the Whigs, Sacheverel for ever!" proceeded to numberless disorders. At Bristol in particular the mob was quite outrageous; and it was not long before London itself was infected with riots and tumults. Seditious pamphlets were written and dispersed without number or decency: breaking windows and pulling down meeting-houses was now again practised; and the Whig faction thought themselves hardly secure, even under the shadow of royal protection.

The pretender being informed of these disturbances, thought this a favourable juncture for him to stir. Accordingly, he transmitted, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto to

* James lord Chandos was created earl of Caernarvon; Lewis, lord Rockingham, earl of that name; Charles, lord Ossulton, earl of Tankerville; Charles, lord Halifax, earl of Halifax; Heneage, lord Guernsey, earl of Aylesford; John, lord Hervey, earl of Bristol; Thomas, lord Pelham, earl of Clare; Henry, earl of Thomond, in Ireland, viscount Tadca-

ter; James, viscount Castleton in Ireland, baron Sanderson; Bennet, lord Sherrard in Ireland, baron of Harborough; Gervase, lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, baron Pierrepont, in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, baron of Carleton, in the county of York; sir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham, in the county of Kent; Henry, lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge.

the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyll, and other noblemen of the first distinction. It was signed at the top, James R. and dated at Plombieres, the 29th of August, 1714, N. S. being a kind of manifesto or declaration of the pretender, asserting his claim to the crown of Great Britain. He says, "That the Revolution ruined the English monarchy, laid the foundation of a republican government, and devolved the sovereign power upon the people." He observes, "That when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he then published, in April, 1712, his protestation against it." He then gives his reason of his sitting still for some time past, in these remarkable words: "Yet, contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the princess our sister (of whose good intentions towards us we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our people, instead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and true interest of their country, by doing us and themselves justice, had immediately proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement can never abrogate."

The copies of this manifesto being delivered to the secretaries of state, his majesty thought fit to forbid the marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke of Lorraine, to appear at court, alleging that this affair could not have been transacted without the knowledge and countenance of his master, who gave an asylum at his court to the Chevalier de St. George. In vain did the duke of Lorraine deny his having been privy to this matter, and make the utmost concessions. His minister was given to understand, that the friendship of the king of England was to be purchased only by driving that wretched wanderer from his dominions; and as the duke would not comply with this condition, his minister withdrew from the kingdom.

Religion was now (as it ever had been since the first rise of the Whigs and Tories) brought in as a pretext to cover the political views of both factions. The high-churchmen complained, that impiety and heresy daily gained ground, from the infamous negligence of the Whig prelates. The lower house of convocation had, after the queen's death, declared, that a book lately published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, under the title of "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the orthodox faith. The matter was represented to the bishops. The doctor wrote an apology for his work, which was satisfactory to their lordships; but the lower house resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. Thus stood the affair at the queen's death; and the dispute about the Trinity increasing, on the eleventh of December were published by authority, "Directions to the archbishops and bishops for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the Catholic faith concerning the Holy Trinity, and for maintaining the quiet and peace of the state." By these every preacher was forbid to deliver any

other doctrine concerning the Trinity than what is maintained in the holy scriptures, is agreeable to the three creeds, and is consonant with the thirty-nine articles of religion; to indulge in bitter and virulent invectives against any persons whatever; and to intermeddle in the least with affairs of state or government. The like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute on the same subjects.

The present parliament consisting chiefly of Tory members, it was judged altogether improper to indulge it in a longer continuance at this critical juncture: it was resolved to have one that would prove more favourable to the views of the court. Accordingly, on the fifth of January, 1715, a proclamation was published for dissolving the parliament, and on the fifteenth another was issued for calling a new one. This proclamation seems to have been dictated without the least regard to true policy, or the present dispositions of the people. The king therein expatiated upon his undoubted right to the crown; he complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; he declared his resolution to maintain the toleration in its utmost force; he represented the affairs of the kingdom as in a case of utter destruction, as well in respect to the trade and interruption of its navigation, as to the great debts of the nation, which, he said, had been very much increased since the conclusion of the last war. "We do not therefore doubt, added he, that if the ensuing elections should be made by our subjects, with that safety and freedom to which by law they are entitled, and which I am firmly resolved to maintain to them, they will send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of our kingdom, and ease of our people for the future; and that in their choice of members, they will have a particular regard to such as had shewed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger." What could be a greater satire upon the conduct of the preceding ministry? and were not those infinitely culpable, who, now they had the power to put into the mouth of a sovereign, an utter stranger to the people over whom he was invited to rule, sentiments which favoured more of the vindictive leader of an incensed party, than of the father and sovereign of a divided nation, whose party-distinction this proclamation seemed rather calculated to encourage, than to appease or conciliate.

And in fact what was the freedom of elections so warmly recommended by this proclamation, but a mere empty expression, since, before the writs were issued for the new parliament, the court was well assured that such members only would be returned as might be agreeable to them. The persons were in fact appointed before the returns were made. It is well known that the principal aim of all ministers is to secure a majority in parliament to second their views and projects; and although at first sight it may appear no easy matter to get such a number of different persons, most of them wholly unacquainted, or unconnected with a court, and who owe their right of representation, in all outward appearance, to the unbiassed suffrages of their fellow-citizens, the freest of all

elections, to concur in promoting the interests of one or two particular men: yet such is the weight of ministerial influence on such occasions, that they can generally secure the greatest part of the multitude who have the nomination of these representatives: they make choice of some clever, active, insinuating person; one who has some weight and property in the county where he resides. This man is, as it were, the soul of the several meetings who assemble on these occasions; and where he votes, the bulk of the other electors are generally sure to follow. One or two such persons in a county once gained, the minister is pretty sure of carrying his point. The common people seldom consult reason in their choice of a representative. Imagination does the chief part of the work; and whoever can succeed in raising their hatred, or exciting their love, by some artful representation, may determine them to whatever party he pleases. During the greatest part of the reign of queen Anne, the Whigs were brought into universal discredit by their enemies, representing the great abuse the duke of Marlborough and his creatures made of their power, by endeavouring to subvert the monarchy and the established church, and draining the nation of its riches to prolong a ruinous war, in order to fill their own coffers, and get every place of power and profit into their own hands. The light in which these things were represented operated all the effect that was desired: the giddy populace, who a moment before were for continuing the war till France was made a province to Great Britain, and Lewis XIV. brought over in chains to London, suddenly changed their note, and joined in one general cry for peace. Marlborough, who had for many years been the idol of the nation, was now discarded and stripped of his employments; and so far was he from being pitied in his fall, that it was made a kind of merit to censure and revile him. As soon as a change of government happened, and that the new court appeared to adopt sentiments altogether the reverse of those which had prevailed in the preceding reign, the minds of the people were wrought upon by arguments of a different stamp. The former ministry were now loaded with the most injurious aspersions: the Tories were represented as traitors to the constitution of their country, who endeavoured to restore popery and tyranny: the peace was vilified as the most shameful and dishonourable to the nation that ever had been made; and the most enthusiastic praises now succeeded the venomous obloquies which had been lavished upon the character and conduct of the great general. Uncommon was the vigour which each party exerted in the elections for the parliament; the Whigs, however, had the moneyed interest on their side, and the countenance of the ministry; so that they had the pleasure to find a great majority of their party returned both for England and Scotland.

The new parliament met on the fourteenth day of March, when Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen speaker of the commons. On the twenty-first the king came to the house of peers, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both houses, and was conceived in the following terms:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ This being the first opportunity that I have had of meeting my people in parliament since it pleased Almighty God of his providence to call me to the throne of my ancestors, I most gladly make use of it to thank my faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness that hath been shewn in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices that have been used to defeat it; and I shall never forget the obligations I have to those who have distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

“ It were to be wished that the unparalleled successes of a war, which was so wisely and cheerfully supported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a suitable conclusion: but it is with concern I must tell you, that some conditions, even of this peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, are not duly executed; and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we have formed defensive alliances to guaranty the present treaties.

“ The pretender, who still resides at Lorraine, threatens to disturb us, and boasts of the assistance which he still expects here to repair his former disappointments.

“ A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

“ The public debts are very great, and surprisingly encreased since the fatal cessation of arms. My first care was to prevent a further increase of those debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ships which had been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continuing such an expence.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I rely upon you for such supplies as the present circumstances of our affairs require, for this year's service, and for the support of the public faith. The estimates shall be laid before you, that you may consider of them; and what you shall judge necessary for your safety, I shall think sufficient for mine.

“ I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the support and credit of the nation, than a strict observance of all parliamentary engagements.

“ The branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government, are so far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain, and have been granted to me, will fall much short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown: and since it is my happiness (as I am confident you think it yours) to see a prince of Wales, who may in due time succeed me on the throne; and to see him blessed with many children, the best and most valuable pledges of our care and concern for your posterity; this must occasion an expence to which the nation has not for many years been accustomed, but such as surely no man will grudge; and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reason to hope for from you.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the issue of this first session. Let no unhappy divisions of parties here at home divert you from pursuing the common interest of your country. Let no wicked insinuations disquiet the minds of my subjects. The established constitution in church and state shall be the rule of my government; the happiness, ease, and prosperity of my people, shall be the chief care of my life: those who assist me in carrying on these measures I shall always esteem my best friends; and I doubt not but that I shall be able, with your assistance, to disappoint the designs of those who would deprive me of that blessing which I most value, the affection of my people.”

There were several expressions in this speech which gave great umbrage to all thinking people, and shew the ministry either to have had very little policy, or else to have been sure of carrying all their points, when they could put into the mouth of their royal master a speech that seemed calculated rather to increase the unhappy divisions that already distracted the kingdom, than to conciliate the minds of the people to a new government: but such must ever be the misfortune of those princes, who, from want of understanding the language, manners, and disposition of those they are called to rule over, are obliged to act as others shall point out to them, who on such occasions never fail to consult the gratification of their own interests and passions before the real good of their country. Thus it was now; his majesty was made to express himself, in such a manner as portended measures that it was the interest of the crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority of the house, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries.

The addresses of the two houses were perfectly agreeable to the king's speech. The lords expressed their hopes that his majesty, assisted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they would endeavour to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general.

The commons, on their part, declared their astonishment at finding that any condition of the late peace should not yet be duly executed, and that care had not been taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious; that they could not observe, without resentment, that the duke of Lorraine, notwithstanding the representations of this court, still continued to furnish an asylum to the pretender to the crown of these realms, who had the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up his majesty's subjects to rebellion; but that what raised their indignation to the highest degree was, that it appeared from these manifestos, that his hopes were built upon the measures which had for some time past been taken in Great Britain: that they would make it their business to enquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out the nature of these pernicious measures, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment.

These addresses, so flattering to the views of the new ministry, were not, however, carried without a warm opposition. In the house of lords the dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the earl of Anglesey, the archbishop of York, and other peers, as well secular as ecclesiastical, excepted against the last expression in the lords address, alleging, among other things, that it was injurious to the late queen's memory, and clashed with that part of his majesty's speech which recommended to both houses the avoiding the unhappy divisions of parties; and that it was unjust to condemn persons without first hearing them.

In the lower house sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, sir William Whitelocke, and other members, objected to passages of the same nature in the address which the commons had drawn up. General Ross insisted, “ That the condemning the peace, and censuring the ministers, was a reflection on the deceased queen, whose act the peace was; and that reflecting on the late queen could not be conceived to be very agreeable to his present majesty.” Sir William Wyndham in particular endeavoured to prove, that the peace had been very beneficial to this kingdom, and offered to produce a list, by which it appeared that the customs had increased near one hundred thousand pounds per annum. These gentlemen were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. secretary Stanhope, and sir Gilbert Heathcote, who declared that nothing was farther from their intention than to asperse the memory of the late queen: on the contrary, their wish and design was to vindicate her memory, by exposing and punishing those evil counsellors who had deluded her into pernicious measures; whereas the opposite party endeavoured to blacken and disgrace her memory, by loading it with all that odium which was only due to their destructive counsels: that the address, however, only condemned the peace, without affecting particular persons, who, as they ought in justice, so they might depend upon it, they never should be condemned without a fair trial. They observed, that the late negotiators had industriously circulated a report, that the present ministry would not attempt to call them to an account for their proceedings, but only to censure them in general terms; but that the falsity of this report should soon be demonstrated: that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagement, by conveying away secret papers from the Secretaries Office; yet the government had sufficient evidence against the late ministry, which would in a little time be laid before the house, when such things, they said, would come to light, as would by no means redound to the honour of the late administration*. After all, the address was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-four votes against one hundred and thirty-eight.

It seems, that before the meeting of the parliament, all the papers of the earl of Strafford, late ambassador from queen Anne to the States-general, had been seized by an order from the new Secretaries Office. Mr. Prior had also been recalled from France, and had suffered himself to be so in-

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Boyer. Tindal.

timidated by the threats of the present ministry, that he had promised to reveal all he knew relating to the steps of Oxford's administration.

The Whig party now drove Jehu-like; and nothing but the blood of those who had firmly opposed them seemed capable of satisfying their vindictive disposition; wherefore lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in the house of lords, as usual, and had ever spoke in the whole on the address with great freedom and confidence, finding that those in power were determined to push matters to extremity; and hearing that Prior, who had so scandalously betrayed his friends, was landed at Dover, thought it now high time to consult his personal safety, and on the twenty-seventh of March embarked for Calais, and so quitted the kingdom. At his departure, however, he left a letter, which was afterwards printed in his Justification.

In this paper he declared he had received certain and repeated intelligence, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold: that, if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair trial, after having been already prejudged by the two houses of parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination: that he challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned: that if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any-where transported him to let drop an unguarded expression, he hoped the most favourable construction would be put upon it: that he had served her majesty faithfully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war: and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

As for the earl of Oxford, he beheld unmoved the storm that was now gathering round his head. He wore an unembarrassed, and even chearful, countenance; declaring his innocence and freedom from guilt, and exposed the folly and inveteracy of the Whigs, who laboured to fix upon him the imputation of having secretly prepared the way for the restoration of the pretender, since, as he justly observed, no ministry that had the least regard to their own safety, could be supposed to harbour, and seek to promote, a design so repugnant to the inclinations of the people. Indeed the late ministry had the consolation to find many friends in the midst of the persecution raised against them, who boldly espoused their cause; and several respectable counties sent addresses to the king, approving of the peace, and of the measures pursued by the late queen's ministers: the former they declared to be general, solid, honourable, and extremely advantageous to the people of England. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. Sir William Wynd-

ham asserted in the house of commons, that the proclamation which the ministry had procured for dissolving the parliament, was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments. This spirited declaration threw the opposite party into a violent rage. To the Tower! to the Tower! was the general cry: but that was over-ruled; and sir William being ordered to withdraw, he was followed by one hundred and twenty-nine members. Those remained in the house resolved that he should be reprimanded by the speaker. He was then called in, and Mr. Speaker rebuked him in the following terms:

"Sir William Wyndham,

"I am to acquaint you, that the house is come to this resolution, that you be reprimanded in your place by me.

"You have presumed to reflect on his majesty's proclamation, and made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty.

"This house has made their moderation appear, and shewn their lenity, by laying the mildest censure your offence was capable of: I am ordered to reprimand you, and do reprimand you accordingly."

To which sir William replied:

"Sir,

"I return you many thanks for what you have done, by the duty of your office, in so candid and gentlemanlike manner. As I am a member of this house, I very well know I must acquiesce in the determination of this house: but I am not conscious of any indignity to his majesty, or any breach of the privilege of this house; and therefore I have no thanks to give those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, have brought this censure upon me *."

Three days after, the commons entered upon that business they seemed to have most at heart, the bringing the late ministry to disgrace and punishment. On the ninth of April, Mr. secretary Stanhope delivered to the house of commons the several papers (making fourteen large volumes) relating to the negotiations of peace and commerce and cessation of arms; and moved that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty-one persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to the house. This was agreed to; the members of the committee were chosen by ballot †; and so eager were the Whigs to begin their work, that they met the same evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, who had been chosen chairman, being taken ill, his place was supplied by Mr. Stanhope: the whole number was subdivided into three committees, to each of whom a certain number of books (of the papers) were allotted, who proceeded very vigorously in their enquiries ‡.

On

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, April 6, 1715.

† The committee consisted of the following members: sir Richard Onslow, Robert Walpole, Spencer Cowper, James Stanhope, Hugh Boscawen, William Pulteney, Nicholas Lechmere, Daniel lord Finch, John Aislaiby, Thomas Vernon, Algernon earl of Hertford, Edward Wortley Mountagu, sir David Dalrymple, George Baillie, sir Joseph Jekyll, Tho-

mas Erle, Richard Hampden, sir Robert Marsham, Alexander Denton, Thomas Pitt, senior, and Thomas Coningsby.

‡ On the twenty-second of April, in the morning, was the famous total eclipse of the sun, a thing that had not happened for some centuries, in these parts, when the darkness for a small space, was such, that several stars appeared, and the birds betook themselves to roost, as if it had been a new night. It was

On the thirteenth of May there was a great debate in the house of commons about the civil list, which the court party were for settling on his majesty in the same manner, and to the like amount, as it had been granted to king William. This was strongly opposed by the Tories, who alleged, that the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to that prince, was subject to the payment of fifty thousand pounds per annum to the late queen, then princess of Denmark, twenty thousand pounds to the duke of Gloucester, and forty thousand pounds as a dowry to James's queen; lastly, they observed, that after the late queen's accession to the throne, the parliament finding the civil list revenues exceeded what they had been given for, it had taken near two hundred thousand pounds per annum out of them for other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, her majesty had honourably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown. These arguments, however, were of little avail; the Whigs had now every thing in their power, and it was carried without division, that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds should be granted annually for the civil list, during his majesty's life. There was another warm debate a few days after, upon a motion for an address against pensions, made by the Tory party. Mr. Robert Walpole stood up to oppose this motion, and urged, "that the house ought not to stint the king's beneficence, nor to debar him from the exercise of the most glorious branch of his prerogative, which is to bestow his favours on such as distinguish themselves in his service." He was seconded by Mr. Hampden, who observed, that all the pensions did not amount to twenty-five thousand pounds. In the end, the motion was rejected, though by a small majority only.

On the thirtieth of May, the lords took into consideration the bill for regulating the land-forces; which, after some opposition, was passed, with a few necessary amendments.

About this time the nation was engaged in a dispute of a very serious nature with the court of Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the Swedish privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, they confiscated, under pretence that we assisted and supplied the czar and his subjects with ships, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackson, her majesty's minister at Stockholm, had presented several memorials on the subject of these captures, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make use of more effectual means, namely, the sending a strong squadron of men of war into

the Baltic. The States-general also, whose vessels had shared the same fate with ours, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourse to the same measures, in order to protect the commerce of their subjects.

This once resolved, a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for this service, and the command given to sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the same squadron, to assist him. The fleet sailed from the Nore on the eighteenth of May, and arrived in the Sound on the tenth of June following; where finding the Dutch already arrived, it was determined, in a council of war, that the combined fleet should proceed together, with the English and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their respective ports; which they performed accordingly by the close of the month.

Sir John Norris having sent an express to the court of Stockholm, in order to be satisfied whether the Swedes were determined to continue the seizing and confiscating our ships; or if they would enter into a negotiation, for determining in an amicable manner all disputes between the two nations, and receiving only a vague and uncertain answer, he resolved to proceed according to his instructions. About the middle of August the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, with the Russian squadron, joined the English and Dutch, and sailed up the Baltic. As the czar of Muscovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and designed to command his own ships, several consultations were held to regulate the command of the several squadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the Confederate Fleet. It was at last resolved to give the chief command of it to his czarish majesty; but so that sir John Norris should command the vanguard of the united fleet; the czar, the body of the line of battle; the Danish admiral, count Gueldenlew, the rear; and the Dutch commodore, with his squadron and five British men of war, should proceed with the trade of both nations for their respective harbours in the Baltic. According to this resolution, on the sixteenth of August, the czar hoisted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his finest ships, and was thereupon immediately saluted by sir John Norris with a discharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Danish and Dutch; and these compliments being paid, his czarish majesty gave the signal for sailing. Being arrived off Bornholm*, they were informed that the Swedish fleet was returned to Carlscroon: the Swedes had at this time a numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wise

was observed, that after the light growing fainter and fainter, as the moon advanced over the sun's disk, the total darkness came on instantaneously, as when a candle is extinguished by night, as soon as the eastern limb (or rim) of the sun was covered; as did the light in the same manner, when the moon left its western limb. This extraordinary phenomenon was much observed by Dr. Halley, Mr. Whiston, and all our eminent astronomers, who had before, with great exactness, calculated the time and manner of it.

The same month died Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, famous for his excellent History of the Reformation, and other writings, and a great advocate for the Revolution, which made him many enemies. The marquis of Wharton died also about this time, as did the earl of Halifax not long

after. The marquis of Wharton was a man of a fine genius, an able statesman and politician, and a great leader among the Whigs.

|| Proceedings of the House of Commons, May 13.

§ Idem, May 18.

¶ Proceedings of the House of Lords.

* Bornhorn, an Island of Zealand, in Denmark, lying in the East-sea, sixteen miles from the extreme point of Seeland, and six from Ystad, in Schonen. It is about seven miles in length, and four in breadth. The coast is, in most places, inaccessible, on account of its dangerous rocks; and the landing-place defended with cannon. Since the inhabitants revolted from Sweden to Denmark, in 1658, Bornholm is become an hereditary part of the latter.

to hazard it against such an unequal force as that of the confederates. Sir John Norris therefore, after lying in the Sound till the middle of November, left a squadron of ships of war, under the command of commodore Cleveland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes and Dutch, for the farther security of the British trade, if necessary.

It was not the protection of our commerce only, that occasioned this expedition to the Baltic: his majesty, as elector of Hanover, had some disputes with the king of Sweden of quite a different nature; for having purchased from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himself obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with Denmark in declaring war against Sweden; and even before this was done, some English ships joined the Danish fleet, in order to distress the Swedes. Of this the Swedish minister complained by a memorial, delivered to lord Townshend, then secretary of state, dated October 3, 1715†. The Tories were very loud in their invectives against the expedition, in which they asserted the honour of the British flag had been prostituted, to serve the interest of another state, and in order to create an intercourse between the king's regal and electoral dominions.

The nation seemed now to labour under a general discontent. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised in the cities of London and Westminster. A letter from one captain Wright, a discarded officer, containing some traiterous expressions, being intercepted, a reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person that should apprehend the captain; and about the same time Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable letters being found in this packet, were transmitted to England. Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance, and Swift thought proper to abscond. The house of lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against their sovereign, rejected, with indignation, a petition presented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Cassils, Bernarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had continued prisoners ever since the year 1696, for having conspired against the life of king William.

By this time the committee of secrecy was ready to deliver their report, and on the ninth of June Mr. Walpole, the chairman, moved, that a warrant might be issued for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody: then he read the report, which lasted from about one o'clock till about six in the afternoon; which may be reduced to the following heads:

"I. The clandestine negotiations with Mesnager, the French agent, which produced two sets of preliminary articles; the one private, for Great Britain only; the other general, for all the allies.

"II. The extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht.

"III. The trifling amusements of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, by the connivance of the British ministers.

"IV. The negotiations about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy.

"V. The fatal suspension of arms.

"VI. The seizure of Ghent, and Bruges, in order to distress the allies, and favour the French.

"VII. The duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general.

"VIII. The lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace.

"IX. Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewsbury's negotiations in France.

"X. The precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht.

"XI. The sacrificing the Catalans.

"XII. Promoting the interest of the pretender."

The report having been taken into consideration, Mr. Walpole, on the tenth of June, impeached Henry, lord viscount Bolingbroke, of high-treason and other crimes and misdemeanors; the lord Coningsby afterwards standing up, impeached the earl of Oxford in the following remarkable words: "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master: I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of high-treason and other crimes and misdemeanors." Many members of unquestioned integrity, of both parties, seemed to condemn these precipitate measures; and even sir Joseph Jekyll, a member of the committee of secrecy, said, that he could not think the house had sufficient matter of evidence to impeach the earl of high-treason: but the chairman of the committee declaring, that, besides the proof contained in the report, they had also the enforcement of personal evidence, it was resolved to impeach him without a division. Mr. Prior was at the same time, and at the instance of Mr. Walpole, ordered into strict custody, without the liberty of pen, ink, paper, or the sight of any one friend.

On the twenty-first of June Mr. secretary Stanhope impeached James, duke of Ormond, of high-treason, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The duke was defended by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Lumley, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Ward, Mr. Hungerford, and several others of both parties. Sir Joseph Jekyll, in particular, said, "That if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had, in a course of many years, exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country: that as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was founded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors." Nevertheless, after a very long debate, the question being put, was carried for his impeachment. It was thought his grace's name having been made use of as a signal for mobs and riots, was one thing that hastened on his impeachment, "High-church and Ormond forever!" being now as much the cry of the Tory mobs

† Lamberti. Historical Register. Annals of George I. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

as "High-church and Sacheverel!" The duke's enemies did not fail to represent and aggravate these circumstances: they said, that he could not be ignorant of these tumults and riots, and that as he did not publicly disown those disturbers of the peace, his silence must be considered as an approbation of their conduct, and seemed to summon the people to a general insurrection. In short, the duke of Ormond perceiving that he was already prejudged by his enemies, consulted his own safety by withdrawing himself from the kingdom*.

The Whig party still continued to conduct every thing by a furious spirit of revenge. On the twenty-second of June the earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Aislabe, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms and the seizing Ghent and Bruges, and for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt. The bishop of London (Robinson) was in favour with the party in power, and therefore, though involved in the same guilt (if there was any) with the earl, he was passed over unnoticed: the Whigs, indeed, pretended that the bishop was entirely innocent of the secret negociation between France and England, and that he was not admitted to any of those secrets which constituted the criminal part of the earl's conduct.

The articles of impeachment against the earl of Oxford being prepared by the committee of secrecy, they were read, on the eighth of July, before the house of commons, and were in substance as follow:

"I. That he, Robert earl of Oxford and Mortimer, had entered into a negociation with France without the allies, and had agreed it should be kept secret.

"II. He had advised the queen to permit the coming of Mesnager; treated with him, and assumed, without authority, the royal power.

"III. He had prepared preliminaries, signed by Mesnager, and sent them to Holland, when a private treaty was, by his advice, concluded with France.

"IV. He had not regarded the representation of Buis, the Dutch minister, but declared the queen had made no such treaty, nor would do so, without the consent of the States.

"V. He had ordered the bishop of London to insist upon Spain, though by the preliminaries the duke of Anjou was acknowledged as king, and though he had persuaded the queen not to insist upon the restitution of Spain.

"VI. He had not procured satisfaction for the allies, but acted in concert with France.

"VII. He had advised the queen to accept of the duke of Anjou's renunciation, though Torci had declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France.

"VIII. He had, with others, advised that the duke of Ormond should be ordered to engage in no battle or siege, to the ruin of the affairs of the allies; and afterwards sent an order to the bishop of London, to declare that the queen looked upon herself to be under no obligation whatsoever to the States.

"IX. He had advised that the duke of Ormond, with all the troops in the queen's pay, should separate themselves from the army of the allies; and not to pay the arrears due to those that refused.

"X. He had advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the sending lord Bolingbroke to France, to settle the terms.

"XI. He had treacherously advised the enemy how to gain Tournay.

"XII. He had advised and assisted in giving up Spain and the West Indies to the duke of Anjou.

"XIII. He had treacherously advised the ninth article of the treaty of commerce with France, and the giving the French liberty of fishing, and drying their fish on Newfoundland.

"XIV. He had taken Sicily from the house of Austria, and given it to the duke of Savoy, without any application from the duke.

"XV. He had caused the queen to make several speeches and declarations to the parliament, wherein the terms of peace and commerce were falsely represented.

"XVI. He had, as far as in him lay, destroyed the independency of the house of lords, by causing the queen to create twelve peers at once, to serve his ends."

To these were afterwards added the six following articles:

"XVII. He had not (as prime minister) advised the queen against the destructive expedition to Canada.

"XVIII. He had procured a warrant for thirteen thousand pounds for his own use.

"XIX. He had procured a warrant for five thousand five hundred and sixty pounds to his relation, Thomas Harley.

"XX. He had paid a large sum of money to king James's queen.

"XXI. He had received Patrick Lileth (alias Lawless) an Irish papist, as a foreign minister, and caused several sums of money to be paid to him.

"XXII. He had, with others, caused the Catalans to be exposed to the fury of an enraged revengeful prince, against whom the late queen had engaged them to take arms."

The first ten were, upon the question, severally agreed to; but a warm debate arose upon the XIth, by which he was charged with having counselled and advised the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-general, although it had been declared that the town of Tournay should remain to the States, towards forming a sufficient barrier: a great debate arose upon the question, Whether this article was high-treason? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor-general, Mr. Bromley, sir William Wyndham, the auditors Harley and Foley, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Hungerford (who had already spoken in favour of the earl of Oxford) maintained the negative, and were strongly supported by sir Joseph Jekyll. They were opposed by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Stanhope, lord Coningsby, general Cadogan, Mr. Boicawen, and Mr. Aislabe; and the article, being amended, was agreed to by a majority of one hundred and twenty. The rest of the articles being agreed to, the lord Coningsby, (attended by most of the members who voted for the impeachment) went up to the lords, and at the bar of the house impeached the earl of Oxford of high-treason, &c. demanding at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament and committed to safe custody. This

* Parliamentary Debates.

demand produced a debate, Whether or not the earl should be so committed? in the course of which his lordship delivered himself to the following effect. "The whole charge, he said, might be reduced to the negotiations and conclusion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny: that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctance which some of the allies shewed to come into the queen's measures: that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments: that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who had thought fit to step aside: that, nevertheless, he would venture to say in his behalf, that, if that charge could be proved, it would not amount to treason: that, for his own part, he had always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law; and being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man: that if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, were to be accountable for their proceedings, it might, one day or other, be the case with all the members of that august assembly: that he doubted not but their lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing; and he hoped, that, in the course of the enquiry, it would appear, that he had merited, not only the indulgence, but even the favour of the government. My lords, said he, I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life, with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my dear royal mistress. When I consider, that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done."

Before the question for committing him was put, the duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the house that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the black rod. In his way thither he was attended by a great concourse of people, crying, "High-church, Ormond and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer: but, as if his enemies were apprehensive of shewing him too much indulgence, it was resolved to send him to the Tower on the sixteenth day of July, notwithstanding Dr. Mead declared that his life would be in imminent danger by being carried thither. The earl was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who all pitied the condition of this great (though now fallen) statesman, and openly exclaimed against his persecutors. In short, the nation in general was so exasperated against the Whigs for their rancorous and bloody proceedings, that tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and other parts of the kingdom, against the friends and adherents of the new ministry. A general spirit of discontent, so openly manifested,

could not fail to fill them with alarms for their own safety; and it was thought expedient that the house of commons should address the king to put the laws against rioters vigorously in force. A new law, called the Proclamation, or Riot-Act, was prepared, and soon after received the royal assent, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour, after having been required in his majesty's name to disperse, by a justice of the peace, or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

On the twentieth day of July the king went to the house of peers to give the royal assent to this and some other bills*, when he made a short speech to both houses; in which he told them, that a rebellion was actually begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad: he therefore expected that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Warm and affectionate addresses were immediately presented by the parliament, and both houses desired his majesty to put the kingdom in a posture of defence, by increasing the number of forces both by sea and land. At the same time they suspended the Habeas Corpus act, by which his majesty might detain the persons of those whom he should suspect of conspiring against his person and government. A reward of one hundred thousand pounds was offered to such as should seize the pretender, dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of a fleet in the Downs, and sir John Jennings was sent to Scotland, where he hoisted his flag on board the Oxford, as commander in chief of the squadron then upon the coasts; general Erle was hastened to his government of Portsmouth; the guards were encamped in Hyde-Park: in a word, no precaution was neglected to secure the peace of the kingdom at home.

In the midst of these transactions the commons added six articles to these they had already exhibited against the earl of Oxford; and two days after, Mr. Walpole delivered the articles of impeachment against lord Bolinbroke, at the bar of the house of lords. The next day (August 5) a warm debate arose upon reading the articles against the duke of Ormond, in which several remarkable speeches were made: the several articles, however, were agreed to by a great majority. The first article charged the duke with corresponding with marshal Villars, the French general, while he commanded the British army in Flanders. The second, that he wickedly promised and engaged that he would not attack the French army, nor engage in any siege against France. The third, that he did falsely, maliciously, wickedly, and traitorously, adhere to the French king; and, in pursuance of a wicked promise he had secretly made with the marshal Villars, he endeavoured to persuade the general of the confederate army to

* Other acts passed at this time were, 1. For continuing the imprisonment of the conspirators against king William. 2. For the quakers affirmation, instead of their oath. 3. An act for the regulating the forces. 4. The malt-tax. Lastly, An act to explain an act of 12 Will. III. for the further limitation of the crown, &c.

raise the siege of Quesnoy; and when he could not prevail, marched off with the queen's troops, and gave the enemy's general advice of it. The other articles are, in effect, his conduct in Flanders, reduced into a charge; and both he and the lord Bolingbroke being fled from justice, bills were brought in to summon them to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, and in default thereof to attain them of high-treason, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

On the thirty-first of August the articles against the earl of Strafford were agreed to by the commons, and carried by Mr. Aislaby to the lords, when the earl made a long speech in his own defence. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said, that if in his letters or discourse he had dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honour to represent the crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British house of peers. He desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and to have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of the government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was warmly opposed by several of the Whiggish noblemen, until the earl of Ilay observed, that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the Inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the house of peers of Great Britain ought not in this case to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. The house, influenced by these observations, resolved that the earl should be indulged with copies of such papers he might think necessary for his defence*.

The duke of Ormond and the lord viscount Bolingbroke having neglected to surrender themselves within the time limited by the proclamation, the house of lords ordered the earl-marshal to raze out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the duke's achievement, as knight of the Garter, was taken from St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

By this time a rebellion was actually begun in Scotland, under the earl of Mar, who hoped to be supported by a strong party in England. This nobleman, at the death of queen Anne, was secretary of state for Scotland, and was one of the first to congratulate the present sovereign on his accession; but not meeting with the countenance or encouragement which he expected, occasioned by his having joined in the measures of the late ministers, he, about the beginning of August, withdrew from London into the Highlands, where, prompted by resentment and ambition, he resolved to make an effort in favour of the pretender. The Scots were undoubtedly at this time universally disgusted, by the introduction of the malt-tax, and some other grievances they had suffered in consequence of the Union: and the Jacobites, who fondly and foolishly imagined, that all who were dissatisfied from these causes entertained the same sentiments with themselves, transmitted a

memorial to the pretender, in which they assured him that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government, and that his appearance in Britain would produce an immediate revolution.

The pretender, on receiving this invitation, resolved to take advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the French king, who still entertained a desire of raising him to the throne of Great Britain, and would, in all probability, have supported him powerfully; but he was taken off by death on the first day of September. This event occasioned a total change in the face of affairs: the regency of that kingdom had devolved to the duke of Orleans, who had neither the power nor the inclination to sacrifice the treasures of the state he governed, to support the interests of a wretched exile, who had very little prospect of attaining that crown he laid a claim to. Besides, the duke-regent could not, without manifest danger, begin his regency by breaking irretrievably with England, whose friendship it was at this time his interest to preserve. However, to secure appearances, he furnished him with a sum of money, and a small quantity of arms, but never intended to support him in earnest.

Mean while the Jacobites had proceeded too far to think of retreating with any safety, and therefore determined to put their all upon the issue of the field; and the earl of Mar having consulted with the marquisses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls of Southesk and Mareschal, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, and the other chiefs of the disaffected clans; and having drawn together about three hundred of his own vassals, set up the standard of the pretender at Brae-Mar on the fifth day of September, and then caused him to be proclaimed, first at Castletown, then at Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, and several other places. On the first news of these proceedings, the government ordered the earls of Hume, Winton, and Kinnoul, the lord Deskford, Lockart of Carnwath, Hume of Whitefield, and other suspected persons, to be seized and committed close prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh. The squadron under sir John Jennings also kept a good look-out upon the coasts; but, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, two vessels arrived from France, with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar the pretender would soon be with him in person. They at the same time acquainted him, that the duke of Ormond and the lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, hearing they were condemned and attainted by the parliament, had engaged in the service of the pretender. This news gave great satisfaction to the rebel party for some time; but the death of Lewis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits, and proved a terrible blow to their cause. The earl of Mar wrote repeated letters to the pretender to come over with the utmost expedition. In the mean time he assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, published a declaration, exhorting the people to take up arms; and as there were still hopes that the duke of Ormond would make a descent upon Great Britain, and depended upon a rising in England, they were resolved to push their design†.

* Proceed. of the House of Lords. Tindal.

† Patten's Hist. of the Rebellion, 1715.

In the mean time the chevalier, finding that the duke of Orleans only amused him with empty promises, and that he could no longer expect the powerful succours that Lewis XIV. the unwearied friend of his family, had on every favourable occasion furnished them, applied to the Irish and Scottish regiments in the service of France, on whose fidelity he knew he could depend; and those, as well officers as private men, promised to shed the last drop of blood in their veins to procure his restoration: they would indeed have proved of infinite service to the chevalier's cause, had they accompanied him to Scotland: but the vigilance of our minister at the court of France deprived him of their assistance also. This minister was the earl of Stair, who then resided as ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honour and integrity; generous, humane, discerning, and resolute: he had signalized himself by his military talents during the late war in the Netherlands, and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigour, vigilancy, and address. He detected the chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled our court to take effectual measures for defeating the design. He had by dint of money won over an English priest, named Strickland, who was one of the pretender's chaplains, and a confidant of his. This man acquainted him with every step that the pretender took, and every project he formed. By means of this spy lord Stair obtained a list of the French officers who had engaged to accompany the Chevalier into Scotland, with an exact account of the quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions that were to be embarked, and the number and names of the vessels that were to carry them over; and made such repeated and spirited remonstrances to the duke-regent on this subject, that the latter found himself under a necessity of giving our ambassador proper satisfaction. Accordingly he dispatched orders to all the sea-ports, prohibiting the officers and men of the regiments above mentioned, to quit the kingdom on pain of being treated as deserters. Thus the chevalier found himself in an instant deprived of the assistance he had placed such dependance on; and was soon after glad to pass over incog. to shew himself to his partisans; not so much from any hope of being able to revive their courage by his presence, as to acquaint them that they must no longer lay any stress upon the promises of assistance they had received from the court of France*.

Some of the adherents of the chevalier having made an attempt to surprize the castle of Edinburgh, which had been defeated by the vigilance and valour of colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress, general Wightman, who was then in Scotland, had orders to form a camp near Stirling, and distress the rebels as much as he could, till the arrival of the duke of Argyll, who, on the ninth of September, had been appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and soon after set out for that kingdom, accompanied by the duke of Roxburgh, the marquisses of Annandale and Tweedale, the earls of Sutherland, Selkirk, Loudon, Rothes, Haddington, and Fraser, with

several other Scots peers, who determined to shew their loyalty to king George, by raising their respective clans to oppose the rebels.

Mean while, a dangerous conspiracy was discovered and prevented in England. Lieutenant-colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gatehouse for enlisting men in the service of the pretender; the titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower; the lords Lansdowne and Dupplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey. The king, by the mouth of Mr. Secretary Stanhope, desired the consent of the lower house to seize and detain the persons of Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. James Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the house, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The commons readily assented, and Harvey and Anstis being in town, were immediately seized; Mr. Forster took up arms in the North; Sir John Packington was, after examination before the council, honourably discharged; Mr. Kynaston absconded; Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by colonel Huske and a messenger: he found means, however, to escape from him; but being closely pursued, he thought proper to surrender himself, and was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become surety for his appearance; but the ministry rejected his bail, and even carried their resentment so far as to remove the duke from his office of master of the horse.

While these things were transacting, the king came, on the twenty-first of September, to the house of lords, and passed the bills that were ready. Then the chancellor read his majesty's speech, expressing his acknowledgement and satisfaction for the uncommon marks of their affection which he had received at this juncture; and the parliament was adjourned to the sixth day of October†.

The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, where they made several tentatives towards an insurrection, and had actually formed a plan for the seizing of Plymouth and Bristol; all which attempts were prevented by the timely precautions of the government. On this occasion, the university of Oxford, who had generally distinguished itself by its anti-revolution principles, felt the rod of power: a regiment of foot was quartered here to over awe the university. The ministry, however, found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the North; where the earl of Derwentwater, the lord Widdrington, Mr. Forster, knight of the shire for Northumberland, and others, appeared in arms in October. Though their numbers were but small, yet they proclaimed the pretender, first at Warkworth, then at Morpeth, Hexham, and other places. They were all horse; not being able to entertain any foot for want of arms. They were at first strengthened by the junction of some lords from the west of Scotland, who, by the instructions of Mar, had raised some forces to assist the rebellion, as the viscount Kenmure, who set up the pretender's standard at Loughmaben, the earls of Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Winton, who joined the English rebels with

* Chavanette, Nouvelle Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. v. p. 20, 21.

† Tindal. Oldmixon. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Proceedings of the House of Lords.

their small forces at Rothbury. Soon after, they marched to Kelso, on the borders, and joined a body of Highlanders, whom the earl of Mar, after he had taken possession of the fruitful county of Fife, had found means to send over the Firth, under the laird of Mackintosh, and the lord Nairn.

General Carpenter having been sent by the government in pursuit of the rebels, with Hotham's regiment of foot, Cobham's, Molesworth's, and Churchill's dragoons, arrived at Newcastle on the eighteenth of October, from whence he soon set out to attack the rebels at Kelso. At his approach they shifted their quarters, and marched to Jedburgh. Here they were much divided in their councils: brigadier Mackintosh was for engaging the king's forces under general Carpenter, which were inferior in number; but Mr. Forster, who had now assumed the title of general of the English rebels, was against it. The earl was for marching back, and joining the earl of Mar, but the English were for marching into England, which was at last agreed to: but here a mutiny began among the Highlanders, who refused to stir out of their own country; nor could all the menaces or entreaties of the leading men among them prevail to alter their resolution; five hundred of them actually separated and returned home.

From Jedburgh they marched to Hawick, from thence to Langholme, and thence to Longtown in Cumberland, still endeavouring to avoid general Carpenter, who continued in pursuit of them. From Longtown they marched to Brampton, where Forster produced his commission of general, which had been sent to him by the earl of Mar; and, after having proclaimed the pretender, he proceeded to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by the lord Lansdown, and the bishop of Carlisle, had drawn together the whole posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to nearly twelve thousand men, who at first made a shew of opposing the rebels; but, upon their nearer approach, shamefully threw down their arms and fled. From Penrith, Forster proceeded to Appleby, being joined by very few in all these marches; then to Kendal, and so to Kirkby-Lonsdale, and here some Lancashire papists, with their servants and tenants, joining them, they marched forward, and arrived at Preston on the seventh of November. Here he having seized on six or seven pieces of cannon, proceeded to Preston, and would have gone farther; but general Wills, who had marched against the rebels with six regiments of horse and dragoons, had advanced to the bridge of Ribbel, before Forster was informed of his approach; who, on hearing thereof, immediately shut himself up in the town, barricading the streets, and making a proper disposition of his men to receive the attack of the king's troops. General Wills came before the town on the twelfth of November, and ordered brigadier Honeywood to attack that end of it which leads to Lancaster. The king's troops, however, met with so warm a reception, that they were obliged to desist from the attack, after having lost a considerable number of men. Next morning, general Carpenter, who had followed the rebels close at the heels during their marches, arrived, and joining

his troops to those already before the place, it was now invested on all sides.

Forster, finding that all further resistance would be as fatal as fruitless, sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Wills to desire a capitulation. The general replied, he would not treat with rebels: they had killed several of the king's subjects, and they must expect to pay for their lives with the forfeit of their own. The colonel said, that as the general was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would shew mercy to people who were willing to submit. Wills answered, that all he could do for them was, that in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his men from putting them to the sword, until he should receive farther orders. He granted them till the next morning to consider what they would do, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages.

Forster and his men accepted the terms proposed: but the Highlanders declared they would perish sword in hand, rather than submit in that manner; upon which general Wills would have sent their chieftain Mackintosh back, and have instantly attacked the town: in which case every man of them would have been cut in pieces. On a little reflection they did not chuse to run that risk, but with the rest of the rebels submitted themselves prisoners at discretion, to the number of four hundred and thirty-six English, and above one thousand Scots, many having found means to escape, and several had been killed in the attack. They were now disarmed, and put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and ensign Erskine, were tried by a court-martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but his sentence was respited. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen and officers of most consideration were sent to London, and committed to the Tower and other prisons*.

Let us now see what became of the rebels in Scotland. It is remarkable, that on the very day that those under Forster were subdued at Preston, Sunday, November 13, the duke of Argyll, with about four thousand men, engaged the rebel army under the earl of Mar, consisting of about eight or nine thousand, at Sheriffmuir, near Dumblain, about four miles from Stirling. The battle was obstinate and bloody; various accounts were given of it, and both sides claimed the victory. What is certain from all the accounts is this, that the duke of Argyll, with the right of his army, soon put the left of the enemy to rout; but whilst he was pursuing them a considerable way with great slaughter, the right of the rebels charged the left wing of the royal army with such impetuosity, that in a few minutes both horse and foot were totally defeated, with great slaughter; and general Witham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was actually routed. Upon the whole, however, it appears by the consequences, that the royalists had the victory; for the earl of Mar, immediately after the

* Patten. Boyer. Tindal. Annals of George I.

battle, retreated to Perth, and the design he had formed of crossing the Forth to join his southern friends was entirely frustrated, and never afterwards attempted. The earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyll, was in the action, behaved with remarkable bravery, and was wounded in his arm and side. Among the slain were colonel Hamen and captain Armstrong, his grace's aid de camp. About eight hundred of the rebels were slain, and many made prisoners, among whom were several persons of distinction.

Soon after the rebels sustained a more considerable blow, in the loss of Inverness, from which sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, who had hitherto adhered to the pretender's interest, but now declared in favour of the government. By this means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had raised a strong body of his vassals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to abandon the rebel army, in order to secure their own territories, and in a little time submitted to the king. A considerable number of the clan of the Frasers, influenced by the example of their chief, lord Lovat, declared against the pretender; the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to defend his own country; and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began, as usual, to return to their habitations, it being customary with those people, never to remain long in the field, unless they are kept in constant employ*.

The rest of November and all December both sides remained quiet in their quarters; the duke of Argyll at Stirling, and the earl of Mar at Perth. In the mean time the pretender, notwithstanding the desperate situation of his affairs in Scotland, resolved to visit that kingdom; and posting through France in disguise, he embarked on board a small vessel at Dunkirk, and landed, on the twenty-second of December, at Peterhead, with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, son to the duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incog. to Feterosse, where he was met and complimented by the earl of Mar, the earl Marischall, general Hamilton, and others of his adherents: from Feterosse he went to Dundee, and from thence to Scone, two miles from Perth, where he made his public entry on the ninth of January. Here he published several proclamations, particularly one for the convention of the states, and another for his coronation, and exercised other acts of royalty, which were all at an end almost as soon as they were assumed: for towards the end of January, the duke of Argyll, assisted by lieutenant-general Cadogan and other general officers, who were sent down to him, and reinforced by a good train of artillery and six thousand Dutch troops, that were claimed of, and sent over by, the States-general by virtue of treaty, marched from Stirling to attack the rebels at Perth, who, having now lost all hopes of any succours from France, upon his approach abandoned the place, and retired with the pretender to Dundee, and from thence to Montrose; where finding they were closely pursued by the king's forces, on the fourteenth of February a council was held, in which it was resolved that the pre-

tender should go off in the evening. It happened fortunately for him, that there was just ready in the harbour a small ship that was designed to carry over a gentleman the chevalier was then to have sent to a foreign court; this ship was now pitched upon to transport himself and some few of his particular friends, whom he had to attend him; these were the ears of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, and some other chiefs. There were no less than nine men of war cruising off the coast at that time, but the night proved so dark, that there was no seeing a vessel (especially a small one) at a quarter of a mile's distance; so going on board at nine o'clock in the evening, they put out to sea, and got out of reach of the king's cruisers before it was day-light; and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, they arrived in a few days at Graveline, in France. The rebel army had been all along made to believe, that the chevalier was to go along with them; thus, removing all jealousy, they were very tractable: but as soon as they found their prince had left them to shift for themselves, they became deaf to all order and dispersed; some submitted, and some were taken prisoners†. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families; and that, instead of promoting the interest of the Stuart family, served only to strengthen the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this rebellion was, in a great degree, owing to the violent measures which the ministry had put in practice against their adversaries; and which, by the discontent it caused in the nation, first gave encouragement to the Jacobite party to make an effort in favour of the pretender.

During the progress of the rebellion, the parliament of Ireland met at Dublin, and gave proofs of the warmest attachment to the present government. They passed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price upon the head of the pretender; for suppressing tumults and riotous assemblies; and for attainting the duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All such members as had procured addresses to the late queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then lord-chancellor of Ireland, were obliged to acknowledge their fault, and were censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They desired the lords justices would issue a proclamation against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon their own interpretation of the articles granted by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon papists. They engaged in an association to defend the king and the protestant succession, against the pretender and all his open and secret abettors; and they resolved, that whatever forces his majesty should think fit to raise for that purpose, they would enable him to defray the expence of the same. They voted the earl of Anglesey an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he had advised the queen to break the army, and prorogued the parliament, when a bill was depending to attain the pretender; and they addressed the king to remove him from his council and service: a request which was accordingly granted‡. The lords justices granted orders for apprehending the earls of Antrim and

* Tindal. Historical Register. Oldmixon. Annals of George I.

† Historical Register. Annals of George I.

‡ Tindal. Harris's Hist. of Ireland.

Westmeath, the lords Netterville, Cahir, Dillon, and other persons suspected of disaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the parliament to the eighth day of March.

In the mean time the barrier treaty, after many difficulties and delays, which gave great reason to suspect that the imperial court meant not to conclude it at all, was finally adjusted, and signed at Antwerp by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the States-general, and the king of Great Britain, and sent over to our court to be ratified. By this treaty, the bounds of the imperial dominions in the Netherlands, as also of the States-general, were determined, and the emperor became guarantee of the succession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, as the States-general were before †.

On the ninth of January, 1716, the parliament met in England, when the king made a speech to both houses, in which he told them he had reason to believe the pretender was landed in Scotland; he congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the rebellion; on the conclusion of the barrier-treaty between the emperor and the States-general, under his guaranty; on a convention with Spain, that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected, in consequence of the late treaties: he likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between Great Britain and the States-general was almost concluded; and assured the commons, that he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, towards defraying the extraordinary expences incurred on his accession.

Addresses of thanks were severally presented by both houses. The commons, in theirs, declared, that they thought themselves obliged, in justice to their injured country, to prosecute in the most rigorous and impartial manner the authors of those destructive counsels, which had drawn down such miseries upon the nation. Their proceedings tallied exactly with their professions: they began by expelling Mr. Forster the house: they impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Winton, the viscount of Kenmure, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn ‥. These noblemen all pleaded guilty, except the earl of Winton, who petitioned for time to prepare for his defence.

On the twenty-fourth of January, the king coming to the parliament, to give the royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, he told the two houses, that the pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and assuming the state and title of king of these realms; and demanded of the commons such supplies as might discourage any foreign power from giving assistance to the rebels.

On the ninth of February, sentence of death was passed on the six lords who had pleaded guilty, by the lord-chancellor Cowper, who was appointed lord high-steward upon the occasion. Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twenty-fourth of the same month: Nithsdale, who was to have been executed with them, had the good fortune to escape out of the Tower, the night before, disguised in woman's apparel,

furnished and conveyed to him by his wife; Winton escaped from the same prison afterwards, as did Forster and Mackintosh out of Newgate. Some were executed in the country; eleven at Preston, six at Wigan, and five at Manchester: several were hanged at Tyburn, particularly colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Paul a clergyman, and Mr. Hall who had been a justice of peace. In short, some who were found guilty were transported, others reprieved, and those who were untried or reprieved took the benefit of the act of grace which was afterwards passed: but the earl of Mar, the marquis of Tullibardine, and some others, who fled from Scotland, were attainted by act of parliament §.

While the peers were under sentence of death, strong applications were made, both to the throne and to the parliament, by their wives, relations, and friends, for the royal mercy to be extended towards them. The king was inflexible; the commons rejected their suit; but the house of lords, at the instance of the earl of Nottingham, who thought mercy might be remembered in the midst of justice, agreed to an address, praying his majesty would reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his clemency. To this petition the king answered, "That on this and all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people ¶." The lords were ordered for execution; and the ministry, in revenge for the earl of Nottingham's interfering in this business, procured his lordship to be dismissed from his place of president of the council; and his brother, the earl of Aylesford, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, his son, lord Finch, one of the lords of the treasury, and his kinsman, lord Guernsey, master of the jewel-office, were turned out at the same time.

The rebellion was now indeed suppressed, but the rigour exercised towards the delinquents rendered the ministry hateful to all who had a sense of humanity. They perceived the effect their conduct had produced, they dreaded the meeting of a new parliament, which was now near at hand, and they resolved to establish their administration beyond the power of opposition to hurt, by a step equally bold and unconstitutional, viz. by bringing in a bill for enlarging the term of the continuance of parliaments. This is the famous Septennial Act, whereby this and future parliaments were continued seven years, unless sooner dissolved by the crown, instead of three years, as by the Triennial Act, passed in the reign of king William. There were very great and long debates upon this bill in both houses: the true and zealous lovers of their country, as well Whigs as Tories, both in and out of the house, opposed it with all their force; they spoke, they wrote against it, and, by their arguments and discourses, proved the danger which might result from it, beyond all contradiction. The ministry, however, were sure of a majority; they let their adversaries exhaust their rhetoric, and when the question for the bill came to be finally put, in the lords house, where it had been first introduced, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of sixty-nine voices against thirty-six: nevertheless twenty-four lords protested against it; and in the commons, to whom it was afterwards sent down, by a majority of two hundred and sixty-

† Tindal.

¶ Proceedings of the House of Commons.

§ Historical Register. Annals of George I.

¶ Proceedings of the House of Lords.

four against one hundred and twenty-one; and soon after received the royal assent. Such of my readers who may be desirous to see the several arguments used for and against this bill, may have their curiosity satisfied by perusing the Collection of Parliamentary Debates at this period, an abstract only of which would be much too bulky for this work; I shall therefore content myself with observing, that, however necessary the ministry might represent this statute to be at that juncture, when they alleged, by reason of the seditious and rebellious spirit that still appeared in the nation, especially among the common sort, a new election might have thrown the kingdom into a flame; yet it has been thought by many wise, able, and dispassionate persons, that such an act may prove dangerous to the constitution, as it must give ministers a great influence over parliaments.

On the twenty-sixth of April died that great lawyer and statesman, the lord Somers; and some time before, Mr. Robert Walpole had been made first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

The rebellion being now utterly quelled, and tranquility in great measure restored to these kingdoms, his majesty resolved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the elector of Hanover, about the affair of Bremen and Verden, and resolved to be revenged on him as king of Great Britain. His majesty had received intimations of some sinister designs adopted by that prince against himself, and this had chiefly determined him to make a voyage to the continent: but as there was a clause in the act of settlement, whereby, after it took place, the sovereign was not to go out of the kingdom without the consent of parliament, this clause was repealed in a new bill, that passed through both houses without any difficulty.

On the twenty-sixth of June, his majesty closed the session with a speech upon the usual topics, and intimated his design of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this time his majesty was pleased to make several creations, among which sir Richard Onslow was made a baron, and the earl of Portland was raised to the dignity of a duke; general Cadogan, who had signalized himself in queen Anne's wars, and had been very serviceable in suppressing the rebellion in Scotland, was also made a lord, and afterwards an earl; sir Henry St. John, father to the late lord Bolingbroke, was created baron St. John of Battersea; prince Ernest, the king's brother and bishop of Osnabrug, was created duke of York, and afterwards made a knight of the Garter, together with prince Frederic, son to the prince of Wales, and father to our present most gracious sovereign: the duke of Devonshire was now appointed president of the council in the room of the earl of Nottingham. These promotions were attended with unexpected disgraces: the duke of Argyll and his brother, the earl of Ilay, being deprived of all their employments. The removal of these noblemen was the more surprising, as they had all along been warm advocates for the protestant succession; had the principal hand in extinguishing

the rebellion in Scotland, which secured to his majesty the peaceable possession of his throne; and were firmly attached to the present government. Whatever was the cause, certain it is, they were not only dismissed from the service, but, to shew that there were no hopes of their being restored, their places were disposed of; general Carpenter being appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and governor of the island of Minorca, in the room of the duke of Argyll; and the duke of Montrose lord-register of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Ilay*.

On the seventh of July the king embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he passed incognito to Hanover, and thence set out for Pyrmont, to drink the waters for his health. He had scarcely left England when the two parties that divided the nation, broke out into fresh animosities and outrages against each other; the loose disorderly multitude being ready to run into any excesses that their respective leaders dictated. The Whigs had formed themselves into societies or clubs, which were used to meet at several houses in the city and suburbs, called Mug-houses, from the vessels they used to drink out of, where Whiggish healths were toasted. The Roebuck in Cheap-side was one of the most famous of those mug-houses; and that in Salisbury-court, Fleet-street, became so by the following circumstance. The company there having on some occasion given extraordinary demonstration of their hatred and animosity to the leading men of the opposite party, by malicious heats and reflections, the mob of that party coming to the knowledge of it, were so enraged, that on the twentieth of July they came and attacked the mug-house, which was kept by one Mr. Read, and would have demolished it, if the company there had not sent for a reinforcement from another mug-house in Tavistock-street. This made the assailants fly for the present, though many of them returned, and kept hovering about the house the two following days. At last, on the twenty-third, one Vaughan, who had been a blue-coat boy at Bridewell hospital, instigated the mob to go to the mug-house and revenge their late affront: they followed him with loud huzzas of "High-church and Ormond! down with the mug-house!" Mr. Read finding they intended to demolish his house, bid them keep off, or he would fire amongst them; but they not regarding him, he discharged his piece, and killed Vaughan on the spot, for which he was afterwards tried and acquitted. The mob still continuing their outrages, breaking the windows, pulling down the sign, gutting the house, breaking and destroying the furniture, &c. the sheriffs of London came and ordered the proclamation against riots to be read; but this not availing, a party of the guards were ordered to march to the place, and as soon as they approached, the mob dispersed; but five of the rioters were taken, who, being tried and convicted, were hanged at the end of Salisbury-court, in September†.

I have already observed, that the king's principal intent in going over to the continent was to secure his German dominions from the king of Sweden, and Great Britain from the designs of the pretender, who, laying hold of the enmity which Charles of Sweden now entertained against his Britannic ma-

* Historical Register. Annals of George I. Tindal.

† Tindal.

Jeſty, prevailed on the Swede to eſpouſe his intereſt, and even to form a regular deſign for effecting his advancement to the throne of Great Britain. It was, indeed, amazing that a prince already overwhelmed by ſo many and ſuch powerful enemies, ſhould think of adding to their number by practices of this kind; but whoſoever conſiders the genius and ſpirit of Charles XII. will eaſily conceive that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous ſoever, which ſeemed to promiſe the diſſolving the confederacy by which he was oppreſſed. In order to guard againſt the attempts of his enemies, king George very prudently reſolved to contract alliances with foreign potentates.

The death of Lewis XIV. had greatly altered the ſtate of affairs between Great Britain and France. The regent, duke of Orleans, by virtue of king Philip's renunciation, and the death of all the princes in France ſprung from Lewis XIV. was become next heir to the minor king, and conſequently it was his intereſt to cultivate the friendſhip of ſuch ſtates as were likely to ſupport his title againſt the king of Spain, and particularly of England. King George was well aware of this, and reſolved to make his own advantage of it. He durſt not, as king of Great Britain, declare war againſt the Swedes, though he had done it as elector of Hanover; nor could he be reconciled with him, unleſs he reſtored the two duchies of Bremen and Verden; the only way therefore was, to compel that warlike prince to make peace. In this ſituation it was abſolutely neceſſary for king George to make alliances with ſuch powers as could moſt annoy him, in caſe they became his enemies. Accordingly, he began by ſounding the duke of Orleans, whom he found as ready as he could wiſh to enter into a league with him. The States-general, who only aimed at peace and ſecurity, as readily came into meaſures, from which they had much to expect, and little or nothing to fear. General Cadogan for England, the abbé du Blois for France, and the penſionary Heinfius for the States-general, negotiated this affair with ſo much ſecrecy, that the treaty was finiſhed almoſt before it was known to be in hand*.

By this treaty, which was known by the name of the Triple Alliance, the regent of France engaged that the pretender ſhould immediately depart from Avignon, where he then reſided, to the other ſide of the Alps, and never be ſuffered to return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatſoever; that no rebellious ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould be allowed to reſide in that kingdom; and that the treaty of Utrecht, with reſpect to the demolition of Dunkirk, ſhould be fully executed to the ſatisfaction of his Britannic majeſty. The treaty alſo contained a mutual guaranty of all the places poſſeſſed by the contracting powers; of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of England, as well as of that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a deſenſive alliance, ſtipulating the proportion of ſhips and forces to be furniſhed to that power, which ſhould be diſturbed at home, or invaded from abroad.

No ſooner this treaty came to be known than it excited great diſcontents, both in France and England. The people of the former nation exclaim-

ed, that the regent had ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of France to his own ambitious views. In England, the party in oppoſition to the miniſtry found fault with this alliance, not without the appearance of reaſon on their ſide. They alleged, that the ſucceſſion was ſufficiently ſecured by the treaty of Utrecht; nor was there any occaſion for engaging foreign troops, which, on pretence of an invaſion, might be introduced at any time, to force upon the people the meaſures of a miniſtry, however deſtructive to the honour or real intereſt of the nation. The king of England and the regent little regarded theſe clamours, having each ſecured the point he had chiefly at heart.

As to the king of Spain, he was with good reaſon highly offended at this alliance, which he complained of in the bittereſt terms, and from this time took all meaſures to diſconcert this confederacy.

King George did not prove ſo ſucceſſful in his negotiations with Sweden as he had been in thoſe with France. Charles XII. would not hearken to any propoſals until Bremen and Verden ſhould be reſtored. His Britannic majeſty was equally determined not to part with thoſe which he conſidered as a fair purchaſe: in fine, the rupture between the courts of Hanover and Sweden became every day more implacable, and proved extremely prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh entailed upon the kingdom another invaſion, much more formidable than that which ſo lately miſcarried; for the diſaffected in England, ſtill purſuing their deſigns in favour of the pretender, turned their eyes on the king of Sweden to accompliſh it. Charles reliſhed the enterprize, which at once flattered his ambition and revenge; nor was it diſagreeable to the czar of Muſcovy, who was alſo applied to, and who had taken diſguſt againſt the elector of Hanover for having offered to join the Swede againſt the Ruſſians, provided he would ratify the ceſſion of Bremen and Verden.

Count Gylleberg, the Swediſh reſident at London, was the perſon pitched upon to manage the conſpiracy in England, and baron Sparr at Paris, with the Engliſh Jacobites there, and other friends of the pretender; while baron Gortz, the prime miniſter and favourite of the king of Sweden, was diſpatched as envoy to the Hague, which he was to ſecure as the center of union to the ſeveral negotiations on this and the other ſide of the water. The ſcheme appears to have been very plauſible; a number of veſſels had been bought up, under different pretexts, which were appointed to rendezvous at the Swediſh port of Gottenburgh, about the latter end of the month of March, the ſeaſon when the eaſterly winds (which are fair for bringing over ſhips to England) generally prevail. On board theſe were to be embarked eight thouſand foot ſoldiers, and four thouſand horſe, all picked men; together with a formidable train of artillery, and provisions and arms for fifteen or twenty thouſand men. The confederates had made themſelves ſo ſure of being joined by the malcontents here on their firſt landing, that the plot was entruſted to a very few perſons only in England; neither was there any formal treaty drawn up between the parties engaged in this affair: the mutual intereſt

they had in the success of their scheme was thought a tie more binding than the most solemn engagements. By the end of the year the project was ripe for execution, and was postponed only until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country, which was expected to be done as soon as the parliament should meet.

These negotiations could not, however, be so privately managed but part of them transpired; and king George, who was then in Hanover, was informed of the intention of his enemies: upon which, he resolved to return immediately to England, where he arrived towards the end of January, 1717. His first act was, to order a detachment of foot-guards to secure count Gyllemborg, the Swedish minister, with all his papers. Baron Gortz, who had been in Holland, and was coming over to England to assist Gyllemborg in the conspiracy, hearing what had happened to his colleague, and finding their projects were discovered, returned to Holland; and upon the British minister's application to the States, Gortz, with his two secretaries, and all his papers, were seized at Arnheim in Guelderland, after flying from place to place to avoid the pursuit he knew was made after him. By his and Gyllemborg's papers, the whole plot was discovered.

In the mean time, the other foreign ministers at the court of London, alarmed at the seizure of the Swedish envoy, complained to the ministry of this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two secretaries, Methuen and Stanhope, wrote circular letters to them, importing, that in a day or two they should be made acquainted with the reasons of this extraordinary proceeding. They were, generally, satisfied with this intimation; but the marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador, replied, that he was extremely sorry no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom than that of arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing all his papers, which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets; and that, in whatever light those two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. This, however, was a mere cavil: the king of England had acted consistently with the strictest principles of justice in imprisoning his enemy. As Gyllemborg, the Swedish ambassador, had violated the law of nations, by conspiring against the prince to whom he was sent in a public character, the English had an undoubted right to dispense with the observance of the same law, by arresting his person: but all the world was surprized to see the Dutch imprison the baron de Gortz, in order to gratify the king of England, an instance of complaisance not to be paralleled in history, and by which they not only violated a most sacred law, by seizing the person of the prime minister of the king of Sweden, who had formed no plots against them, but they acted in direct contradiction to the spirit of that inestimable liberty which hath drawn so many strangers of other nations into their country, and is the foundation of all their greatness †.

The parliament met on the twentieth of February, when, by his majesty's command, Mr. Secre-

tary Stanhope laid before them copies of letters between count Gyllemborg, the barons Gortz, Sparr, and others, relating to the design of raising a rebellion in his majesty's dominions, to be supported by a force from Sweden. The letters being read in both houses, occasioned addresses full of the most lively expressions of loyalty and zeal, and of resentment against the proceedings of the persons engaged therein. The commons passed a bill prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. They voted ten thousand seamen for the ensuing year, granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land-forces, and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion. The house likewise voted four and twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munster, and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his service to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the States-general to the assistance of England. This vote was not carried without a violent debate. The demand was inveighed against as an imposition, seeing no such troops had ever served. A motion was made for an address, desiring that the instructions of those who had concluded the treaties might be laid before the house; but this was over-ruled by the majority. The supplies were raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. Orders were also issued for Sir George Byng to sail with a strong squadron to block up the Swedish ships in their harbours; the letters of Gortz and Gyllemborg were printed, in vindication of the conduct of the king of England towards the Swedish minister. Charles XII. was in Scania when he received these printed letters, together with the news of the two ministers being imprisoned, upon which he gave immediate orders for arresting the English intendant at Stockholm, with all his family and domestics. The Dutch resident was forbid the court, and strictly watched in all his motions. Charles, mean while, neither avowed nor disclaimed the proceedings of de Gortz: too proud to deny a scheme which he had once approved, and too wise to acknowledge a plot which had thus been stifled in its birth, he maintained a disdainful silence towards England and Holland. The czar took a very different course: as his name was not expressly mentioned, but only obscurely hinted at, in the papers of Gortz and Gyllemborg, he wrote a long letter to the king of England, complimenting him upon the discovery of the plot, and assuring him of the most inviolable friendship. King George read his protestations without believing them, tho' he thought it most prudent in the present case to pretend that he did *. A plot contrived by private men, says Mr. de Voltaire, is annihilated the moment it is discovered; but a conspiracy formed by kings, the more it is known the stronger it grows.

Before I proceed to the relation of the events of the year 1717, I must take notice that the Turks had, in the year 1715, made an irruption into Christendom, and possessed themselves of Peleponnesus, which the renowned Morosini had taken from them about the close of the seventeenth cen-

† Tindal's Annals of King George I. Voltaire.

* Tindal. Volt. Polit. State. Oldmixon.

tury, and which had been ceded to the Venetians by the peace of Carlowitz. The emperor, who guarantied that peace, found himself hereupon obliged to declare war against the Turks, and the supreme command of the Imperial troops was conferred on prince Eugene, who, about the autumn of the year 1716, obtained a complete victory over the infidels at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of August, N. S. The Imperial army did not exceed sixty thousand men, that of the Turks amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand, commanded by the grand vizir Ali, favourite of the sultan Achmet III. who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The infidels were totally defeated, with the loss of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; so that the victors gained an immense booty †. To return to England.

Notwithstanding the commons had shewn themselves so liberal in their supplies, the court was still craving; and, on the third of April, Mr. secretary Stanhope brought a message from his majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdoms against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden: and Mr. Stanhope at the same time moved, that a supply should be granted to his majesty for that purpose. This message roused the house from that indolent acquiescence which they had hitherto fallen into, in regard to every proposition of the court. Several members stood forth to oppose this motion; but no one distinguished himself more on this occasion than Mr. Shippen, who said, it was a great misfortune that the king was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as the language of the country; that the message was unparliamentary and unprecedented, and in his opinion penned by some foreign minister. He had been often told, that his majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade; that the supply demanded seemed to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his majesty had obtained for the people. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared, that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances; much less, that they should be purchased with money. He expressed his surprize, that a nation, so lately the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden. The motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and others; but some of the Whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The speaker and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, opposed this unparliamentary way of demanding the supply: the former proposed, that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After long and warm debates, it was, however, resolved, that two hundred and fifty thousand pounds be granted to his majesty for the purposes mentioned in his message*: but it was carried by a majority of only four voices.

This small majority was owing to a misunderstanding about this time among the courtiers. To

whatever cause it was owing, it is certain there was some difference between the king's friends, which occasioned the removal of some, and the resignation of others. So long ago as in December, the lord Townshend, on the arrival of an express from Hanover, was removed from his place of principal secretary of state, to the great surprize of most people; and though after the king's return he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, yet immediately after the debate on the above-mentioned supply, the granting of which he had vehemently opposed in the house of lords, he received a letter from Mr. Stanhope, acquainting him, that his majesty returned him thanks for his past services, but had no farther occasion for him as lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. The very next day Mr. Robert Walpole waited on his majesty, and resigned his posts of first commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer; as did Mr. Pulteney his of secretary at war, and Mr. Methuen that of secretary of state: their example was followed soon after by the duke of Devonshire, who quitted the presidentship of the council; and now the ministry underwent an almost total revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed secretaries of state; Mr. Stanhope became first commissioner of the Treasury, and chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Craggs was declared secretary at war; the earl of Berkley was constituted first commissioner of the Admiralty, in the room of the earl of Orford, who resigned; the duke of Bolton obtained the government of Ireland; and was succeeded in the post of lord-chamberlain by the duke of Newcastle.

The parliament, at his majesty's desire, had adjourned from the sixteenth of April to the sixth of May; when being met, he, by the mouth of the lord-chancellor, made a speech to both houses, in which he gave them to understand, that the fleet under sir George Byng, which had sailed to the Baltic to observe the motion of the Swedes, was safely arrived in the Sound. He told them, that he had given orders for the reduction of ten thousand soldiers, as well as directions to prepare an act of indemnity. He desired they would take proper measures for reducing the public debts, with a just regard to parliamentary credit; and that they would go through the public business with all possible dispatch and unanimity.

Agreeable to his majesty's intimation in his speech, the parliament now set about reducing the interest on the public debts, in order for lessening the principal thereof gradually. These debts were comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The first had been contracted with a redeemable interest; and these the public had a right to discharge: the others consisted of long and short annuities, granted for a greater or less number of years, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of those debts, before he left the Exchequer. His plan was approved; but when he resigned his places, the ministers made some small alterations, which furnished him with a pretence for opposing the scheme. The government, however, in order

† Modern Universal History. Voltaire.

* See Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the House of Commons.

to carry this good and great end into execution with success and security, treated with the Bank and South-sea companies, to whom a great part of the national debts were due, and brought them to agree not only for the reduction of the interest on their own respective capitals from six to five per cent. but for the Bank's advancing or lending to the public (when wanted) two millions five hundred thousand pounds, and the South-sea company the sum of two millions, at five per cent. interest, to be in readiness for paying off such of the proprietors of the orders of four lotteries in the reign of queen Anne, and of other redeemable annuities, as should demand their principal money to be paid to them, instead of accepting of five per cent. in lieu of their present interest of six per cent. This salutary scheme was at length effected, in consequence of three several acts passed this session of parliament, under the names of the General-Fund act, the Bank act, and the South-sea act.

By the first, entitled, "An act for redeeming the duties and revenues which were settled to pay off the principal and interest on the orders made forth on four lottery-acts, &c. commonly called the General Fund," the said two companies were empowered to borrow money on their common seal, or to make calls on their proprietors for enabling them to advance to the public the two sums above specified; the said reduction of interest to commence from and after Michaelmas 1727: for which interest a new annual fund was hereby established, and has ever since been called the General-fund, amounting to seven hundred twenty-four thousand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, six shillings, and ten pence. Hereby measures were so well concerted by the government, that all the proprietors of those redeemable debts acquiesced in the said reduction of their interest from six to five per cent. without borrowing any part of the said two millions five hundred thousand pounds of the Bank, or of the two millions South-sea company, stipulated as before-mentioned*.

By the second, entitled, "An act for redeeming the several funds of the Bank, pursuant to former provisions of redemption," &c. † the governors and company declared themselves willing to accept of five per cent. interest for all the debt due to that corporation, in lieu of their then allowances, and to advance the above-named two millions five hundred thousand pounds, if called for; and the Bank was hereby to deliver up two millions in Exchequer-bills, for which they were to have an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, redeemable on one year's notice after Christmas 1717. This is called the Aggregate Fund, first established by an act of the first year of king George (cap. xii.) tho' not particularly applied to the lessening of the national debts till now. Hereby also the Bank was to have three per cent. per ann. and one penny per cent. per diem (instead of two pence formerly allowed) for circulating of the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-one thousand and twenty-five pounds, being the remaining Exchequer-bills, till fully cancelled from Christmas 1717; so that the whole capital of the Bank was hereby increased to five millions three hundred seventy-five thousand and twenty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and

ten-pence. But their original capital of one million six hundred thousand pounds was to continue at six per cent. interest, to the first of August 1742.

By the third, entitled, "An act for redeeming the yearly fund of the South-sea company," &c. ‡ the South-sea company's present capital being ten millions, and their present annual fund being six hundred thousand pounds, their fund was now reduced from six to five per cent. i. e. from six hundred thousand pounds to five hundred thousand, from and after Midsummer 1718, besides their yearly allowance of eight thousand pounds for charges of management. The company was also hereby empowered to borrow money on their common seal, either for the purposes of this act, or for carrying on their trade, or other necessary occasions, at such interest as they should think fit, and for any time not less than for six months; and altho' their fund may hereafter be redeemed, (viz. on one year's notice after Midsummer 1723) yet their trade and corporate capacity was hereby to continue for ever. This was, in the style of the Exchequer, called the South-sea fund.

By all which savings, viz. by one per cent. on the funds before-named, and by one penny per cent. per day saved for the future on the Exchequer bills hereafter to be circulated, a good beginning, or foundation, was laid for the famous sinking fund, amounting to three hundred twenty-three thousand four hundred and thirty-four pounds, seven shillings, and seven-pence half-penny, per ann. Moreover, for the greater conveniency of the proprietors of the before-named lottery orders, and debts at the Exchequer hereby ranged under this new general fund, they were brought from the Exchequer to the Bank, and erected into a transferable stock, at five per cent. interest. The said yearly saving or surplus was hereby to be solely applicable to the discharge of the principal and interest of such national debts as were contracted before Christmas 1716.

Thus out of the before-named three funds, called the Aggregate, the General, and the South-sea fund, was formed the Sinking Fund, being purely the surplus or savings out of those funds by the several reductions now and afterwards made in the rates of interest and allowances; and as these have at different times been lessened, and annual or other payments have been made to the creditors of the public act of the "Sinking Fund," it has proportionally increased. As a proof of the great advantage arising from this reduction of the interest on the national funds, and the establishment of a fund for farther lessening the public debts, I shall here observe, that, instead of lowering the prices of the several stocks at market, they were found to rise considerably in price; particularly South-sea stock, which, at Lady-day of this year 1717, was but one hundred three-fourths per cent. but got up to eleven hundred and twelve one-half by Michaelmas following.

The earl of Oxford, who had now remained near two years a prisoner in the Tower, finding the session likely to come to an end without taking his case into consideration, presented a petition to the house of Lords, praying, that his trial might

* See Stat. anno tricesimo Geo. I. cap. vii.

† Ibid. cap. viii.

‡ Ibid. cap. ix.

be brought on. The lords assented to his request: Westminster-hall being prepared for the purpose, and the lord-chancellor Cowper constituted high-steward for the occasion, the earl, on the twenty-fourth of June, was brought from the Tower by water, and conducted to the bar; when Mr. Hampden, one of the managers for the commons, recapitulated the charge against his lordship in a long speech. Then Sir Joseph Jekyll (lately made master of the rolls in the room of Sir John Trevor, deceased) stood up to make good the first article of the charge; but as he was proceeding, the lord Harcourt signified to their lordships, that he had a motion to make, and they accordingly adjourned to their own house. There he represented, that a great deal of time would be unnecessarily consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment; that if the commons could make good the two articles for high treason, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas, to proceed in the method proposed by the commons, would draw out the trial to a prodigious length: and, that it would be a great hardship upon a peer, who had already undergone so long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar, like a traitor, and be, at last, found guilty only of high crimes and misdemeanors. He therefore moved, that the commons might not be permitted to proceed in order to make good the articles against the earl of Oxford for high crimes and misdemeanors, till judgment should be first given upon the articles for high treason.

After a long debate this motion was carried in the affirmative: there arose upon this a difference between the two houses, the commons being resolved to proceed in their own way, and the lords as strenuously adhering to theirs. The lower house demanded a free conference, which was refused by the upper. The dispute grew more and more warm: the lords sent a message to the commons, importing, that they intended forthwith to proceed to the trial of the earl of Oxford. The commons answered this intimation, by adjourning themselves to the third day of July. Hereupon the lords repairing to Westminster-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and caused proclamation to be made three times, for his accusers to appear and make good the impeachment against him. Having waited for a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own house, where, one or two excepted, they gave their votes for the discharge of the earl of Oxford; then returning to the hall, they ordered him immediately to be set at liberty. The commons were enraged at the escape of this nobleman, whom they had marked out for destruction; and as a last effort of their malice, they resolved that the king should be addressed to except him out of the act of grace which was intended to be brought into the house. This address his majesty was pleased to

comply with, and also forbade the earl to appear at court.

On the fifteenth day of July the earl of Sunderland delivered, in the house of peers, the act of grace, which passed through both houses without any difficulty. From this indemnity were excepted, the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore, Crisp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmayne the printer, and Thomson, the assassins in Newgate confined since the reign of king William, and the clan of Macgregor* in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn, were immediately discharged; but the lord Duffus was continued in prison, with an allowance of three pounds per week. All the gentlemen who lay under sentence of death in Newgate were dismissed, as were those that were detained, on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons in the kingdom. The yearly value of the forfeited estates in England and Ireland amounted to forty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-six pounds, eighteen shillings and five pence half-penny; the rents of those in Scotland were estimated at twenty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-five pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, sterling.

The act of grace being prepared for the royal assent, the very day on which it was presented the king went to the house of peers in the afternoon; and having given his sanction to all the bills that were ready, he closed the session with a speech on the usual topics.

A famous controversy was begun and carried on about this time, occasioned by Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor's sermon before the king, entitled, "The nature of the kingdom of Christ, shewing it not to be of this world." This sermon made a great noise, and innumerable pamphlets were wrote on both sides. The bishop was generally thought to have the better of his antagonists, who, not content with their opposition in a private capacity, thought to have silenced him by means of the convocation which was then sitting. The lower house appointed a committee to draw up a representation to the upper house, against the positions advanced in his sermon, and in a farther performance of his, entitled, "A preservative against the principles and practices of the non-jurors." The committee censured both; but, to put an end to these heats, the convocation was prorogued, and have scarce ever sat since.

During these transactions, his majesty had thought fit to appoint sir John Norris envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the czar of Muscovy; and, as if things began to be so disposed as to admit of a peace in the North, a resolution was taken to discharge count Gyllemborg, and that baron Gortz should be released from his confinement in Holland, which was accordingly performed; yet the storm did not entirely blow over,

* It seems the family or clan of Macgregors, alias Campbells, had been in rebellion in the time of king James I. and were reduced; but on king James's death they took up arms again, not so much on any state account, as to plunder the Lowlands, and injure the country; whereupon a remarkable act passed against them. By this act they were all, at the age of sixteen, to appear before the privy-council, and give surety

for their good behaviour; and, in order to their extirpation, no minister, within the bounds of the Highlands, were to baptize any male child with the name of Gregor or Macgregor. The famous Rob Roy, head of the clans, being in the rebellion, occasioned perhaps the exception, by which the whole family of the Macgregors were excluded the benefit of the act of grace.

but the Swedish quarrel still proved a source of new expence to the British nation.

In the spring of this year the czar made an excursion to the court of Versailles, where he proposed to the duke of Orleans to conclude a treaty, which, had it taken place, would have completed the greatness of Muscovy. His design was to compromise matters with the king of Sweden, who would yield to him some large provinces, to deprive the Danes of the empire of the Baltic Sea, to weaken the English by a civil war, and make all the trade of the North center in Russia. With this view, he proposed to the regent of France to act as mediator between Sweden and Muscovy, and to make a league offensive and defensive with these two crowns and that of Spain. This proposal, however, was rejected by the duke of Orleans, and communicated by him to king George. The czar, after leaving France, had an interview with baron Gortz at Amsterdam. This statesman, now at liberty, behaved like an implacable enemy, prompted not only by the powerful motives by which he had been formerly actuated, but instigated by a spirit of revenge, on account of his late imprisonment. He assured the czar, that in less than three months he would, in conjunction with a single plenipotentiary from Russia, remove every obstacle that retarded the conclusion of a peace with Sweden. Peter, over whom Gortz had acquired an absolute ascendancy, agreed to suspend all operations against Sweden until that term should be expired. A congress was opened at Abo, but the conferences were afterwards transferred to Aland. The articles were soon adjusted, and an alliance formed that was wholly to change the face of affairs in Europe: the substance of which, as it was found among de Gortz's papers after his death, was as follows: the czar was to keep the whole of Livonia, and part of Ingria and Carelia, to himself, and to restore the rest to Sweden. He was to join his efforts to those of Charles XII. in order to restore Stanislaus to the throne of Poland, and to enter that country with eighty thousand Russians, to dethrone the very king in whose defence he had waged a war of ten years continuance. He was to furnish the king of Sweden with a number of ships, sufficient to transport ten thousand Swedes to England, and thirty thousand to Germany. The united forces of Peter and Charles were to attack the king of England in his German dominions, especially in Bremen and Verden, and were likewise to be employed in re-establishing the duke of Holstein, and compelling the king of Prussia to agree to a treaty, by which he would be deprived of those territories which he had seized.

Baron Gortz set out from Aland for Fredericstadt in Norway, which Charles was then besieging, with the plan; but before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, while he was visiting the trenches. Gortz was immediately arrested and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred. The death of Charles produced an entire change in the face of affairs: Sweden was obliged to submit, while the czar, the king of Denmark, and king George, as elector of Hanover, remained in possession of what they had acquired. Although

these affairs did not fall out till towards the end of the following year, I have thrown them together in this place, in order to prevent any farther recourse to them †.

Soon after the close of the session of parliament in England, his majesty received advice by count Volkra, the imperial minister, that prince Eugene had gained a decisive victory over the Turks at Belgrade, which was followed by the surrender of that town, the key of the Ottoman empire. King George had not yet received the investiture of the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and until that could be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interests of the emperor. This begot a misunderstanding between our court and that of Spain. Philip V. taking advantage of the emperor's being engaged in a war with the Turks, had, at the instance of the cardinal Alberoni, his prime minister, equipped a strong armament in the course of this year, the command of which was bestowed upon the marquis de Leda, who, in pursuance of the order of his court, set sail from Barcelona, and, landing at Cagliari, the capital of the island of Sardinia, which belonged to his Imperial majesty, had reduced the whole island to subjection. This proceeding Philip pretended to justify by a manifesto, in which he alledged, that the archduke (for he had not yet acknowledged Charles VI. as emperor) had, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples and other places, and particularly that he had caused the grand inquisitor of Spain to be seized, though furnished with a passport from his Holiness. However, his Catholic majesty promised, by the marquis Beretti Lardi, his ambassador at the Hague, to proceed no farther, and to suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for adjusting all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy: and he even agreed to refer the decision of this important affair to the king of Great Britain and the States-general. These powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the emperor, France, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance, which was intended to settle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty of Utrecht had left them, and to fix the general tranquillity for ever: yet, by unforeseen accidents, to which human policy will ever be liable, this alliance proved the cause of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its consequences has been productive of innumerable troubles.

By this treaty, the terms of which were already fixed, though not executed till some months afterwards, it was stipulated, "That the king of Spain should restore to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the articles, the kingdom of Sardinia, and renounce all right and claim to the dominions of the emperor in Italy and the Netherlands; consent to the emperor's being put in possession of Sicily, and renounce the right of reversion of that kingdom to the crown of Spain, as settled by the treaty of Utrecht; on condition, however, of having Sardinia in exchange: that

† Oldmixon. Tindal. Voltaire. Polit. State.

the emperor should renounce, for himself, his heirs and successors, all right and pretension to any dominions, of which the king of Spain was acknowledged rightful possessor, by the treaty of Utrecht: that he should own Philip as lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to that dignity: that the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be accounted as male fiefs of the empire, and should descend, in default of male heirs, to the queen of Spain's eldest son; but that none of these duchies should ever be possessed by a prince, who was at the same time king of Spain, nor should the king of Spain ever take upon him the guardianship of that prince: that the king of Sicily should restore that kingdom to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the articles: that, in return, the emperor should give to the king of Sicily, the island of Sardinia, which he should enjoy, with the title of king, but the right of reversion, in default of heirs male, should be reserved to the crown of Spain: that the kings of Spain and Sicily should be allowed three months to consider, whether they would accept to reject the terms proposed; and if, contrary to the wishes of all Europe, they should continue refractory, the mediators should join their forces, and compel them to submit: that, if any of the mediators should be attacked, on account of the succours lent to the emperor, the others should declare war against the aggressor, and not lay down their arms till the emperor was put in possession of Sicily, and established in the firm enjoyment of his Italian dominions: that, if either of the kings should accept the terms proposed by the allies, he should join his forces with those of the mediators, in order to oblige the other to comply: and, finally, to show that nothing but justice and peace was intended, it was expressly stipulated, that as soon as the emperor was put in possession of Sicily, he should renounce all pretensions to Spain and the Indies, whether king Philip acceded or not, inasmuch as the guaranty of the mediators would be to his Imperial majesty, a security, equal to the renunciations of the Spanish monarch, for Sicily, the Italian dominions, and the Netherlands*.

The crown of Spain was highly displeased with this provision made for its interest; and though the emperor seemed to be very well contented at this juncture, yet, as soon as Spain was compelled to accept what was now offered her, he also grew dissatisfied with this partition, and we have never since been able to keep them both in temper, or preserve ourselves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the course of this work, will be sufficiently informed. Philip still continuing to make great preparations by sea and land, king George and the regent of France interposed their admonitions, but to no purpose. At length his Britannic majesty resolved to have recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered a strong squadron of ships of war to be fitted out with all expedition.

In this critical situation things were when the parliament met, on the twenty-first of November; but before I relate their transactions, I must take notice, that on the second of November her royal highness the princess of Wales was brought to bed

of a prince, who, on the twenty-eighth, was christened by the name of George William, the ceremony of whose baptism occasioned an unhappy difference between the king and the prince of Wales. It seems his royal highness had intended the bishop of Osnabrug, his uncle, should have stood god-father; but his majesty, in compliance with the custom which prescribed that one of the principal lords of the court, commonly the lord-chamberlain for the time being, should stand as second god-father, had ordered the duke of Newcastle to stand: the prince imagining the duke had officiously forced himself into this honour, expressed himself in very warm terms of resentment to his grace, after the ceremony was over. The king being acquainted with this, and taking the prince's resentment as expressed against himself, sent him orders to leave St. James's; which he did, and went and resided at Leicester-house, whither he was accompanied by the princess his consort, though it was signified to her, that she might stay at St. James's as long as she judged convenient. The young princess and the young prince (who died in February following) remained at St. James's with his majesty, orders having been given that her royal highness might have full liberty to visit them whenever she thought proper. After this, whenever the king went abroad, he committed the administration of the government to lords-justices. This difference farther divided the friends of the royal family; for as all in the king's service were forbid to visit the prince's court at Leicester-house, most of his royal highness's servants forbore going to St. James's.

The king, in his speech to both houses, acquainted them, that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of last session; he expressed his desire, that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all protestants. Addresses of thanks having been presented by both houses, the commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance; ten thousand men were voted for the sea-service, and the sum of two hundred and twenty-four thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven pounds was granted for defraying the expences of the navy.

On the fourth of December, the supply for the army fell under deliberation in the house of commons, when a very warm debate ensued upon the number of troops that ought to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, were for restricting them to twelve thousand men only; the courtiers affirmed, that sixteen thousand were absolutely necessary. In the course of the debate, Mr. Shippen having made use of some expressions highly reflecting upon the king's person and government, he was voted to the Tower by a great majority. At length the number of land-forces was fixed at sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men; and

for the maintenance of them, the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds was allotted.

About this period there appearing to be a considerable scarcity of silver coin in England, by reason our gold coin was rated too high in price; and the great sir Isaac Newton being thereupon consulted by the lords commissioners of the treasury, he advised the reduction of the value of guineas from twenty-one shillings and six pence, to twenty-one shillings; which was accordingly done by approbation of the house of commons, who addressed the king for that purpose; at which rate they have continued ever since: whereby, in some measure, the silver coin, which before had been exported in exchange for gold, was kept at home.

In the beginning of the year 1718, a design against the king's life was discovered; the author of which seemed fitter for Bedlam than Newgate. His name was James Shepherd, a young man under twenty, who, by frequenting Jacobite seminaries, and reading their books, had worked himself up to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that he wished ardently for an opportunity to assassinate the king, and actually wrote a letter to one Mr. Leake, a nonjuring clergyman, proposing a scheme for effecting his horrid design, which he called "smiting the usurper in his palace." Leake, terrified at such a letter being left for him at his lodgings, went and communicated the contents of it to sir John Fryer, an alderman of London, who advised him to secure the writer when he should call for an answer: this was accordingly done, and being carried before the alderman, was by him committed to Newgate. The young traitor was so far from repenting of his execrable design, that upon his trial he openly avowed it, declaring that he thought it would have been a meritorious deed. He was accordingly convicted upon his own confession, and executed at Tyburn on the seventeenth of March.

The same day the marquis de Paleotti, an Italian, and brother to the duchess of Shrewsbury, suffered the like fate, having been convicted and condemned for the murder of his own servant, in a transport of passion. Great intercession was made for him by his sister the duchess, and some foreign ministers; but his character was so detestable, that all the favour he could obtain, was to be executed by himself.

The principal affair which engaged the attention of the parliament this session, and which produced much heat and altercation among the ministers, was the bill for regulating the land-forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion, which was considered as an encroachment on the liberties of the people and the constitution of the kingdom, inasmuch as it established martial law, and wrested from the civil magistrate the cognizance of crimes and misdemeanors committed by the officers and soldiers of the army. One of the principal arguments made use of by the promoters of the bill (among whom general Stanhope, lately created viscount Mahon and baron Elvaſton, particularly distinguished himself) was, that by the power of trying such offenders being confined to the civil courts, the affair was frequently subject to so many delays, that before the trial could be brought on, the friends and relations of the delinquents had

opportunity to exert their interest and procure their pardon; by which justice was eluded, and great encouragement given to mutiny and disobedience. The utility of this argument was clearly exposed, and the danger that might arise from such a power vested in the crown, amply set forth, by the gentlemen in the opposition. But what could an handful of persons do against the much greater number of those who were ready, for the sake of preserving their places, or their pensions, to sacrifice the liberties and interests of their fellow-subjects to the will of a minister? After a violent debate, the bill was carried by a great majority in both houses, though several lords entered their protests.

This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in, for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Great Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining their claims; and for the more effectually bringing into the respective Exchequers, the rents and profits of the said estates, till sold. The time of claiming was prolonged; the sum of twenty thousand pounds was reserved out of the estates of Scotland, for erecting schools; and eight thousand pounds for building barracks in that part of the kingdom*.

The sums granted by the house of commons for the ordinary of the navy being found insufficient to answer the designs that had been formed by the administration, the king was prevailed on to send a message to the commons, on the seventeenth of March, in the following terms:

"Geo. Rex.

"His majesty being at present engaged in several negociations, of the utmost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquility of Europe, and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force should be employed where it was necessary; does think fit to acquaint this house therewith; not doubting but that, in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house will at their next meeting, provide for such exceedings†".

This message was brought to the house by Mr. Boscawen; and an address, promising to make good such exceedings, if they were found necessary, was moved for, by Mr. William Strickland, and agreed to without a division; which was highly agreeable to the court. The next day the king thought fit to make some alterations at the navy-board, and also to appoint the earl of Berkeley vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, esq. rear-admiral of Great Britain: the latter was soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland.

On the twenty-first of March the king went to the house of peers; and having passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the parliament to be prorogued. Soon after, viz. on the eighth of April, earl Cowper, lord-chancellor, resigned the great seal, which, after having been a short time in commission, was given to Thomas, lord Parker, lord chief justice of the king's Bench,

* Proceedings of the House of Commons.

† Oldmixon. Polit. State. Proceed. of the House of Commons.

afterwards created earl of Macclesfield; who was succeeded as lord chief-justice by sir John Pratt. About the same time, Mr. Lechmere was made attorney-general, in the room of sir Edward Northey; the earl of Sunderland president of the council, and first commissioner of the treasury; John Aislabie, esq. chancellor of the Exchequer; lord Stanhope and James Craggs, junior, esq. were appointed secretaries of state; the latter in the room of Joseph Addison, esq. to whose thoughtful and speculative genius that office was not very agreeable. Lord Stanhope and lord Cadogan were soon afterwards made earls, by their respective names.

While these steps were taking, a great number of large ships were put into commission, and such other measures pursued as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out would not prove a fleet of parade. The king of Spain, on his part, equipped a very considerable armament, which in the beginning of June set sail; but the destination of it was not known. In the mean time, the marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, presented a memorial to the British ministry, importing, that his master could not, without some degree of suspicion, behold such preparations, which seemed to indicate an hostile design; and would prove, if continued, destructive to the good intelligence that subsisted between the two crowns. The reason the ministry assigned for acting with so much vigour was, their resolution to maintain the neutrality of Italy, which they thought his Catholic majesty had lately infringed, by seizing on the island of Sardinia. Mean while, the negotiations between the English and French produced the quadruple alliance, of which we have already spoken, and by which the king of England and the regent of France prescribed a peace between the emperor, the king of Spain, and the king of Sicily; but his Catholic majesty, foreseeing that Sicily was to be delivered up to the emperor, had resolved, by the advice of cardinal Alberoni, his prime minister, a man of infinite abilities and discernment, to seize that island for himself: thither it was the Spanish fleet was really bound.

About the middle of the month of March sir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the squadron intended for the Mediterranean; and on the twenty-fourth of May following he received his instructions, which were to this purpose: "That he should, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, make instances with both parties to cease from using any further acts of hostility; but in case the Spaniards do still insist, with their ships of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the emperor's dominions, against whom they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in such a case, you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen that, at your arrival with the fleet under your command in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance to help them

to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hostility: but in case your friendly endeavours shall prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy; or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the emperor's territories from any farther attempt."

The admiral sailed the fifteenth of June, 1718, from Spithead, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and a store-ship. He arrived at Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of that month, when he dispatched his secretary, Mr. Allix, to Cadiz with a letter to colonel Stanhope (the late earl of Harrington) the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in these parts in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under with his squadron, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

The envoy shewed the letter to cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told the colonel with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be drove out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or consent to any suspension of arms; adding, that the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the success. Mr. Stanhope then shewed his eminence a list of the British squadron, desiring him to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own. The cardinal, after running over the paper, threw it on the ground in a great passion; which Mr. Stanhope perceiving, used all his endeavours to pacify him. At length he promised to lay the admiral's letter before the Catholic king, and to let the envoy know his majesty's resolution. It was, however, nine days before Mr. Stanhope could obtain this answer and send it away, the cardinal probably hoping that the admiral would delay taking vigorous measures in expectation of it, and perhaps put into some of the ports of Spain, and thereby gain time for the fleet and forces to secure a good footing in Sicily. At length, however, the admiral's own letter to Mr. Stanhope was sent back, with a note under it, as follows:

"Sir, His Catholic majesty has done me the honour to tell me, that the chevalier Byng may execute the order he has from the king his master.
Escorial, July 15, 1718.

The Cardinal ALBERONI."

Mr. Stanhope seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English merchants settled in the Spanish sea-ports.

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, was joined off Gibraltar by vice-admiral Cornwall with two ships of the line. On the twenty-third of July he anchored with the squadron off Port Mahon. Here he received advice that the Spanish fleet had been seen the thirtieth of June off Naples, steering south-east; upon which he dispatched away expresses to the governor of Milan and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and having relieved the garrison of Minorca, he sailed from thence

thence on the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived on the first of August in the bay of Naples, to the great satisfaction of the German government, who, by the lucky arrival of the admiral, were relieved from the terror they had been under of a Spanish invasion. Sir George Byng, on his arrival at Naples, was informed by the viceroy, count Dauh, that the Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Leda, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city. The viceroy at the same time acquainted the admiral, that he had resolved to embark two thousand German foot, under the command of general Wetzels, who were to take possession of the citadel of Messina and fort Salvador, in pursuance of an agreement with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so as he might get something for it. The German forces were to be escorted by the British fleet, which sailed for that purpose from Naples on the sixth of August, and arrived on the ninth in view of the Faro of Messina*; in doubling which he discovered two Spanish scouts, and also learned from some of the country vessels, that the Spanish fleet was lying to, in order of battle; upon which the admiral immediately detached general Wetzels with the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war; then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting to twenty-seven sail, large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven galleys; they were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castaneta, under whom were the four rear-admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock.

On the sight of the English squadron they stood away large, but still in order of battle. The English admiral followed them all the rest of the day and the succeeding night. In the morning, being the eleventh of August, N. S. rear-admiral Mari, with six Spanish ships of war, and all the galleys, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which sir George Byng detached captain George Walton, in the Canterbury of sixty guns, with five more ships, in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. The admiral him-

self continued to chase their main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards were totally defeated, and all their admirals taken, except Cammock, who made his escape to Malta, with three ships of war and as many frigates. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army still prosecuted the siege of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September, and the garrison was transported to Syracuse and Reggio. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the duke of Savoy; they agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia, in behalf of the duke, who, in the mean time, engaged to evacuate Sicily; but, until his troops should be conveyed from that island, he engaged that they should co-operate against the king of Spain.

That monarch, excessively provoked at the unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally destroyed the naval force he had been at so much pains and expence to rear, was not slow in expressing his resentment. On the first of September rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and at the same time all the effects of the English merchants were seized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain, which, as soon as it was known here, produced reprisals on our part†: but it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, in order to give an account of what passed at home§.

The parliament met on the eleventh of November; and one of the first things they went upon was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engrossed all public conversation from the time of defeating their fleet, some looking upon that as one of the noblest exploits performed since the Revolution; while others considered it as an action dishonourable to England, being inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observance of which she had always been so famous; and when an address of congratulation to his majesty was moved for by lord Carteret on the success of his arms over the Spanish fleet, and to justify that measure, it was warmly opposed by the dukes of Buckingham, Devonshire, and Argyll; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Oxford, and Illy; the lords North, Grey, and Harcourt, in the house of peers; and by Mr. Sheppard, Mr. Freeman, sir Thomas

* Faro, or Faro of Messina, a narrow strait, seven miles over, between Italy and the island of Sicily; also the north-east point of the latter, at the entrance of the strait.

† Corbet's History of the Expedition to Sicily. Tindal. Hist. Regist. Hist. Europe, &c. &c.

§ The ministry having, in the course of the preceding year, formed the very laudable design of suppressing the pirates in the West Indies, who, since the close of the war, were become very numerous, and highly insolent, captain Woods Rogers was appointed governor of the Bahama Islands. On the 11th of April he sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government; and after a short and easy passage arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, of the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately. He proceeded soon after to form a council, and settling the civil government in those islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad; in which, by degrees, he succeeded. Some of the pirates, it is true, refused at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief

on the coast of Carolina; but when they saw that governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama islands found themselves obliged, through interest, to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that by the first of July, 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four of those pirates who continued their trade; and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible. Thus in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this crew of villains were dissolved, who for many years had frightened the West Indies, and the northern colonies, coming at last to be so strong, that few merchantmen were safe, and withal so cruel and barbarous, that slavery amongst the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us if the management of the Spanish guarda-costas had been committed to the care of some man of a like spirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war.

Hanmer, Horatio Walpole, esq. and Robert Walpole, esq. in the house of commons, but without effect; for the address was carried by a great majority, and presented to his majesty. The parliament therein declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquility in Europe, particularly in relation to the crown of Spain, and their resolution to enable him, in concurrence with his allies, not only to resent the injuries that crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two nations, but to support him in the most effectual manner, in such farther measures as he shall judge necessary to complete the public tranquility in Europe, and to check the growth of that naval power which must otherwise prove dangerous to the trade of this kingdom, and the repose of Europe*.

On the nineteenth the commons voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors, and twelve thousand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land-service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pounds, the malt-tax, and a lottery for half a million. The bills for the land and malt-tax were both presented and passed in one day; an instance of dispatch unknown for many years.

On the thirteenth of December earl Stanhope declared in the house of lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer, under the title of "A bill for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill for repealing the occasional conformity and schism bills, which, towards the end of last reign, had been enacted against the dissenters, as also some clauses in the corporation and test acts. The Tory lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they made a strenuous opposition, though it proved a fruitless one for the court party. After violent debates, the bill was passed and sent down to the lower house, where it likewise met with a strong opposition; in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

A rupture with Spain had, for some time, been considered as a thing unavoidable; but, on the seventeenth of December, it was put out of all doubt, his majesty on that day sending a message to both houses, intimating, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain proving ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. This message being read, a motion was made for an address to the king, assuring him that the commons would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, till Spain should be obliged to accept of reasonable terms of peace, and agree to such conditions of trade and commerce as the English were entitled to expect. On this occasion many bold things were said as to the expediency of a war with Spain, and especially

with regard to the pretensions and intentions of those who made this war; for the ministry insisting strongly that it was made in favour of trade, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants: it was said that the ministers had shewn no great regard for the trade and interest of the nation, since it appeared by the answer given to the marquis de Monteleone's letter, that they would have passed by the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and that his majesty did not seek to aggrandise himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquility: that nobody could yet tell how far that sacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, which the regent had offered to the king of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Mr. Horatio Walpole alleged, that the disposition of Sicily, in favour of the emperor, was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht; and Mr. Robert Walpole exclaimed warmly against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war on either side. They were answered by Mr. Craggs, and sir Joseph Jekyll closed the debate with saying, that when this affair was first mentioned in the house, he had been backward to give his opinion, as not perfectly well understanding the merits of it; but having since had leisure to examine the several steps which had been taken in it, he was now fully convinced, that if there was any injustice, it was on the side of the king of Spain; and that the conduct of his majesty and his ministers was entirely agreeable to the law of nations, and the rules of justice and equity. After these and several other speeches, the address was carried by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight against one hundred and seven, and presented next day†.

The ministry now continued the pursuit of their scheme, and took such vigorous measures for obliging Spain to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentment against such as endeavoured to impose it on her. With this view cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, to find the English and French such ample employment at home as should leave them no leisure for disturbing others. The prince de Cellamare, ambassador from Philip V. to the court of Versailles, acted the same part there as count Gyllemberg had done in London, by caballing with the French malcontents, who were numerous and powerful, against the duke of Orleans. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the person of the regent and that of the young king, and entirely change the face of that government; every thing was in readiness for putting this plot into execution, and the conspirators only waited for the last orders, when the whole mystery was discovered. It was to king George that the duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of a conspiracy being formed against his person and government; upon

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Chandler's Debates. Tindal.

† Chandler's Debates. Hist. Regist. Annals of King Geo. I.

which the regent took such effectual measures for watching the conduct of all suspected persons, that the whole intrigue was brought to light*. The prince de Cellamare was treated in France nearly in the same manner as the Swedish minister had been in England; and Alberoni, the first mover of this machine, had the vexation to find that he had, without any advantage from his project, offended, in the most sensible manner, a power whose resentment could not but prove extremely prejudicial, not only to himself, but even to the whole Spanish monarchy.

At the very time that these things were transacting in France, and that the regent made diligent preparation for demanding, sword in hand, reparation for the insult he had received, the busy cardinal was forming a scheme of a different nature against king George, by making an effort to establish the pretender on his throne. The duke of Ormond repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his eminence, in which it was agreed to give the chevalier an invitation to come to Madrid, to put himself at the head of a large body of auxiliary forces which his Catholic majesty proposed to lend him, in order to assert with success his pretensions to the British crown. The chevalier did not suffer himself to be long intreated: he quitted the papal dominions (where he had lately taken refuge) by stealth, and got safely to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality by the king of Spain, and treated as king of Great Britain. The earl of Stair, who was then our minister at the court of France, dispatched the first certain intelligence of the designs of Spain, which were, to have sent an armament of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men, to be landed in the west of England, under the command of the duke of Ormond, with the title of captain-general of his most Catholic majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his troops, as auxiliaries to king James, to act for his interest in England and Scotland, and use their utmost endeavours for his restoration; and that the fear of ill success might not deter any person from openly espousing his interest, his most Catholic majesty promised a safe retreat in his dominions to all such as should be obliged to leave their country, on account of the share they might bear in this undertaking†.

Upon advice of these designs, the most effectual methods were taken here for defeating them. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to sea; a proclamation issued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promise of five thousand pounds to the person that should seize him; and an embargo was also laid on all shipping. On the tenth of March, 1719, his

majesty acquainted the parliament, that he had received certain intelligence of an invasion, intended from Spain, in favour of the pretender. Both houses hereupon concurred in an address, promising to support him against all his enemies: they desired him to augment his forces by sea and land, assuring him they would make good the extraordinary expence‡. Upon this, orders were given for hastening the fleet, which was fitted out with so much expedition, that on the fifth of April sir John Norris sailed from Spithead to the Westward with nine men of war, and on the twenty-ninth the earl of Berkley sailed from St. Helen's with seven other ships to join him. The government likewise took some other very salutary measures to oppose this intended invasion of the Spaniards. The troops in the west of England, where it was conjectured they designed to land, were reinforced by several regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom; four battalions were brought over from Ireland. About the middle of April two Swiss battalions arrived in the river of Thames, and three Dutch battalions arrived in the north of England. Besides this, the French regent and the emperor ordered bodies of troops to march, so as to be in readiness to be transported to England upon occasion. These preparations made by our king and his allies would have of themselves been sufficient to have defeated the invasion, had it been actually carried into execution; but the elements fought the cause of the house of Hanover, and rendered ineffectual the designs of its enemies: for the Spanish fleet designed for this expedition, consisting of five ships of war, and about forty transports, having on board the duke of Ormond, and upwards of five thousand men, a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which sailed from Cadiz on the twenty-third of February, O. S. being, on the twenty-eighth of that month, about fifty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre, met with a violent storm which lasted forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed them. What loss they sustained is uncertain; but several of their vessels returned to the ports of Spain in a very shattered condition: a very small part, however, of this embarkation, had somewhat a different fortune; for the earls Marschal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardine, with about four hundred men, mostly Spaniards, on board three frigates and five transports, landed in the shire of Ross in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or sixteen hundred Scots, and had instructions to wait the duke Ormond's orders, and the account of his being landed in England, before they put themselves in motion. The whole design, however, being quashed by the dispersion of the Spanish fleet; and general Wightman being sent with a body of regular troops from Inverness, fell upon these insurgents at the pass of Glenshiel,

* The discovery, however, was partly owing to accident: the prince de Cellamare intrusted his dispatches, for the greater security, to the abbé Portocarrero, and to a son of the marquis de Monteleone. They set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were overturned on the road. The postilion observed, that Portocarrero was extremely anxious for the safety of his portmanteau, and heard him say he would not have lost it for an hundred thousand pistoles. The man, at his return to Paris, informed the government of these circumstances. The Spaniards being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers,

with the portmanteau, in which the duke of Orleans found two letters that made him acquainted with the whole conspiracy. The prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom: the duke and duchess of Maine, the marquis de Pompadour, the cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons.

† Lamberti. Polit. State. Annals Geo. I.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons. Proceedings of the House of Lords.

which they had made themselves masters of, and entirely defeated them, the Spaniards surrendering themselves prisoners of war. Mareschall, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some other officers, retired to one of the western isles, and from thence found means to make their escape to the continent*.

During these transactions the regent of France declared war against Spain; and though marshal Villars, and some other officers of great rank, refused to command an army against a grandson of France; yet the duke of Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, had fixed Philip V. upon his throne, accepted the command of these troops, which were appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to such conditions as were thought necessary for establishing the general tranquility of Europe. It was the opinion of some shrewd politicians on this side the water, that this would be a war of parade only; but the event proved them to be greatly deceived; for the marquis de Cilly advanced, in the month of April, as far as Port Passage, where he found six men of war just finished, upon the stocks; all which he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling, which was a greater real loss to the Spaniards than what they had sustained by our beating their fleet in the Mediterranean. Soon after the duke of Berwick besieged Fontarabia; both which actions shewed that the French were in earnest†.

In the month of February this year, the Whig party brought into the house of lords "A bill for limiting the peerage;" by which it was proposed that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond the present number, which, upon failure of male-issue, might be supplied by new creations; and that, instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary, on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs-male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage.

Although this bill carried with it some restraint upon the prerogative of the crown; yet it was so far favoured by the court, that earl Stanhope delivered a message from the king during its dependence in the house, importing, that as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, his majesty had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work.

Long and violent were the debates on this bill: this measure having alarmed the generality of the Scottish peers, as well as the more distinguished of the English commoners, who found themselves precluded from the hopes of ever arriving at dignity and title, they did not fail to exclaim against it as a violent encroachment upon the constitution of the kingdom. In short, the clamour became so universal, that earl Stanhope observed in the house, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it advisable to delay the farther consideration of it till a more

proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued on the eighteenth day of April, when his majesty made a speech to both houses, in which he thanked them for the zeal and affection they had shewn to his person and government during the late projected invasion‡. About the same time the duke of Argyll was created duke of Greenwich; the earl of Manchester, duke of Manchester; the earl of Carnarvon, duke of Chandos; and lieutenant-general Carpenter, baron Carpenter. Soon after, viz. on May 11, his majesty having appointed lords-justices to govern in his absence, set out for his German dominions, where he concluded a peace with Sweden. Charles XII. was now no more: the princess Ulrica, his sister, had succeeded him on the throne, and entertained very different views from those of that ambitious monarch: she saw her kingdom exhausted of men and money; unable to support a war, she ardently wished for a good peace. The Swedish council having consented to make the cession of Bremen and Verden to the elector of Hanover, all the difficulties which had hitherto retarded a pacification were removed: the duke of Orleans acted the part of mediator on this occasion, being, as well as his Britannic majesty, desirous to restore the general tranquility of Europe. With this view king George, during his stay abroad, offered his mediation to bring about a peace between Sweden, the Danes, the Russians, and the Poles. The czar, however, rejected his mediation, and resolved to prosecute his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Scheuron, or Batles, of Sweden, where his troops landed, to the number of fifteen thousand men, and committed the most shocking cruelties. To protect our new friends the Swedes against these destroyers, sir John Norris was ordered into the Baltic with a large squadron, which joined the Swedish fleet in the beginning of September. This junction of the English and Swedes broke all the measures of czar Peter the Great, who, dreading lest his fleet should experience the same fate with that of Spain in the Straights of Messina, thought proper to recall his ships; and the winter season coming on, sir John Norris returned home, and arrived safe in England about the latter end of November.

While the Spaniards were amusing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions they were incapable of effecting against us, sir George Byng, our admiral in the Mediterranean, was distressing them effectually; for having early in the spring sailed from Port Mahon (where he had wintered) to Naples, he there adjusted every thing for the reduction of Sicily; in which he acted with such zeal, and met with so great success, that not only the imperial army was transported into that island, and so well supplied with all things necessary from our fleet (which at the same time attended and disturbed all the motions of the enemy's army) that it may truly be said the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral as to count de Mercy, the German general; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition would take up much more room

* Historical Register. Memoires Politiques.

† Proceedings of the House of Lords. Tindal.

‡ Memoires de Philippe, Duc d'Orleans. Voltaire.

than I have to spare. The reader may inform himself fully as to these circumstances, by perusing Corbet's Account of the Expedition to Sicily, which is a very ample history of that memorable war which embarrassed us so much while it continued, and which has been buried in oblivion ever since. There is, however, one circumstance which deserves relation. The Imperialists having taken Messina, on the eighth of August, 1719, the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the tower of Faro; by which, having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise Road; and this being observed by the commander of the Spanish men of war in the mole (the remains of the fleet which had escaped from the sea-fight) he began to despair of getting out to sea, and therefore unbent his sails and unrigged the ships, and resolved to wait their fate, which he knew must be the same with that of the citadel. This gave great satisfaction to our admiral, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. But, while all things were in this prosperous condition, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of these ships, when taken. The admiral, in order to prevent all animosity, proposed to count de Mercy to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the basin. The count at first seemed unwilling to assent to this proposal; but the admiral insisted on it with so much firmness, that a battery was raised, which in a little time sunk and destroyed the ships, and thereby completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain. In a word, our admiral continued to exert his activity and talents in the Mediterranean, until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the emperor and the duke of Savoy; in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master*. On his return to England, the latter end of this year, he was, in reward for his services, appointed treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain. In a little time he was ennobled by the title of viscount Torrington, declared a privy-counsellor, and afterwards made a knight of the Bath, on the revival of that order.

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the same time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive, but execute an invasion, the ministry proposed the conquest of Corunna, and of Peru in South America. Four thousand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first day of September, under the convoy of five ships of war, commanded by captain Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnson, then cruising off Fontarabia. When the squadron arrived on the coast of Galicia, it kept cruising three days, in the station appointed for Johnson to join them; but he not appearing, and the danger of lying on the coast at this season of the year with transports, rendering it necessary to take some measures of acting without him; and the wind

offering fair for Vigo, his lordship took the resolution to attempt the reduction of that place, in which he succeeded with very little difficulty, the citadel capitulating on honourable terms the fifth day after he appeared before it. This conquest is said to have cost us but two officers, and there or four men killed. There were in the town about sixty pieces of large iron cannon which the enemy abandoned, and these they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars, besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting to eight thousand musquets; all of which stores and brass ordnance were lodged there from on board the ships that were to have visited Great Britain in the succeeding spring; and the very troops that gave up Vigo were also part of those which were to have been employed in that expedition: seven ships were seized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one to carry twenty-four guns; the rest were trading vessels †.

Vigo being thus taken, lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thousand men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo, which he accordingly did; and having landed his men, marched to Ponta Vedra, which place surrendered without opposition. Here was also found a great quantity of brass artillery, small arms, and military stores, which had been intended for the invasion of England. Major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the twenty-third of October. The next day lord Cobham, finding it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewise the cannon, &c. which being done by the twenty-seventh, he sailed that day for England, where he arrived about the middle of November, having lost in the whole expedition about three hundred men only, killed, dead, or deserted. The expedition to the West Indies was long delayed by contrary winds, and at last prevented by the conclusion of the peace.

Spain was now obliged to drain the cup of humiliation to the very dregs, her enemies being not only too powerful for her to subdue, but even to think of resisting. The French had made themselves masters of Fontarabia and Roses, two of the principal keys to the kingdom, and threatened to carry their victorious arms into its very bowels, while Philip V. had no longer a fleet to send to sea, and saw his armies destroyed, the trade of the nation ruined, and his subjects desponding and ripe for revolt. In this situation, he had recourse to peace, as the only means to secure him the possession of a throne which shook under him; and sent orders to the duke de Borette Landi, his minister at the Hague, to accede to the quadruple alliance. To complete his humiliation, he was obliged to dismiss cardinal Alberoni from his service, and even banish him the kingdom. The king of England and the regent of France, to whom that minister had rendered himself personally disagreeable, refusing to hearken to any pro-

* See Exped. to Sicily. Hist. Reg. Polit. State, &c.

† See London Gazette, dated Whitehall, 12 Oct. 1719.

posals while he continued in office. The war with Spain, though drawn out to a greater length than is here specified, it was thought proper to comprehend it in one general view, that the reader might be able to form an idea of the whole, and might not have his attention distracted by foreign affairs, while pursuing the course of the English history *.

On the fourteenth day of November the king returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of parliament with a speech; in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhorted the commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation. The addresses of both houses were as warm as he could desire: they in particular thanked him for having interposed in favour of the protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the popish clergy, and presented to him a memorial containing the detail of their grievances.

The peerage-bill was now revived by the duke of Buckingham; and, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition made by several members, passed through the upper house with great dispatch; but when it was sent down to the commons, Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it with great vehemence; it was also opposed by a considerable number of Whig members, and, after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was a bill for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. This bill took its rise from an appeal to the house of peers in England, by Maurice Annesley, against a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, which the British house of peers received, and ordered the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of certain lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom and of the parliament thereof: they likewise ordered them to be taken into custody of the usher of the black-rod. They transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes; and the duke of Leeds, in the upper house, urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish peers. Notwithstanding these arguments the house of lords in England resolved, "That the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with great courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain. They addressed the king to confer on them some marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm or reserve any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within

that kingdom. The bill was carried by a considerable majority, and received the royal assent†.

The king had, in his speech, earnestly recommended the consideration of all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation: accordingly a scheme was laid to reduce all the public funds into one, for discharging that debt. The scheme was projected by sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness, requisite for such an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aislaby, chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as to one of the secretaries of state, and the project was adopted.

In the month of January, 1720, the South Sea Company, of which Blount was one of the directors, proposed to the house of commons to give three millions five hundred thousand pounds, for the privilege of taking in all the irredeemable debts (amounting in all to very near eight hundred thousand pounds per annum), and also the redeemable debts then at the Exchequer and Bank (mostly bearing five per cent.) either by purchase from the proprietors, or by subscriptions into their capital stock. This project exciting the jealousy of the Bank of England, the directors of the latter company, on the very same day, offered above five millions for the same privilege. This rivalry proved, in effect, the bane of the whole plan; for a second proposal of the South Sea Company amounted to no less than seven millions and an half, in case those debts should be subscribed, and in that proportion for any part of them; and also farther proposed to pay to the use of the public one year's purchase of all such of the long irredeemable annuities as should not be brought into their capital. The Bank made a second proposal still more advantageous to the public in sundry respects, and therein obliged themselves to give seventeen hundred pounds Bank stock for every hundred pounds irredeemable long annuities. But the South Sea Company being resolved, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, and flushed with their late success in taking in the greatest part of the annuities of the lottery of 1710, carried their aims so far as to offer to incorporate all the funds of the Bank, East India Company, and the Exchequer, into their own capital: but although that was not relished, the very rumour of such a scheme raised their stock to one hundred and twenty-six per cent. Let any person of common understanding consider one moment how it could be possible for either company to effect what they now proposed (so as not to be losers themselves), without egregiously deceiving and injuring the proprietors of these debts; was it not therefore most unaccountable in a British parliament and ministry, to give encouragement to a proposal of so obviously pernicious a nature? Such, however, was the case; and while this affair of the South Sea Company was debating in the house of commons, the stock of that company rose gradually from one hundred and twenty-six, to above three hundred, and advanced to near four hundred; but,

* The celebrated Joseph Addison, esq. some time secretary of state, well known for his fine genius, displayed in the Spectators and other elegant writings, died in June this year, 1719; and not long before, that eminent physician sir Samuel Garth departed this life, famous, as well for his knowledge in the art of poetry, as for his skill in his profession: he was physician general to the army.

† In November, John Matthews, a printer in Little Britain, was executed at Tyburn, for printing and publishing a treasonable libel, intitled *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, in which the pretender's right to the crown of these realms was asserted, in breach of the statute of the fourth of queen Anne, which makes the asserting any such thing in writing or printing, high treason.

† Proceedings of the House of Lords.

after some fluctuation settled at about three hundred and thirty, in which state, with little variation, it continued to the end of March. This great rise was chiefly owing to the rejection of a motion for a clause in the South Sea bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company the proprietors of the annuities should have, who would voluntarily subscribe; or how many years purchase in money they should receive upon subscribing; at the choice of the proprietors. In conclusion, the South Sea company's last proposal was accepted in parliament, and a bill brought in, on the second of April, 1720, "for enabling that company to increase their present capital stock by redeeming such public debts and incumbrances as are therein mentioned; and for raising money to be applied for lessening several of the public debts and incumbrances; and for calling in the present Exchequer-bills remaining uncanceled, and for making forth new bills in lieu thereof, to be circulated and exchanged upon demand, at or near the Exchequer."

This bill passed the commons by a very great majority (one hundred and seventy-two against fifty-five), and was sent to the lords for their concurrence, where it occasioned a long debate, being vigorously opposed by the lord North and Grey, the earl Cowper, the dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They urged what afterwards proved but too true: "That it was calculated for the enriching of a few, and the ruin of many: that it countenanced the pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, thereby diverting the proper genius of the people from trade and industry: that the artificial raising of South Sea stock so high as its then price, while the bill was depending [viz. 319] per cent.] was a dangerous bait for decoying the unwary to their ruin, by a false proposal of gain, to part with what they had gotten with labour and industry, for imaginary wealth: that it would give foreigners an opportunity of perhaps trebling the great sums they already possessed in our funds, and it would thereby drain the kingdom of its treasure, when they should realize their stock: that a national bargain should wisely be made, with more advantage to the public than to individuals; but this scheme was quite the reverse, since, if the South Sea stock should be kept up at three hundred per cent. its old members would gain above thirty millions, whilst the public was only to avail themselves of but a quarter of that sum: that although neither of the proposals of the two rival companies were fit to be received, yet that of the Bank was fairer, as they declared plainly what they would give the long annuitants in their stock: but if, nevertheless, the South Sea company's proposals should be accepted, the rise of their stock should be limited, for preventing the pernicious effects of stock-jobbing in so high a degree as was like to happen."

To all which, and much more said against the scheme, the earl of Sunderland, and others of the ministerial advocates, answered, by declaring, that those who encouraged the scheme of the South Sea company, had nothing in view but the easing the nation of part of the heavy load of debts under which it laboured; that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but that when

the scheme was accepted, neither the ministry nor the company could foresee this great rise of their stock; that if it had continued as it was when the bargain was struck, viz. at one hundred and thirty-seven per cent. the public would have been the greater gainer; and lastly, that it was but reasonable that the South Sea company should enjoy the profits procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. After these and some other speeches, the bill passed without amendment, and on the seventh of April received the royal assent*.

By this act the company was declared willing, and was accordingly authorized, to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nations, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty-six thousand four hundred and eighty-two pounds, seven shillings, and one penny farthing, at such times as they should find convenient, before the first day of March of the ensuing year, without any compulsion of any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and respective proprietors.

For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present and to be increased annuity should be continued at the rate of five per cent. till midsummer, 1727; and from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and to be redeemable by parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages, expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the Exchequer as were therein specified, for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, 1716.

The sum they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted, on the execution of the act, to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members, to open books of subscription, to grant annuities redeemable by the company, to borrow money upon any contract or bill, under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities.

It was enacted, that out of the first moneys arising from the sums paid by the company into the Exchequer, such public debts carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth of November, 1716, founded upon any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, 1722, should be discharged in the first place; and that all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry interest at five per cent. It was likewise provided, that after Midsummer, 1722, the company should not be paid off in any sum less than one million at a time†.

Such was the nature of the South Sea scheme; which, however promising in appearance, was afterwards productive of so much mischief to the nation.

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Chandler's Debates. Polit. State. Hist. Reg. Anderson.

† See Stat. 6 George I. cap. iii.

The year 1720 is remarkable beyond any other which can be pitch upon by historians, for extraordinary and romantic projects, proposals and undertakings, both private and national, and which therefore might be recorded as a perpetual memento to all legislators and ministers of our own nation, never to leave it in the power of any set of designing men hereafter to put in practice so shameful and baneful an imposition on the credulity of the people, thereby diverted from their lawful industry.

Among the several projects set on foot at this period, the two principal were for establishing the two companies of the Royal Assurance, headed by lord Onslow, and of the London Assurance, by the lord Chetwynd; who hearing that the civil list was considerably in arrear, they offered to the ministry sixty thousand pounds, towards the discharge of those incumbrances, provided they might obtain the king's charter, with a parliamentary sanction, for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was accepted, and the king imparted it to the house of commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately framed, and passed, enabling his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies; which soon obtained the royal assent*.

On the eleventh of June the king put an end to the session with a speech, in which he signified his intention of visiting his German dominions; for which he actually set out some few days after the prorogation of the parliament. But before his departure from Great Britain he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, chiefly through the mediation of the duke of Devonshire and Mr. Robert Walpole, who, with lord Cowper, lord Townshend, Mr. Merhuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favour, and re-associated with the ministry. The earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were advanced to the title of dukes, the lord viscount Castleton was made an earl, Hugh Boscawen was created lord viscount Falmouth, John Wallop viscount Ly-mington, Matthew Ducie Morton, and John Barrington of Becket, were both of them promoted to the dignity of barons.

While the king was employed abroad in reconciling the respective interests of the different states of Europe, the South-sea scheme produced a kind of national phrenzy in England, and nothing was now minded but the business of stock-jobbing. Exchange-alley, where these affairs were transacted, was in a continual hurry, where crowds of all ranks and qualities daily resorted, on a report being propagated that Gibraltar and Mahon would be given up to the Spaniards for some places in Peru, by which means the English trade to the South-sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused with great industry, inspired the people with such extravagant hopes, that in five days after passing the bill, no less than two millions of original stock was subscribed. It would be altogether inconsistent with the design of a general history, and afford very little entertainment to the reader, should I enter into a detail of the pro-

ceedings, or explain the various or unwarrantable acts that were practised to enhance the value of the stocks: suffice it to say, that by the promise of larger dividends, and other illegal acts, Blount, the first projector (who, with very moderate talents, led all the other directors) raised the stock of the company to above 1000 l. per cent. The desperate, who ventured first, were generally gainers, while the wiser and more sedate, who came in later, were many of them great sufferers; and so the Wrongheads (as was then the term) had the better of the Longheads.

“ This, of all others (to use the words of a modern author †) is the most unfavourable æra for an historian: a reader of any sentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or interested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit of no warmth, no colouring, nor embellishment; a detail of which serves only to exhibit an inanimated picture of tasteless vice, and mean degeneracy.” This was the æra of interested projects, inspired by a venal spirit of adventure, and deservedly called *Bubbles*, which grew up from the corruption of the great-bubble, or South-sea stock. They were near one hundred in number, and it was reckoned that almost a million and a half was won or lost in them. In short, the nation was so transported with a spirit of gaming, that people became a prey to the most impudent impostors; and this infatuation continued to prevail till the eighth of September, when the stock began to fall faster than it had rose, having nothing but an imaginary foundation to support it, till by Michaelmas day it sunk to 150. Some of the leading men of the nation, who were deeply concerned in these fraudulent practices, seeing the price of stocks sinking daily, employed all their interest with the Bank to support the South-sea; that corporation agreed, or, more properly speaking, it was reported that it had agreed, to take a quantity of the South-sea stock at 400 per cent. in payment for three millions seven hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, redeemable debt, which the company was to repay on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. This was afterwards called the Bank-contract, the very surmise of which had run up South-sea stock prodigiously, which however fell soon after as fast, when it was found that the said supposed contract was no reality, but a mere temporary and very unjust expedient, to quiet the clamours of the people; for the directors of the Bank finding their property in danger of being swept away by the portentous tide of ruin, which now bore down every thing before it, renounced their agreement, which they were not obliged to perform; and the South-sea company being deprived of this support, soon sunk under its own weight; in consequence of which, many ancient and good families were impoverished or ruined, whilst a few upstarts got thousands. Public credit received a terrible shock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment, and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Suc-

* This was the original rise of the present two very useful and flourishing insurance corporations, who are also empowered to lend money on bottomree; and each of them afterwards obtained charters for insuring from loss by fire: yet neither of them are, by the before-mentioned statute, nor by their consequent charters, exclusive in any respect relating to private

persons, who may and still do enjoy and practise insurance on ships and merchandize as formerly; but with respect to all other corporations they are both exclusive, excepting however the East India and South Sea companies, both which continue to advance money (says the statute) by bottomree on their own ships.

† Smollett.

cessive expressés were dispatched to Hanover, representing to the king the state of affairs, and earnestly pressing him to hasten his return. He accordingly shortened his stay in Germany, and arrived in England in the month of November.

The parliament being re-assembled on the eighth day of December, his majesty made a speech to both houses, acquainting them, that during his absence from England, the face of our affairs abroad had become more favourable: the peace in the South, he said, wanted only the form of a congress, and that in the North was brought much nearer to a conclusion: he promised to lay before them, at a proper time, the several treaties he had entered into, by which they would perceive the success of his endeavours to establish a peace throughout Europe, and to secure and support the protestant religion: he expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home; and he earnestly desired the house of commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting foundation.

The lower house was too much interested in the calamity to postpone the consideration of that subject: the members seemed to lay aside all party-distinction, and vie with each other in promoting an enquiry: they ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyll moved that a select committee should be appointed to examine the particulars of these transactions. In the course of the debate, Mr. Walpole told the house he had formed a scheme for restoring public credit, which was, to ingraft nine millions of the South-sea stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the East India company, on certain conditions. This scheme was approved of, and a bill for that purpose was prepared, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants, from quitting the kingdom for the space of one year; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated; a committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot to examine all books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-sea act.

The lords shewed an equal earnestness with the commons to prosecute the enquiry into this iniquitous transaction, though divers members in both houses were deeply involved in the guilt of it. The sub-governor, the deputy-governor, the directors and officers of the South-sea company, were examined at the bar of the house, when all of them were declared criminal, and severely reprimanded for their illegal conduct. Soon after, a bill was brought in to disable them from enjoying any office in that company, or in the East India company, or in the Bank of England. Three brokers were examined, and made great discoveries. Mr. Knight, the treasurer of the South-sea company, who had been intrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued

for apprehending him, and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping as he had done. About the same time, at the desire of the committee of secrecy, the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner, were ordered to be secured, and their bodies (those of the two last) taken into custody, together with those of sir George Caswell, sir John Blount, sir John Lambert, sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigsby; sir Theodore Janssen, sir Robert Chaplain, Mr. Sawbridge, and Mr. Eyles, members of the lower house, were expelled from their seats, and imprisoned. Mr. Aislaby resigned his employments of chancellor of the Exchequer and lord of the Treasury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-sea company from any places they might enjoy under the government *.

In the beginning of February, 1721, the lords proposed to have examined sir John Blount, the principal projector of the South-sea scheme, in hopes that his evidence would give them great lights into that mysterious transaction; but Blount effectually disappointed them, by refusing even to be sworn to such interrogatories as should be put to him, alleging, that he had already been examined before the secret committee of the house of commons, and that concerning such a variety of affairs, that unless he had a copy of his examination he could not remember every particular; and as no man was obliged to accuse himself, he would not run the risk of being guilty of prevarication. The lords were provoked at this frivolous excuse; but having had intimation that Blount's design was to engage the two houses in a quarrel, they thought proper to sacrifice their resentment to the preservation of that unity which was necessary between the two houses during the settling of this great and national concern. In the debate how they should proceed in this unprecedented case, the duke of Wharton made such severe reflections on the ministry, that earl Stanhope, considering himself personally levelled at, replied with such vehemence as produced a violent head-ach, and obliged him to quit the house and retire home. He was bled and cupped that night, and the next morning was pretty well recovered; but in the evening of the same day he fell into a drowsiness, which was succeeded by a suffocation, in which he instantly expired. The king deeply regretted the loss of a subject, who at all times, and on all occasions, had distinguished himself by his zeal for the house of Hanover. Lord viscount Townshend was appointed to fill his place of secretary. Two days after the death of earl Stanhope, Mr. James Craggs, the other secretary, was seized with the small-pox, of which he died the next day, viz. the sixteenth of February. Thus in the space of eleven days England lost two secretaries of state. The lord Carteret succeeded Mr. Craggs in his place. Knight, the cashier of the South-sea company, being seized at Tirlmont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp; but the states of Antwerp insisting upon their privilege, called the Joyful Entry, granted by the emperor Charles V. and solemnly recognized by all his successors, that no person apprehend-

ed for any crime in Brabant should be tried in any other country, refused to deliver him up to the messenger sent over from hence by the government: and while expresses were passing to and fro on this occasion, Mr. Knight found means to make his escape from his prison in Antwerp. Several members of the house of commons were very loud in their invectives against the pusillanimity and little influence of our ministry abroad, who were to be satisfied with such a frivolous excuse, as they called it, and had not peremptorily insisted on Knight's being immediately sent over. On this occasion we have a remarkable instance how party animosity and national pride will sometimes blind the most able and discerning. How else are we to account for the proceedings of the house of commons on this occasion? Is it not surprising that a nation, which had spilt seas of blood in defence of its own liberties, should yet represent the preservation of liberty in another state as a frivolous pretence, and censure a ministry for not insisting upon the violation of it? The English had foolishly suffered themselves to be despised and ruined, with their eyes open; and therefore, to save them from the effects of their folly, or rather to give them an opportunity of punishing the person who had taken advantage of that folly, the Brabantines must be deprived of their liberties! The truth however seems to be, that it was never the design or wish of many of the leading men at home, that Knight should ever be compelled to revisit his native country; they were sensible he knew enough to make them tremble.

A sufficient discovery was, however, made by the secret committee, to convince the world that there had been transacted a scene of the deepest villainy and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation (these are the very words of one of that committee in the house of commons.) In some of the books false and fictitious entries had been made; in others, entries with blanks; and some entries with razures and alterations; in others,

leaves had been torn out. It appeared also that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill. Great part of this was distributed among the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs, senior, the duchess of Kendal, the countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislaby, chancellor of the Exchequer. In consequence of the commons report, the house came to several severe, though just resolutions, against the directors and officers of the South-sea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers, out of the estates of the delinquents. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the Treasury, who was likewise charged with fraudulent practices on this occasion, had the good fortune to obtain a majority in their favour, and so were acquitted, though Sunderland thought proper to resign his place of first commissioner of the Treasury, in which Mr. Robert Walpole was reinstated; but Mr. Aislaby did not escape so easily: the evidences against him were so strong, that he was expelled the house, committed to the Tower, and almost the whole of his estate sequestered. Sir John Blount, the projector of this destructive scheme, had fled the land about the same time with Knight. Mr. Craggs, senior, died before his affair came before the house: however, they resolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December, 1719, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-sea company. The sum of two millions fourteen thousand pounds was confiscated out of the joint estates of the several directors, towards making good the damage sustained by the company, after a certain allowance had been deducted from each, according to their conduct and circumstances*. This was

* The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased to see the following list of the estates amassed by these sons of rapine, and of the allowances made them by the justice of the nation.

	Inventories.			Allowances.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Sir John Fellows, sub-governor	243,096	0	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Charles Joye, deputy-governor	40,105	2	0	5,000	0	0
Mr. Astell	27,750	19	8 ³ / ₄	5,000	0	0
Sir John Blount	183,349	10	8 ³ / ₄	1,000	0	0
Sir Lambert Blackwell	83,529	17	11	10,000	0	0
Sir Roger Chaplain	45,875	14	5	10,000	0	0
Sir William Chapman	39,161	6	8 ¹ / ₂	10,000	0	0
Mr. Chester	140,372	15	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Child	52,437	19	1	10,000	0	0
Mr. Delaport	17,151	4	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Eyles	34,329	16	7	20,000	0	0
Mr. Edmondson	5,365	0	0	3,000	0	0
Mr. Gibbon	106,543	5	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Gore	38,936	15	5	20,000	0	0
Mr. Hawes	40,031	0	2 ¹ / ₄	31	0	2
Sir William Hammond	22,707	4	2	10,000	0	0
Mr. Horsey	19,962	5	3	10,000	0	0
Mr. Holditch	39,527	10	4	5,000	0	0
Sir Theodore Janßen	243,244	5	11	50,000	0	0
Sir Jacob Jacobson	11,481	4	0	11,000	0	0
Mr. Ingram	16,795	0	0	12,000	0	0
Sir John Lambert	72,508	1	5	5,000	0	0
Sir Harcourt Masters	11,814	12	3 ¹ / ₂	5,000	0	0
Mr. Morley	1,869	10	3	10,000	0	0
Mr. Page	34,817	12	3	1,800	0	0
Mr. Raymond	64,373	6	3	30,000	0	0
Mr. Read	117,297	16	0	10,000	0	0
Mr. Reynolds	18,368	13	2	14,000	0	0
Mr. Sawbridge	77,254	1	8	5,000	0	0
Mr. Tillard	19,175	14	4	15,000	0	0
Mr. Turner	881	17	6	800	0	0
Mr. Surman, deputy-cashier	121,321	10	0	5,000	0	0
Mr. Grigsby	31,687	6	0	2,000	0	0

done by an act of parliament, which received the royal assent on July 29, 1721; and on August 10 his majesty passed the bill for restoring public credit.

By these wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public, and the calamities of the people, which had been carried to the most outrageous height, were in great measure appeased, and tranquility restored to the nation. Mr. Robert Walpole had shewed himself particularly assiduous in settling this distracted affair, and restoring the credit of the nation, which endeared him greatly to his sovereign, who now took him into full favour. Besides being appointed chancellor of the Exchequer and first lord of the Treasury, he was about two years after honoured with the order of the Bath, then of the Garter, and continued prime minister to the end of this reign, and fifteen years after.

The supplies in this session were voted very late; nor even at length were they granted with the usual cheerfulness and alacrity: in order therefore to quicken their proceedings, his majesty thought proper, on the sixteenth day of June, to acquaint the commons that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to Sweden, and hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. This intimation produced a violent debate: the leaders of the opposition desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds, was to be paid to Sweden, exclusive of the expence of maintaining a strong fleet in the Baltic? They alleged, that most of our treaties made with that crown had been inconsistent and contradictory: they acknowledged that hemp was a very necessary commodity; but then they thought it might be had from our American colonies, by giving a proper encouragement to the culture of it there, at a cheaper rate than we were now furnished with it either from Sweden or Norway. These and several other objections were answered by the court-party, who having the majority in the house, they carried the subsidy in the affirmative.

In less than three weeks after this demand, the patience of the commons was put to a second trial, by another message from the king, informing them that the debts of the civil list amounted to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and that his majesty hoped they would empower him to raise this sum upon the revenue, as he proposed it should be replaced on the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, and the pensions and other payments from the crown. The Tory members were greatly alarmed

at this second message, which they considered as a very new and unusual method of acting, not only in regard to the manner in which it was done, but also the time, when, by reason of the advanced season of the year, so many members had retired into the country, on the conviction that no farther business of consequence remained to be transacted. Mr. Shippen, who on every occasion distinguished himself by his opposition to the measures of the court (sometimes with justice and reason on his side, but not unfrequently from the mere motives of rancour and animosity) remarked, that the ways and means of raising supplies had always been left to the direction of the commons; but that in this juncture, not only the sum, but the manner of raising it, was prescribed to them, which was reducing the house to the level of a parliament of Paris. All his arguments, or those of his party, however, though supported with all the power of rhetoric and popularity, were rendered of no effect by the decisive sentence of a MAJORITY: the king's request was granted, and at the same time an act passed for a general pardon; and on the tenth day of August his majesty closed the session with a speech, in which he declared, that he entertained a most sincere concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, in the affair of the South-sea scheme: that he had readily given his assent to such bills as they had presented to him for punishing the authors of the late misfortunes, and for obtaining restitution and satisfaction to those who had been injured by them in such a notorious manner: that they could not fail to have observed the discontents occasioned by this unhappy event, which had been industriously fomented and inflamed by wicked and seditious libels; but he doubted not but by their prudent conduct in their several counties, all the enemies of this government, who flattered themselves with the prospect of blowing up the present complaints into popular disaffection, would be finally disappointed in their designs and expectations.

These professions were judged necessary at this time, to obviate the ill effects that had been produced in the minds of the people, by the insinuations of the discontented party, who had industriously whispered about that the king himself was not free from connections with the projectors of the South-sea scheme: that it was at his desire the demand of Knight's being surrendered had been rejected; and that he secretly favoured the directors and their accomplices. From the strictest review of the character of his majesty, however, it is but justice to acknowledge, that if ever he seemed

Some alterations were afterwards made in these allowances; Mr. Astell had 10,000 l. instead of 5,000 l. Sir John Blount, 5,000 l. instead of 1,000 l. Sir Lambert Blackwell, 15,000 l. instead of 10,000 l. and Mr. Hawes, 5,000 l. instead of 31 l. 2 d. A motion was made to reduce Sir Theodore Janssen's allowance to 30,000 l. but it was rejected. Tindal.

† The whole capital stock at the end of the year 1720, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds: the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their

own right: it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and upon remitting five millions of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided amongst all the proprietors: this dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed, of which the par discharged all the debtors upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions, and the parliament in the sequel revived that sum, which had been annihilated.

to deviate from the principles of government, it ought to be attributed to the suggestions of a venal and corrupt ministry.

I must not forget to mention, that in the course of this session a remarkable bill was debated in the house of lords, for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and prophaneness. There was certainly too much occasion for such a bill, the rapid circulation of money, the sudden elevation of persons of the meanest rank, and the almost total dissolution of property, occasioned by the infamous South-sea scheme having introduced a surprising profligacy of life and manners: but as the bill chiefly tended to set up a sort of inquisition on mens consciences, with regard to some speculative points wherein good and sober Christians differ, it met with such a rational opposition that it came to nothing.

Besides the lords Townshend and Carteret being appointed secretaries of state, the earl of Ilay was constituted keeper of the privy-seal of Scotland, and the earl of Bute admitted a lord of the bed-chamber. On the fifteenth of April this year, the princess of Wales was happily delivered of a prince named William Augustus, the late illustrious duke of Cumberland. I shall observe here once for all, that his royal highness the prince of Wales had afterwards in this reign two daughters, the princess Mary and Louisa. In the course of this year pope Clement XI. died. A dreadful plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England from any part of France, between the Bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health.

In June the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. At the same time a defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain. Peace was also restored to the North by a treaty concluded between Russia and Sweden. To conclude, king George made a treaty this year with the Moors of Africa, which gave great umbrage to the Spaniards*.

The French having for a considerable time formed a project to join their colony of Canada to that of Louisiana, and also to obtain a port in the Ocean, they for those ends began very early after the treaty of Utrecht to extend their limits on that continent; and although the fifteenth article of that treaty had absolutely excluded them from molesting or encroaching on the five Indian nations of the Iroquois, as being particularly subject to the British crown; yet in this year they seized on the most important pass of Niagara, and fortified the same, whereby they were the better able to command the lakes, and to form the plan of extending their power to the river Ohio, and to carry their chain of forts and settlements from thence to the Mississippi. This fort they held till the year 1759. In the mean time, they had, by a thousand arts, debauched these five Indian nations so far, that they were brought to murder great numbers of our people who had settled amongst them.

Nothing more material passed either at home or abroad, in respect to English affairs, this summer. The parliament being assembled again on the nineteenth day of October, continued sitting till the

month of March, when the supplies being granted, and the business of the session dispatched as the court was pleased to dictate, it was dissolved, and another convoked by proclamation. The most remarkable transaction of this session was, the resolving, on account of the great abuse that had been made of the liberty of protesting, that such lords as might enter protestations, with reasons, should do it before two o'clock the next day, and sign them before the house rises. It was the earl of Sunderland who made the motion that led to this resolution. Thus ended the first septennial parliament, and which had, during its existence, set a strong example of implicit submission to the will of a court. In the election of members for the ensuing parliament, the Whigs, by their superior interest, gained an incontestible majority, and consequently the same dispositions prevailed in this assembly as in the preceding one.

On the nineteenth of April, 1722, died Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, groom of the stole to his majesty, and who had been secretary of state, president of the council, and held other high offices under the government. He quitted life under the load of popular odium, from his supposed connexions with the directors of the South Sea company. He was a minister of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and headstrong. His death was soon followed by that of his father-in-law the great duke of Marlborough, whose faculties had been for some time greatly impaired: he was interred in Westminster abbey, with such profusion of funeral pomp as evinced the pride and ostentation, much more than the taste and concern of those who directed his obsequies. He was succeeded as master of the ordnance and colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards by the earl of Cadogan.

In the beginning of May the nation was alarmed with the report of a new conspiracy formed against his majesty's person and government. It was said that the king had received the first information of it from the duke of Orleans, regent of France. These general reports were adjudged sufficient to spread the certainty of a plot universally. The troops were assembled, augmented, and encamped in several parts of the kingdom: a fleet was fitted out with the greatest diligence: lieutenant-general M^cCartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops from that kingdom; some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland; the States of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guaranty troops in readiness to be embarked; and colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission. The lord Townshend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the king's command, signifying his majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favour of a popish pretender; but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were, or would be supported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen: the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The king had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled the regency, in

which the prince of Wales was not included: but now this intended journey was laid aside; the court was removed to Kensington, and the prince retired to Richmond. In a word, such precautions were taken, as if the utmost danger threatened the state, and the pretender, at the head of an innumerable armed force, had already set foot in the kingdom.

In order to stamp the appearance of reality upon this imaginary conspiracy, and to justify the measures that had occasioned such a consternation, it was necessary to produce a number of persons as agents or promoters of it. The two first persons taken up on suspicion were Mr. Christopher Layer, a young counsellor of the Temple, and Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester. This prelate could not boast of an illustrious descent; but this defect, if it may be allowed so to call it, was amply compensated by the eminent virtues and shining qualities which adorned his character. To his merit alone he was indebted for the high rank he held in the church: he was a consummate divine, an eloquent preacher, and endowed with the most accomplished and refined talents; he was an admirer and patron of polite literature, which he ever encouraged in those who cultivated it. To these qualifications he joined an inflexible honesty, which no circumstances of time or interest could alter, by which he had justly acquired the love and esteem of the most respectable personages in the kingdom: but he was unfortunate enough to have incurred the hatred of the ministry by being at the head of the rigid Tories. His sentiments with regard to monarchical power and the high-church had first displayed themselves under the preceding reign; he was one of the most zealous advocates for Dr. Sacheverel, in that grand affair which proved the downfall of Marlborough and the Whig faction. In a word, his high rank, and the great influence he had over the Tory party, seems to have been his principal crime; and by all that can be gathered from the accounts of this period, it was in order effectually to remove him out of their way that the Whigs invented a plot, which made so great a noise at the time of its pretended discovery, and which, by the event, seems to have existed only in the minds of those who claimed the merit of its detection; for the persons said to be concerned in it, must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy, since they were charged with having made application to the regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the king of Great Britain. It is by no means improbable, that the party who first set this pretended plot on foot, might have provided such letters for the inspection of his majesty, as might induce him to give credit to the report, and have occasioned his expressing himself in the manner he did, as well in his letter to the city, as afterwards to the two houses on the assembling of the new parliament.

However this might be, the bishop of Rochester was, immediately on his being apprehended, committed to the Tower for high-treason, and was soon after followed by the earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, Mr. Cochran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland: Mr. George Kelly an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonshire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe, an Irish priest, and several other persons, were also taken into custody; and Mr. Shippen, the perpetual

arraigner of ministerial measures, had his house searched. Loud and universal were the complaints of all moderate persons, and those who had a true regard for our happy constitution, at seeing measures pursued that favoured rather of despotic power, than the regular proceedings of justice in a free country. These clamours, however, were industriously kept from the ears of the sovereign, who, doubtless, conscious of the rectitude of his own conduct, passed the summer of this year in pleasurable progresses through the kingdom, in which he was attended by the prince of Wales.

The new parliament assembling on the ninth of October, his majesty laid before them the nature of the conspiracy: he said, the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for succours from foreign powers, but were disappointed in their expectations: nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government: he said, they had provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion: he expatiated upon the mildness and integrity of his government, and inveighed against the ingratitude, the implacability, and madness, of the disaffected; concluding with an assurance, that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions.

When we repeat that the ministry had procured an undoubted majority in the house of commons, it may be supposed that the address on this occasion was such as those in power thought proper to dictate; and, as a finishing stroke, a bill was brought into the house for suspending the Habeas Corpus act for one whole year. Complaisant as the parliament were, they were by no means unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time, which was, in effect, arming the ministers with an unlimited power, during that period, over the liberties of the people. The house of commons in particular shewed themselves so much averse to such an unconstitutional measure, that Mr. Walpole, now the fast friend of the ministry, had recourse to state tricks to alarm their apprehensions; and a dreadful story was coined of a design to seize the Bank and the Exchequer, and then proclaim the pretender in the Royal Exchange. Absurd as such a notion must appear to every man of common understanding, it had its effect: the bill was passed, and, we may readily suppose, did not wait long for the royal assent. New attachments, in consequence of fresh informations, were now issued forth against several persons of rank and distinction: the duke of Norfolk was brought from Bath under custody of a king's messenger, examined before the council, and committed to the Tower on suspicion of high-treason.

As a further proof of the plot, the original and printed copy of a declaration signed by the pretender, was sent to the house of peers; a production that seemed rather the effect of a distempered brain, than the mature or serious proposal of a person who had been taught to look upon himself as an injured prince, and would have been most properly

properly replied to by silent contempt. The lords, however, thought proper to give it a serious perusal, and to pass a solemn resolve, importing, that it was a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel, and ordered it to be burnt at the Royal Exchange. The commons too concurred in this resolve, and joined the lords in an address, signifying their astonishment and indignation at the insolence of the pretender, and assuring his majesty that they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. Let us, however, peruse this doughty performance, which was judged worthy the animadversions of the most respectable assembly in the universe. It was dated at Lucca, on the 20th day of September 1722, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper the pretender, who thought proper to assume the title of James Rex, affected to talk of the late violations of the freedom of elections; conspiracies invented to give a colour to new oppressions; infamous informers; and the state of proscription, in which he supposed every honest man to be. He then very gravely proposed, that, if king George would resign to him the throne of Great Britain, he would, in return, bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it. He likewise promised to leave to king George his succession in the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place.

On the twenty-first of November, Laver, one of those who had been confined as accomplices in the plot now under consideration, was brought to his trial at the bar of the King's Bench. His indictment set forth, "That he had been employed in forming a most traitorous and horrid plot and conspiracy against his majesty and his government, by enlisting men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion; and also that he had held correspondence with the pretender, by carrying letters and treasonable papers to him beyond seas, and from him to the disaffected in this kingdom." After a trial of seventeen hours he was brought in guilty by the jury, and received sentence of death. He was reprieved from time to time, in hopes of his making discoveries; but he either could not or would not satisfy these expectations, and was at length drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, his head being afterwards fixed up at Temple-Bar.

Bills were now brought in for inflicting pains and penalties against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by these acts to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great Britain; and that they should not attempt to escape, on pain of death, to be inflicted upon them and their assistants.

Mr. Yonge made a motion in the house of commons for a bill of the same nature against the bishop of Rochester, of whose guilt there was no other evidence but conjectures and hearsay; all the proofs that could be brought against that prelate being reduced to two copies of letters in cyphers, directed to him, to which his prosecutors gave such turn as best suited their views. The bishop, find-

ing how matters were likely to go in the lower house, sent a letter to the speaker (Mr. speaker Compton) importing, that he should decline giving the house any trouble, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Counsel being then heard upon the bill, it was committed to a grand committee, on the sixth day of April, 1723, when most of the Tory members having absented themselves from the house, as not chusing to give a sanction by their presence to measures they thought unjust, and knew they could not over-rule; it was then moved that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, and be guilty of felony if he returned; and that it should not be in the king's power to pardon him, without the consent of parliament; but that he, nevertheless, should not forfeit his goods and chattels.

The bill being passed, was sent up to the lords: the bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May, when, after he had been heard by himself and counsel, the house, resolving itself into a grand committee, went through the bill, and on the fifteenth had the third reading, when a motion being made for passing it, there arose a very long and warm debate. The bill was supported by the duke of Argyll, the earl of Seafield, and the lord Lechmere, who used every argument they could devise to shew the guilt of the bishop, and prove the sufficiency of the evidence brought to support the charge. On the other hand, earl Cowper, lord Bathurst, the duke of Wharton, and lord Gower, defended him with no less energy. They demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner as was now done, from the fixed rules of evidence: that such a practice would for ever sully the lustre and glory of that illustrious house: that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the Post-office, was a very dangerous precedent, especially as in this case it was taken for granted that those clerks might carry the similitudes of hands four months in their minds. They desired to know from whom these clerks had received the authority to intercept and open letters, especially those of a lord of parliament; and whether the clerks who copied these letters had themselves intercepted the originals? and whether they had received them from any other person? They applauded the bishop for his noble firmness in refusing to answer before the house of commons, whose proceedings (said earl Cowper) in this unprecedented manner against a peer of the realm, is such an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if this house submits to it by passing the bill, we may be termed the last of British peers, for giving up our privileges*. Notwithstanding these and many other reasons, equally obvious and forcible, the bill was passed by a majority, and afterwards received the royal assent. Doctor Freind, the celebrated physician, who was a member of the lower house, and had exerted himself in a distinguished manner in defence of the persecuted bishop, was, soon after the trial, taken into custody, on suspicion of treasonable practices.

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Debates in Parliament.

Two other affairs, which made a great talk, was brought before the parliament this session; the one was the Harburgh lottery, and the other the Ostend East India company. The lottery took its name from the place where it was to be drawn, the town and port of Harburgh, on the river Elbe, within the king's German dominions, where the projector was to settle a trade for the woollen-manufacture between England and Germany. The house of commons having appointed a committee to examine into this, and other lotteries then carrying on in London, found that this latter was an infamous fraudulent undertaking, set on foot with a design to ensnare the unwary, many of whom had been drawn in, to their great loss; whereupon a bill was brought into the lower house, and passed, to suppress this lottery, and to oblige the managers of it to refund to the contributors the sum they had deluded them of. At the same time that house resolved to expel from amongst them the lord viscount Barrington, of the kingdom of Ireland, for having been concerned in carrying on that fraudulent undertaking*.

The affair of the Ostend company was as follows: The emperor Charles VI. desirous to get over the inconvenience he was put to in time of war, for raising the necessary sums to carry it on, turned his attention towards commerce, and took such measures as he thought most likely to establish it in his dominion. Ostend, a sea-port town of the Austrian Netherlands, offered him all the advantages that could favour such a design, by the beauty and commodiousness of its harbour. The emperor therefore fixed upon it to be the center of that commerce he had proposed, and began to establish an East India company there, offering to those who became contributors, such advantages as were most likely to allure persons of a mercantile disposition. There was indeed one obstacle to the establishment of this company which the imperial council had not foreseen, or at least thought proper to take no notice of; this was, that by the treaty of Munster the inhabitants of the Netherlands, then under the dominion of the crown of Spain, were expressly excluded from all right of trading to the East Indies. This clause had been inserted at the positive instances of the Dutch, who were apprehensive, that if their neighbours were allowed to trade directly to the Indies, they would in time bring into their ports all the riches which had hitherto centered in those of Holland. The English also thought themselves equally interested to oppose such a trade; and therefore, upon the emperor's first erecting this company in 1716, both they and the Dutch made loud complaints at the court of Vienna, but without receiving any redress; and the Ostenders still continuing their trade to the East Indies under the emperor's protection and commission, the parliament taking into consideration the great detriment the English East India company had already received, and was likely farther to receive, by this Ostend company, an act was passed this session, entitled, "An act for the better securing the lawful trade of his majesty's subjects to and from the East Indies, and for the more effectual preventing all his

majesty's subjects from trading thither under foreign commissions;" by which any subject subscribing, or being concerned in encouraging any subscription to promote the East India company in the Austrian Netherlands, was declared guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor†. Notwithstanding this prohibition, many merchants of England engaged in the scheme, and the company was actually established, to the great damage of the English, French, and Dutch companies.

About the same time an act passed, by which the two millions of the South-sea company which had been annihilated, were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law was made, for the more effectual execution of justice in that part of Southwark called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on pretence of its being a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh day of May the king closed the session with a speech, in which he thanked the parliament for the repeated instances they had given of their zeal and affection for his person and government, and of their inviolable attachment to the interest and welfare of their country‡.

His majesty having been detained in England all the last year by the affair of the plot, set out for his German dominions the very instant the parliament broke up. Lords-justices were appointed to govern in his absence; but the prince, though now in his forty-first year, was still excluded from the regency; a sufficient proof that the supposed reconciliation in the royal family existed only in outward appearance. It is remarkable, that the lord Harcourt, formerly so strictly united with the earl of Ostend and queen Anne's other ministers, and who had defended them with so much zeal, was one of the lords justices. Before the king left England, he was pleased to raise the son of Mr. Robert Walpole to the peerage, an honour the father had refused. Several church-promotions were also made; and those who were in confinement on account of the plot, were either released or admitted to bail. A man of war was appointed to convoy the bishop of Rochester over to France, the place he had pitched upon for his asylum during his exile; and the royal pardon was granted to lord Bolingbroke, who owed this indulgence to the earnest solicitation of the lord Harcourt, though it was vehemently opposed at the council-board by Mr. Walpole. On the third day of June his majesty embarked for Holland, and after staying two days with his brother the bishop of Osnabrug, he arrived in perfect health at his palace of Herenhausen in Hanover, on the eleventh of the same month§.

The king was attended to Hanover by the secretaries of state, the lords Townshend and Carteret, who were esteemed able negotiators. Affairs now seemed to take a new turn on the continent. A congress had been held at Cambray, and another at Brunswick, in order to settle the interests of the several princes of Europe; but matters had been drawn out to such a tedious length, that these princes entered into separate negotiations to attain their several purposes.

* Proceedings of the House of Commons. Tindal.

† Ibid. Proceedings of the House of Commons.

‡ See Stat. 5 Geo. I.

§ Hist. Reg. Annals Geo. I. Tindal.

The czar and the court of Sweden were on the point of concluding a treaty that seemed to threaten the loss of Bremen and Verden, lately annexed to the electorate of Hanover: the regent of France, and Philip V. king of Spain, had adjusted all their differences, and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage, mademoiselle de Montpelier, second daughter to the duke of Orleans, being betrothed to the prince of Asturias, and another daughter to Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V. by his second wife. These two princes offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than those already subsisting; but at the same time peremptorily demanded the restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon; and also desired that his Britannic majesty would openly declare against the Ostend company. King George was not a little embarrassed how to act amidst such jarring interests: he was fearful that if he disgusted the emperor, he might join the czar and the court of Sweden, and promote the designs they had formed in favour of the duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, which our king had guaranteed to his Danish majesty. All Italy at this time exclaimed against the treaty of London. Memorials were sent against the proceedings of the congress of Cambray from the pope, the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, whose claims upon the house of Austria were now supported by France: in fine, every thing presaged a sudden and ruinous war. In this critical dilemma, king George acquitted himself in a manner that was the surprize and admiration of all Europe: by his artful and prudent negotiations, he prevented the disagreeing powers from breaking out into an open rupture: he could not indeed prevail on the court of Vienna to relax in its disputes with Spain, nor to give up the Ostend Company; but the emperor promised faithfully to observe the treaties which he had concluded. His majesty made a journey to the court of Berlin, while the two British secretaries of state who attended him had frequent conferences with the king of Prussia's ministers, in order to conclude an alliance, to prevent the designs of the czar in favour of the duke of Holstein; but this never took effect*.

While his majesty continued abroad, he received advice of the death of Philip duke of Orleans, regent of France; an event which gave the king no little concern, as a mutual esteem had long prevailed between them, owing in a great measure to their circumstances and interests being a good deal alike. His majesty, apprehensive that the death of the duke might occasion an alteration in the sentiments of the French court not altogether for his interest, determined to return as soon as possible to England; but being detained some time in Holland by contrary winds, he had, during his abode there, the satisfaction to receive the strongest assurances from France of the good disposition of that court to cultivate, and even improve, the union established by the late duke of Orleans between the two crowns.

During the king's absence, the nation lost a worthy nobleman by the death of earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the high office of lord-chancellor with equal discernment and integrity.

He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country, was blessed with a great and penetrating apprehension, and distinguished by the clearness and precision of his judgment.

The king arrived in England on the nineteenth day of December, and on the ninth of January, 1724, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which he recommends to the commons the care of the public debts, and expresses his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund improved and augmented so as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged. We may here, not improperly, take notice of the increase of the famous sinking fund, erected by act in the parliament in the year 1717, named the Sinking Fund; which increase proceeded from the surplusses of the other three already described funds, either by paying off part of their capital or principal debt, or else by a reduction of the rate of their interest, payable by the public. The said Sinking Fund therefore, we may observe, was now encreased to six hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds, and was still more considerably augmented afterwards. And now the commons, in compliance with his majesty's intimation in his speech, proceeded to take into consideration the public debts of the kingdom, and a bill was brought in for lessening the same; by which it was provided, that the annuities of five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been subscribed into the South-sea, together with the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery in the year 1714, should be paid off at Lady-day 1724, with the money arising from the Sinking Fund. The supplies next engrossed the attention of the commons, who acquitted themselves therein to the entire satisfaction of the court. They voted ten thousand seamen at four pounds per month each, and the army was continued on the same footing as last year. This latter affair, however, was not determined without occasioning great altercations, several worthy patriots opposing, with all their might, the keeping up so large a force in time of peace; yet it was carried against them, as indeed almost every other measure now was, by the venal retainers of the ministry; and it was resolved that the number of effectual men for the year 1724 (including one thousand eight hundred and fifteen invalids) should be eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four: the expence of the year was provided for by the land-tax and malt-tax.

There had been for some time very loud complaints made, by the trading part of the nation, of the abuse of protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, under which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the prosecution of their legal creditors. It was therefore resolved by the lower house, on taking this matter into their serious consideration, that all protections granted by members of that house should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn; that none should be granted for the future; and that if any member should presume to contravene this order, he should make satisfaction to the party injured, and be liable to the censure of the house. The lords made a declaration to the

same purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers.

No matter of importance now remaining to be discussed by the great assembly of the nation, his majesty, on the twenty-fourth of April, came to the house of peers, and, after a short speech to both houses, in which he particularly thanked the commons for the care and pains they had taken towards augmenting the Sinking Fund, and improving the public revenues, by putting them under a stricter management, the parliament was prorogued †.

A little before the close of the session, his majesty was pleased to make some alterations in the great offices, by appointing the duke of Newcastle to be secretary of state, in the room of the lord Carteret, who was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Grafton was appointed lord-chamberlain; the lord Falmouth and Mr. Edgcombe, vice-treasurers of Ireland; Mr. Yonge, a commissioner of the Treasury; and Mr. Pelham, secretary at war. Sir Robert Raymond was made a judge of the court of King's Bench, and was succeeded in his former post of attorney-general by sir Philip Yorke (afterwards earl of Hardwick, and lord-chancellor of England); and sir Clement Wearg was made solicitor general, in the room of sir Philip Yorke. About the same time, Mr. Horatio Walpole, brother to Mr. Robert Walpole, was sent to the court of France with the character of ambassador-extraordinary ‡.

I should think myself inexcusable, did I pass over unnoticed the striking proof his majesty gave at this time of his royal regard for the encouragement and promotion of learning, in his circular letter of May 16 this year, (1724) sent to the two universities; wherein, having taken notice that no provision had hitherto been made in either for the study of Modern Languages and Modern History, and of the inconveniencies arising from that defect, he says, "In order to remedy these and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two persons, of sober conversation and prudent conduct, of the degree of Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, or of some higher degree in one of the said universities, skilled in modern history, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us, to be our professors of modern history, one in the university of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who shall be obliged to read lectures in the public schools at such times as shall be appointed. And we have farther determined, That each of the said professors shall have a stipend of four hundred pounds per annum each, and out of the said stipend shall be obliged to maintain, with sufficient salaries, in the university, persons at least well qualified to teach and instruct in writing and speaking the said languages; which said teachers shall be under the direction of the professors respectively, and be obliged to instruct *gratis*, in the modern languages, twenty scholars in each university, to be nominated by us; and each scholar so nominated shall be obliged to learn two

at least of the said languages, &c." Accordingly, Mr. Gregory of Christ-church, Oxford, and Mr. Samuel Harris, Fellow of Peter-house, Cambridge, were nominated and appointed the two first professors. For a farther encouragement to the universities, the king was pleased to order that his lord-almoner should chuse, out of the members of Oxford and Cambridge, twenty-four preachers, to officiate alternately in the chapel at Whitehall, with a salary of thirty pounds per annum each.

On the twenty-first of May this year died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and the month following the famous Dr. Henry Sacheverel, who had made so great a noise during the last reign, departed this life, after having bequeathed a legacy of five hundred pounds to his friend and patron Dr. Atterbury, the deprived bishop of Rochester.

As to foreign affairs, one of the most remarkable events this year, was the abdication of Philip V. of Spain, who, retiring with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildeonso, sent the marquis de Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son don Lewis, prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which we can discern nothing remarkable, either in the style or sentiments. Amongst other instructions, he says, "Preserve ever a great devotion for the most holy Virgin, and put yourself, as well as your kingdom, under her protection, seeing you cannot by any other means better obtain what may be needful for you and for them." We conceive that this will be a sufficient specimen to our readers, of the abilities and good sense of this monarch. The renunciation was published throughout the whole Spanish monarchy, and the council resolved, that Lewis, as acknowledged prince of Spain, might assume the reins of government without assembling the cortes, or estates of the kingdom *.

This year a most bloody edict was published in France against the protestants residing in that kingdom, ordering, "that whoever performed any exercise of the reformed religion, if a man, should be sent to the gallies; if a woman, should be shaved and committed to prison; that the protestant preachers and teachers should be put to death; and all who held communication directly or indirectly with them, be condemned to the gallies. Our government interesting itself in the sufferings of their persecuted brethren, sent orders to Mr. Horace Walpole, to make pressing instances to the French court in behalf of the protestants: all the answer he could obtain, however, was, "that the king's edicts must be obeyed."

Great Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquility. The government had triumphed over all opposition, and, notwithstanding the heavy load of taxes under which the people laboured, yet, such is the spirit and genius of the British nation for commerce, it was observed still to be constantly flourishing ¶.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons. Annals. Tindal.

‡ Hist. Reg. Annal.

* Polit. Stat. Tindal.

¶ Erasmus Philips, esq. an author of good credit, gives us an instance thereof in his pamphlet, published in the year 1726, entitled, "The state of the nation in respect to her common debts and money;" wherein he acquaints us, that from the

year 1701, to the year 1723, the amount of the British customs was so considerable, that the *neat money* paid into the Exchequer, on an average, for the said twenty-three years, was one million four hundred forty-six thousand twenty-two pounds per annum, even exclusive of seizures; and with seizures it amounted to one million four hundred sixty-seven thousand five hundred and ninety-three pounds neat money per annum.

This year being barren of such events as deserve a place in history, we shall therefore only mention the parliament, which met on the twelfth of November, and seemed to be assembled for no other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expence of the ensuing year; though the session was distinguished by one remarkable incident, namely, the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, who, on the resignation of the earl Cowper, in 1718, had been made lord high-chancellor. There having been great complaints concerning some abuses in relation to the masters in chancery, which, though practised before, were now grown to an enormous height, the earl of Macclesfield, who had incurred the general reproach of the nation on account of his connivance at certain venal practices touching the sale of places and the money of suitors deposited in the court of Chancery, found it necessary to resign the great-seal in the beginning of January, 1725. He was afterwards impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors; and being found guilty, on trial, of the above mal-practices, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and committed to the Tower till he should pay the sum, which he did at the end of six weeks, and was then discharged. Sir Peter King, created baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor; and an act was passed for the relief of the suitors in the court of Chancery.

Whilst the earl of Macclesfield's affair was under consideration, the famous act was passed "for regulating elections in the city of London, and for preserving the peace, good order, and government of the city." In this law, which is now the rule for all the elections in the city, there is a clause, by which the right of election of aldermen and common-council men belongs to freemen being householders, paying scot and lot to the amount of thirty shillings, provided they have inhabited houses of ten pounds per annum rent, twelve calendar months. This, and some other particulars, occasioned a petition of the freemen of London against the bill, while it was depending; and when passed into an act, it gave great offence to the citizens, who proceeded so riotously on the occasion, that the government thought proper to double the guards at St. James's, Leicester and Somerset-houses; and such other precautions were taken, as reduced all things to their former state of tranquillity. In this same session Henry St. John, lord viscount Bolingbroke (who, having made his peace with his majesty, was come over to England) was, upon his humble petition, after some debate, admitted to enjoy his estates, and an act passed for that purpose, though he was never restored to his title.

On the eighth of April, his majesty sent a message to the house of commons by Mr. Robert Walpole, importing, "that having been engaged in some extraordinary expences, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in the civil government." This message occasioned very warm debates in the house. Mr. William Pulteney (afterwards so very famous for his opposition to the Walpolian administration, and subsequent degeneracy), who was then cofferer

of the household, and began to be dissatisfied with the measures of the ministry, moved for an address, "That an account should be laid before the house, of all moneys paid for secret service, pensions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth of March, 1701, to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year." His motion was agreed to; the address was voted; and it was then moved to consider the king's message; but Mr. Pulteney urged, that this consideration should be postponed until the house should have examined the papers that were the subject of the address. "He could not (he said) without surprize hear of a debt of above five hundred thousand pounds being contracted in three years: but there was no room to wonder (he continued) at the earnestness some persons shewed to make good the deficiencies of the civil list, the revenues of which were in a manner shared between them and their friends." He concluded with expressing his desire of being informed, whether this sum of half a million was all that was due? These sarcasms were evidently aimed at Walpole, who, with unembarrassed composure (which he ever opposed to all the darts levelled at him by his opponents) took upon him to answer Mr. Pulteney's objections. The result of this debate was, that the majority passed a bill, enabling his majesty to raise a sum not exceeding one million, by exchequer bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of six pence per pound, directed by an act of parliament of the seventh year of his majesty, and of the civil-list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three pounds per cent. till payment of the principal.

An act being passed for disarming the Scottish Highlanders, that for the elections of the city of London, a third for reducing the interest of several Bank annuities from five to four per cent. with some other bills of a private nature, the parliament was prorogued in May, after the king had, in a speech to both houses, thanked them, in the most cordial manner, for the repeated instances they had given of their duty and affection to him, and their zeal for the honour and interest of their country. Then, having appointed lords-justices to rule the nation in his absence, he set out, on the third of June, for his German dominions*.

Immediately after this session of parliament, the king revived the order of knights of the Bath, of which prince William (the late duke of Cumberland) was the first, and the duke of Montague was appointed grand-master. Among the knights were Mr. Robert Walpole, and his son lord Walpole. The whole number was thirty-eight, including the sovereign. Several promotions were likewise made: Mr. Methuen was appointed treasurer of the household, and the earl of Lincoln cofferer in the room of Mr. Pulteney, who resigned that place in disgust. Soon after sir Robert Walpole was honoured by his majesty with the order of the Garter.

The state of affairs on the continent had by this time undergone a considerable change. Lewis the young king of Spain, dying soon after his advancement to the throne, his father Philip resumed the sovereign rule, which he had quitted, and now resigned himself entirely to the hands of the queen, a princess of deep intrigue and unbounded ambition. The long-depending mediation of Great

* Polit. State. Debates in Parliament. Oldmixon. Tindal.

Britain and France at the congress of Cambray, for compromising the differences between the emperor and the king of Spain, coming to nothing, by the Spanish court's being extremely irritated at the French king, Lewis XV. for sending back the infanta of Spain, to whom he had been espoused; and king George declining to act without France; the queen of Spain, disappointed in this quarter, proposed a private negotiation to the court of Vienna, which readily accepted the offer. The conferences were immediately opened, and conducted under the direction of the baron de Riperda, a native of Holland, who had renounced the protestant religion, and engaged in the service of his catholic majesty. The first treaty of Vienna, as it is called, was quickly concluded, and signed the thirteenth of April, 1725, and the next day a treaty of commerce was also signed.

By the treaty of peace, the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, and promised not to molest him in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London, 1722. Charles granted the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldest son of the queen of Spain, failing heirs in the present possessors, as masculine heirs of the empire. Spain guaranteed the Austrian succession, according to the pragmatic sanction, by which the dominions of that house were settled on the emperor's heirs of either sex, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable fief to the primogeniture.

None of the powers of Europe had any reason to take umbrage at this treaty; but the case was very different with the treaty of commerce, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain, as the Ostend company, which the emperor had established, was to be supported by it; and the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon to the Spaniards seemed to be the consequence thereof; and it was even said, that there were secret articles in favour of the pretender. However that might be, all Europe was astonished to see Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly irreconcilable enemies, now united in the strongest bonds of friendship; and affairs deviated from their natural course to such a degree, that the ministry of Madrid governed the court of Vienna for a whole year.

By the treaty concluded at Vienna, already related, we have seen, that the imperial court, whose intention had constantly been to exclude the French branch which reigned over Spain, from all access to Italy, so far lost sight of its first views, as to admit a son of Philip V. (duke of Anjou) and Elizabeth of Parma, his second wife, into that very country, from which they formerly laboured to exclude every Frenchman and every Spaniard. Though the succession of Parma and the grand-duchy of Tuscany was not made public, don Carlos was introduced with six thousand Spaniards, and it cost Spain only twenty thousand pistoles, which were paid at Vienna. The imperial forces were now augmented to a considerable number, and other powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the czar actually acceded*.

This imprudent step of the emperor's council was by no means one of those, which, in some instances, are productive of happy consequences: it cost Charles very dear in the sequel. In the mean time the king of Great Britain took the alarm, and, in order to counteract the designs of these new allies, he projected a defensive treaty between England, France, and Prussia, known by the name of the treaty of Hanover. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was signed at Hanover, while his majesty was there, on the third of September, 1725. It contained a mutual guaranty of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, with an agreement to procure satisfaction to the protestants of Thorn, in Poland, who had been oppressed by the papists, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. Nothing can be more clear, than that the apprehension of the emperor's making some attempts upon king George's German dominions, had been the principal motive for concluding the treaty of Hanover; though, in order to make it go down with the English at home, and secure the approbation of the British parliament, the ministry represented it as an engagement that had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England.

His majesty having taken these necessary precautions at Hanover, set out on his return to England in the middle of December, and came to Helvoetsluys, where sir John Norris waited with the convoy and yachts, and where his majesty embarked in the Carolina yacht on New-year's day, about one in the afternoon. Towards seven that evening there arose a most violent tempest, which continued so high, and the sea so boisterous for thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger; at length, however, his majesty with great difficulty landed at Rye, on the fourth day, from whence he proceeded by land to London.

In the course of this year was erected Guy's hospital, at the sole expence of Thomas Guy, formerly a bookseller in London, afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, who left a benefaction of two hundred thousand pounds for the support of that charitable establishment.

The duke of Wharton having ruined his fortune by riot and debauchery, repaired this year to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his service to the pretender, where he received the order of the Garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was sent by the pretender, with credentials, to the court of Madrid, where king George was no sooner informed of his arrival, than he dispatched a messenger with a letter under the privy-seal, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return immediately to England. This letter being delivered to him, as he rode through the streets in a coach, he loudly exclaimed against the insolence of a British officer of justice in executing a summons upon him within sight of his Catholic majesty's palace; he even threatened to present a memorial on the subject to the court of Spain, and demand justice against the English messenger; but Philip, being privately acquainted with the matter, absolutely refused to interpose his authority. The duke afterwards abjured the Protestant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, and obtained the

* Polit. State. Voltaire. Tindal.

rank and appointments of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service*.

On the twentieth of January, 1726, the parliament met, when his majesty, in his speech, gave them to understand, "That the distressed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop to the farther progress of such dangerous designs. He told them, that the enemies to his government were already very busy by their instruments and emissaries in those courts, whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender; but he persuaded himself, notwithstanding the countenance and encouragement they might either have received, or expected to receive, that the provision made by his parliament for the safety and defence of his kingdoms, would effectually secure them from all danger of foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection: that, when the world should see, that they would not suffer the British crown and nation to be insulted with impunity, those, who most envied the tranquility and happiness of this kingdom, and were endeavouring to make it subservient to their ambitious projects, would have some regard to their own interest and circumstances, before they presumed to make any attempt upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by powerful alliances, and, however desirous of peace, able and ready to defend themselves against all aggressors: that such resolutions, and such measures, if timely taken, would, he was satisfied, be the most effectual means of preventing a war, and preserving to his people the blessings of peace and prosperity†".

Addresses suitable to this speech were presented by both houses; and the commons proceeded to consider of the supply, when, in spite of all the opposition made by Pulteney, who now began to set himself up to thwart every measure of the court, the same number of land-forces, and the same provision for them, were voted. Mr. Pulteney then endeavoured to get a committee appointed for taking the state of the public debts; but in this he was likewise baffled, most of the Tories then in the house being against it.

The treaties of Hanover and Vienna being laid before the commons, they were debated in a very full house, no less than four hundred and twenty members being present. The debate was opened by Mr. Horace Walpole, ambassador at the court of France, who, in a long and studied speech, entered into a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht. He recapitulated the substance of the barrier-treaty; the defensive alliance with the emperor; another with the most Christian king and the States-general; a subsequent convention; the quadruple alliance; the congress of Cambray; the treaty of Vienna, and that of Hanover: he

explained the motive of each agreement. The treaty of commerce between the emperor and Spain had been entered into, he said, chiefly with a design to countenance and support the East India company established at Ostend, which interfered so essentially with the East India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several solemn treaties in force. He expatiated on the dangers to which the ballance of power would be exposed, should the issue male of the projected marriage between the emperor's eldest daughter and don Carlos, the infant of Spain, ever possess the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. He finished with saying, "That it had been in order to prevent the farther progress and final execution of these dangerous and destructive designs, that the king had concluded the treaty of Hanover, the nature of which had been already laid before them; and that from a candid comparison of all circumstances, he believed he might safely infer, that his majesty had discovered the most consummate wisdom in all the measures he had taken." One cannot without some degree of indignation reflect, that this very man, who now expressed such apprehension at the prospect of the power of the house of Austria and Spain being immediately united in one person, had been the most violent in exclaiming against that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which prevented the union of those two crowns. For this and other instances of versatility, this gentleman became afterwards to be ludicrously termed the Balance Master.

This speech, however, occasioned a great debate: it was alleged by the members in the opposition, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an express provision in the act of limitation. To this it was replied by the other side, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation, was not wholly and forever to deprive his majesty's foreign dominions of any assistance from this nation, but only to restrain the sovereign for the future from engaging the nation in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, without the consent of parliament. Mr. Pelham said, that, for his own part, he was of opinion, that if, in the present juncture of affairs, his majesty's foreign dominions should be attacked or insulted, this nation ought to stand by and support his majesty against all his enemies; he therefore moved for an address to his majesty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain, and promising to support his majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain‡.

In vain did Mr. Shippen, and others of the Tory members, exhaust all their eloquence to impress on the minds of the assembly a sense of the dangerous consequences to this kingdom that must attend our having a connexion with the concerns of the continent; the opposition was so considerable, that the address was voted by a majority of two hundred and eighty-five against one hun-

* Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Tindal.

† Parliamentary Debates.

Proceedings of the House of Commons.

‡ Proceedings of the House of Commons. Tindal.

dred and seven, and was presented on the nineteenth of February, to which his majesty returned the following answer :

“ Gentlemen,

“ I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me: your assurances, not to suffer my foreign dominions to be exposed or insulted, on account of the measures I have taken for the interest of these kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preserve the tranquility of Europe. I have no views of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myself, or extending any part of my dominions at the expence of the other; and as my honour is the common cause and concern of my subjects, their particular interest shall, upon all occasions, be my constant care.”

There was a pretty warm debate in the house of lords about the treaty of Hanover, but as the court party was all-powerful, they carried an address, to much the same purport as that of the commons, which was presented at the same time, and received the like answer from the throne*.

The extension of the malt-tax to Scotland was productive of great disturbances in that kingdom, the people absolutely refusing to pay it. At Glasgow, in particular, the populace rose, and in a riotous manner broke into and rifled the house of Mr. Daniel Campbell, their representative in parliament, who had voted for the bill, and maltreated some excisemen who had attempted to visit the houses of the maltsters. Upon this the commissioners had recourse to general Wade, commander in chief of the British forces in Scotland, who ordered captain Bushel, with two companies of foot, to march to Glasgow, in order to appease this disturbance. The captain obeyed his orders; but the rabble assembling in a prodigious multitude, and arming themselves with such offensive weapons as they could pick up, attacked this small detachment with the utmost fury. The captain, conscious of his own inability to resist such a numerous and enraged multitude, thought proper to retreat to Dunbarton, where he got in safety, though pursued by the mob to the distance of six miles.

No sooner was general Wade informed of this transaction, than, assembling a good body of forces, and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, he marched into and took possession of Glasgow, when, being informed that the magistrates had been most shamefully remiss in their duty, on occasion of the late riot, he thought proper to have them apprehended and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh castle: they were, however, soon released from their confinement by the lords justiciaries, who having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent. Some of the rabble however, were punished for the riot, and four of them sentenced to be scourged and transported ||.

This disturbance had happened towards the close of the last summer; and Mr. Daniel Campbell having petitioned the house of commons this session, that he might be indemnified for the damage he had sustained from the mob, a bill passed in his

favour, granting him a certain sum, to be raised by an imposition of two pennies Scots upon all beer and ale brewed within the city of Glasgow.

A bill was also brought in, empowering the commissioners of the Treasury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden, late treasurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to forty-eight thousand pounds. This deficiency was occasioned by his engaging in the South sea scheme. The king recommended his petition; and the house complied with his request, in consideration of his great-grandfather, the famous John Hampden, who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary imposition of ship money in the commencement of the civil war §.

On the twenty-fourth day of March the king sent a message to the house by sir Paul Methuen, desiring the assistance of his parliament, by an extraordinary supply, to enable him to increase his naval force, and to take such other measures as should be found necessary in the present critical conjuncture of affairs. This message occasioned a debate of six hours, but it was at last resolved, by a very great majority, to comply with his majesty's demand †: but as this demand had not been communicated to the lords, though the king mentioned “ the assistance of the parliament,” it gave great umbrage to many of the peers.

The earl of Strafford in particular insisted that the message was unprecedented, and struck at the ancient privileges of the peers, who are the great standing council of the sovereign, the hereditary guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next to their sovereign, the principal part of the legislature; therefore ought to be consulted in all matters of public concern. His lordship therefore moved that an address should be presented to his majesty, to know who advised him to send such a message to the commons, without at the same time communicating it to the peers.

Lord Bathurst also observed, that the appellation of *parliament* being given to the commons exclusively of the lords, was certainly a new and unprecedented stile, and very different from the language of former times. If the lords, he said, suffered themselves to be overlooked and neglected in this instance, they might come at last to be voted useless, as had formerly been the case; and therefore, lest any consequence of this kind should ensue, he was for the address. These efforts of the opposite party, however, were very little regarded by the ministry: the affair was dropt; and the supplies ordinary and extraordinary being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask, his majesty dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth of May 1726 ‡.

I shall now take a short view of the state of affairs abroad.

As soon as the courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their views were crossed, and the ends proposed by their conjunction utterly disappointed, by the counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately resolved to have recourse to ulterior negotiations, in order to increase the number of their allies; and when they should find themselves

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Proceedings of the House of Commons.

|| Tindal.

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons. Annals of Geo. I.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons.

‡ Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the House of Lords. Tindal.

sufficiently powerful, to resort to open force. To render this scheme more effectual, the emperor began to execute projects in the North, in which he met at first with some extraordinary success. Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was now dead †, and his empress Catherine had succeeded him on the throne. This princess had conceived a distaste to the British court, and had, by some Scottish people about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult matter to set up the son of the late king James II. and so overturn the government in Britain. The same scheme had been proposed and countenanced at the imperial court by some of the ministers. The Spanish court readily adopted that or any other expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their acquisitions in Italy, then, and still, the great objects of their policy. Thus the Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the securing that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into some degree of danger. It has generally been said, and I believe with truth, that the secretary of state, then abroad with his majesty, was the sole, or at least the principal, adviser in that affair, which gave a new turn to our politics, and engaged us in a scheme for humbling the house of Austria, which we had so long, and even so lately, supported.

However this might be, the English ministry, who had now all things in their own power, and were at full liberty to act as they thought fit, resolved to support the Hanoverian alliance; and therefore, as soon as they were informed of the schemes planning by the allies of Vienna, they exerted their utmost efforts to disappoint them; and, without trusting to their good allies the French, or to their slow assistance, they chose the shortest and most expeditious method possible of asserting themselves. With this view it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Baltic, to awe the czarina, to bring round Denmark, and to keep steady Sweden. It was likewise thought requisite to have another strong squadron on the coast of Spain, to intimidate his Catholic majesty, and render any efforts he might make for the recovery of Gibraltar ineffectual: and, to sum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the sinews of war, but the great bond of friendship among princes, they determined to send a considerable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the shortest means of dissolving the union between their Imperial and Catholic majesties; being satisfied, if the former could not receive his subsidies, the latter could never rely on his assistance §. Such were the plans on both sides at this critical juncture. We come now to see how these were carried into execution.

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The squadron they were to command consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, and two fire-ships. Sir Charles having received his final instructions, set sail from the Nore on the seventeenth of April, and on the twenty-third of the same month the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen. The next day sir Charles presented to the king of Denmark

a letter, with which he was charged by king George; and soon after quitting Copenhagen, he anchored with his fleet near Stockholm. Having had an audience of his Swedish majesty, by whom he was most graciously received, he sailed with his squadron to the island of Narginan, within a few leagues of Revel. About the same time a squadron of Dutch men of war sailed from Copenhagen for the island of Bornholm, in order to join the British squadron.

Sir Charles Wager took the first opportunity of sending a letter he had been charged with to the czarina, inclosed to her admiral Apraxin, who was then lying in the road of Cronstot with sixteen Russian men of war, besides a great number of galleys. Our king, in his letter to the czarina, expostulated very freely with her majesty on the subject of the armaments by sea and land which she had been for some time preparing, as also on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into with the agents of the pretender. The Russian court was not a little nettled at this appearance of a British fleet upon their coasts, and was inclined to have come to extremities rather than endure it: but maturer reflection convincing them that the Russian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain, it was resolved in council to order the ships and galleys to be laid up; and the empress wrote a letter to king George, by way of answer to that which she had received from him. In this letter she expressed her surprize that she had not received his majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor in one of her ports, since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain, to expostulate with her on her armaments, and expect her answers, before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any design to trouble the peace of the North; and with regard to the pretender, it was, she said, a frivolous and stale accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the unkind steps taken against the Russian empire.

This letter was dated the fifteenth of June, 1726; and our fleet being soon after joined by the Danish squadron, they both remained before Revel till the twenty-eighth of September, when admiral Wager, having received certain intelligence that the Russians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, sailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving safely at the Nore on the first of November ¶.

The fleet that was sent to the coast of Spain was commanded by sir John Jennings, and consisted of nine large ships of war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by several ships that were cruising there. The admiral sailed on the twentieth of July from St. Helen's with a good body of land-forces on board, and on the third of August entered the bay of St. Antonio; then he visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruized off Cape St. Mary's, so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation.

† The czar died on the 28th of January, 1726. Naval Hist.

§ Polit. Stat. Campbell.

¶ Hist. Reg. Annal. Tindal.

It would be tedious, and little interesting, was I to enter into a minute detail of the motions of this squadron, which returned to Spithead soon after. It is sufficient to observe, that it answered perfectly the ends proposed by it, by alarming the court of Spain to such a degree as to make them disavow the engagements they had entered into with the court of Vienna, to the prejudice of Great Britain, and abandon the designs they had formed in favour of the pretender, at the instigation of the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the earl Marischal, who were then at Madrid. Philip even dismissed from his service the duke de Ripperda, who had been lately prime minister, and was the person who had negotiated the treaty of Vienna, and by whose intrigues the Spanish court and ours had been embroiled. The duke dreading the resentment of his enemies, took shelter, at the time of his disgrace, in the house of colonel Stanhope, (afterwards earl of Harrington) then our ambassador at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a British squadron upon the coast prevailed on the Spanish court to lay aside all thoughts of proceeding against him capitally, which they before intended, for having betrayed to the British ministry those very designs which had occasioned the sending of this fleet; and he soon after made his escape from the castle of Segovia, and took refuge in England*. Such were the events that attended the expedition of sir John Jennings on the coast of Spain. Let us proceed to the transactions in the West Indies.

The command of the squadron destined for this service was conferred upon rear-admiral Hosier, an excellent officer. He sailed from Plymouth on the ninth of April; and though he had a very quick passage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his design, by an advice-boat from Cadiz; so that before he reached the Bastimentos, the treasure which had been on board the galleons, amounting to about six millions and an half sterling, and which he had been sent to intercept, or at least to prevent their sailing for Europe, was unladen and carried back to Panama, on the other side the Isthmus. However, the admiral, who arrived at Porto-Bello in the beginning of June, continued there six months, till his squadron, which had been the terror, became the jest of the Spaniards. A little before Christmas he weighed, and sailed for Jamaica, after having lost the greatest part of his men†.

In the mean time our court complained loudly of the violation of the law of nations, in taking by force, out of the house of the British ambassador, the duke de Ripperda, who had fled for shelter thither. This act the Spanish ministers attempted to excuse. Memorials and letters passed between the two courts, and every thing seemed to portend an immediate rupture. The king of Spain purchased ships of war, began to make preparations for some important undertaking, and assembled an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the castle of Old Gibraltar, which is on the opposite side of the bay to the garrison of that name in our possession. In the month of August this year the States-general acceded to

the treaty of Hanover; but the king of Prussia, though his majesty's son-in-law, suffered himself to be detached from the alliance by the emperor, who promised to support his pretensions to the duchies of Bergues and Juliers‡.

Such was the situation of affairs abroad, when the parliament of Great Britain met on the seventeenth day of January, 1727. The king opened the session with a long energetic speech, highly reflecting upon the princes of whom mention was made. He observed, that the proceedings and transactions of the emperor and the king of Spain, and the secret offensive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights against those reciprocal engagements, contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties. He assured them that one of these secret articles was the placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and another, the reduction of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. These fatal combinations, he said, were not confined to those parts of the world alone, but had also extended themselves to Russia; and that nothing but the timely appearance of the English fleet had prevented the execution of such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of these kingdoms. He exhorted the commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their country, and for enabling him to make good his engagements with his allies, after acquainting them that the king of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom, and that he had left a memorial little short of a declaration, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar. Then addressing himself to both houses, he concluded his speech thus: "If preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the possessions of the crown of Great Britain, of infinite advantage to her trade and commerce, against dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the present establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people, are any longer worthy the care and attention of a British parliament, I need say no more to incite my loyal and faithful houses of parliament to exert themselves in defence of all that is dear and valuable to them."

The most warm and affectionate addresses flowed in from both houses in return to this speech, so well calculated to touch the strings which moved their passions: they expressed the highest resentment at the insolent designs of his majesty's enemies, and the most entire approbation of the measures he had taken, in order to defeat and disappoint them. The commons voted twenty thousand seamen, and twenty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land-service; and to defray the expence of these armaments, a tax of four shillings in the pound was granted§.

* Hist. Reg. Burchet. Oldmixon.

† Tindal. Naval History.

‡ Polit. State. Hist. Reg.

§ Proceedings of the House of Commons. Tindal.

The most interesting debates during this session were agitated in the house of lords, and arose from that house calling for and examining the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the treaty of Hanover. When these papers were perused by the house, the lord Bathurst observed, that the States-general had acted with remarkable caution and circumspection in this whole affair; that they had not fully and entirely acceded to the treaty of Hanover, since they had formally and expressly excused themselves from the general guaranty of the treaties of Westphalia and Oliva, in which they said they were never engaged; that in effect the Dutch having engaged themselves to nothing, what they had done did not deserve the name of accession; and the rather because they had made it an express condition, that their act of accession should be approved and ratified by the king of Great Britain, the Most Christian king, and the king of Prussia; that though this last potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of Hanover, yet as no mention had been made of him, he could not tell what to say to that particular. This however was certain, that the minister of his Prussian majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect; and if the court of France should for the same reason think itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He declared he could not see any just cause for a rupture with Spain: at all events, methods of accommodation ought to be tried for adjusting the differences between the two crowns before the kingdom was plunged into a war, which must be attended with dangerous consequences: he therefore desired their lordships to consider the matter before them, which was of the last importance to the whole nation, since, he said, nothing could be gained by the war, should it succeed even to the best of their wishes; and if it proved unprosperous, every thing would be lost.

Lord Townshend replied to this speech. He affirmed that his majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret articles of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the pretender; but that the safety of the state would not permit him to lay these advices before the parliament. His lordship also affirmed, that his majesty never had made any promise to restore Gibraltar, although the marquis de Puzzo Bueno had, in a memorial he had left behind him, made mention of such a promise, and that it had been a good deal commented upon by the noble lord who spoke last. He then recapitulated the several steps the Imperial and Spanish courts had taken in prejudice to his majesty and this kingdom; and concluded with saying, that from all these circumstances he hoped it would evidently appear, that his majesty was under an absolute necessity of adopting the vigorous resolutions which he had already embraced.

After these and several other speeches, their lordships resolved, that the measures which his majesty had thought fit to take, were honourable,

just, and necessary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by solemn treaties, particularly of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Several lords entered a protest against this resolution*.

The opposition in the lower house consisted chiefly in making motions for addresses on several subjects; in particular, one for desiring the engagements which his majesty was said to have entered into with Spain, concerning the restitution of Gibraltar, might be laid before the house; for although lord Townshend had affirmed in the house of peers that no such promise had been made, sir Robert Walpole, it seems, owned such a promise in the house of commons, though he qualified it by saying, that he was sure that promise was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, it was thereby become invalid: he however strongly opposed the address moved for, as the communication desired was, he said, altogether impracticable and unprecedented, the private letters of princes being as sacred as their persons. After a debate, the motion was rejected. After this the lord Morpeth moved "for an address for copies of all such memorials or representations to his majesty, from the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as did induce him to send the squadron last year into the Baltic." This motion was opposed by Mr. Horace Walpole, and it was finally rejected. In the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expences, over and above such as were specified. Mr. William Pulteney moved for an address on this subject, but the motion was rejected without a division; and the majority concurred in an address to his majesty, much to the same purport with that of the lords, with the promise of supporting his majesty in all such further measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advancement of these kingdoms†.

If the king's speech gave rise to some disputes at home, it excited the highest degree of indignation and resentment in the breasts of those powers who were reflected upon in it. The court of Vienna in particular was so exasperated at the manner in which it found itself there treated, that the emperor commanded M. Palms, his resident at London, to present a memorial to his Britannic majesty, expressed in the boldest terms. The king was therein charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several things, some of which were wrested to a wrong sense; some entirely distant from the intentions of his Catholic majesty; and lastly (which, adds the memorialist, affect much more sensibly than all the rest) some things absolutely void of all foundation. The memorialist then proceeds to affirm that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance, and therefore could not

* Proceed. House of Lords. Parliamentary Debates.

† Proceed. House of Commons. Parliamentary Debates.

with any reason give umbrage to the king or people of Great Britain: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of both parties, agreeable to the laws of nations, and in no respect prejudicial to Great Britain. He insists that there was no alliance concluded between the two crowns; and that the supposed secret article in favour of the pretender was a downright falshood. He said, the hostilities committed in the West Indies, and elsewhere, against the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, seemed to furnish a very just pretence for that prince's undertaking the siege of Gibraltar; but, with regard to the insinuation, as if his master (the emperor) had agreed to assist his Catholic majesty in the reduction of that place, it was absolutely without the least foundation, the emperor having made no other engagements with the king of Spain than what were specified in the treaty communicated to the king of Great Britain. The memorialist concludes as follows: "Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic majesty, require that they should be exposed to your majesty, to the kingdom of Great Britain, and to the whole world; and his Sacred Imperial majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done by those many imputations."

The emperor, not thinking it enough that his minister should present this bold memorial to the king, ordered him to publish it to the whole nation, as an appeal to the people against their sovereign. Our court, which might naturally be expected, were highly incensed at this last step: the two houses of parliament, then sitting, joined in an address, expressing their indignation at the affront offered to his majesty by the memorial of M. Palms, and at his insolence of dispersing the same throughout the kingdom. "The endeavouring," said they in their address, "to instil into the minds of any of your majesty's faithful subjects, the least distrust or diffidence of your majesty's most sacred royal word, or to make a distinction between your majesty and your people, is an attempt as vain, as it is presumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits confessed to have been performed by Britons in support of the emperor, gratitude, esteem, and affection for this nation, will be best manifested by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour, and justice to the people whose rights and privileges the best of kings is now defending against the invasions and incroachments that have been made upon them."

M. Palms was immediately ordered to depart the kingdom: the most bitter remonstrances were presented by the ministers of the emperor and the king of Great Britain to the diet of the empire at Ratisbon; and the resentment of the two potentates was such as seemed to exclude all hopes of a reconciliation.

Apprehensive that he had now raised a storm which might burst big with ruin upon his hereditary dominions, George sought to strengthen himself, by contracting more strict engagements with his good ally Lewis XV. and the king of Sweden, to the latter of whom he agreed to pay fifty thou-

sand pounds per annum, on condition of his holding in readiness a body of ten thousand troops for the occasions of the alliance. He also concluded a fresh treaty with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furnish a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large subsidy granted by the king of France. On the other hand, his Britannic majesty engaged for twenty-four thousand men, and a strong squadron to be sent to the Baltic. He made a convention with the prince of Hesse-Cassel, who undertook to provide eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, in consideration of seventy-four thousand pounds to be paid by Great Britain immediately, and fifty thousand pounds more in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence.

All these treaties could not be concluded without bringing a heavy charge upon England; but the attachment the people were known to have for their religion, rights, and liberties, so happily secured to them by the accession of the illustrious house of Hanover, was a pleasing earnest of their ready concurrence in furnishing the supplies necessary to support these mercenaries, who were to defend the new countries to which this kingdom was now wedded. Accordingly, Mr. Scroope, secretary of the Treasury, moved in the house of commons, by the direction of the ministry, that in the malt-tax bill they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the king to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been or should be made before the twenty-fifth of December following, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade and navigation, and restoring the peace of Europe.

This motion gave birth to a violent debate. It was alleged on the one hand, that his majesty was so unwilling to put his subjects to any extraordinary expence, that he had asked no more supplies in this session than what he judged necessary for the service of the year; but in the present posture of affairs, some unforeseen accidents might require a further expence, for which no estimate could now be made; because some treaties which his majesty had thought fit to conclude were not fully completed; that therefore the house ought to enable his majesty to answer such contingencies; that they had frequently reposed in him such a confidence, which he had never abused; and that what was now demanded was limited to a very short time.

To this, those on the opposite side of the question answered, that it was altogether unparliamentary to ask or to grant supplies without the proper estimates being first made out and laid before the house; and that as to the clause now proposed, it was inconsistent with that part of the bill which forbade the issuing the supplies to any other purposes than those specified; and precluded that appropriation of the public money, which every parliament had so cautiously guarded against, in order to prevent misapplication, which they said was, in this case, the more to be feared, as the legislature had made no provision for bringing to account any person in regard to the disposal of the money granted by this clause. It was urged that

the parliament had already granted very great sums, such as were amply sufficient, so far as appeared to them at present, to answer all contingencies; and if any unexpected emergency should supervene which might call for an extra supply, that house, upon such a case being laid before them, could be at no loss to provide for it in the usual manner, without leaving any thing to the arbitrary disposition of a ministry, which seemed to consult their own ends rather than the true interests of the nation: that this parliament had already given so many instances of their zeal and affection for his majesty, that they had left no room to doubt of their readiness to make good whatever he should expend in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the interest and advantage of his people; but that they could not answer to that duty they owed their constituents, to grant such an unlimited and absolute power as this clause conferred, but in cases of absolute necessity, when the very being of the state was in danger. Powerful as these objections were, the majority over-ruled them; the motion was carried; and the bill being sent up to the lords, made its way thro' that house likewise, though not without a vigorous opposition.

Two days after sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the king, the sum of thirty-seven thousand pounds should be raised by loans on Exchequer-bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the disposition of parliament. This motion was strenuously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and sir Joseph Jekyll, who represented, that by several acts and votes of parliament, all the exceedings or surplusses of public funds were to be applied towards discharging the public debts, or increasing the Sinking Fund. This disposition, they alleged, could not be altered without injuring public credit, which was already extremely low, since the taking off any part of the mortgage could not but weaken the security of the debt. It was somewhat strange, it was said, that such a motion should come from the ministry, of all other persons, since it was hardly possible they could have forgotten what his majesty had so strongly recommended from the throne at the opening of the session; namely, that the produce of the Sinking Fund might be immediately applied to the uses for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it stood at present appropriated; and, finally, that this motion was still more surprising, after the large and unlimited power which the parliament had lately conferred upon his majesty. These objections were answered in the usual way by the ministry, namely, by insisting upon the question; which being put, the majority were for the motion, and it passed*.

The parliament having now dispatched all the business before them, his majesty put an end to the session on the fifteenth day of May, 1727, with this his last speech to both houses:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I acquainted you at the opening of this session with the dangers which threatened this kingdom,

and the peace and liberties of Europe. I am now to return you my thanks for the zeal and dispatch with which you have proceeded upon the several points I then recommended to your care; for the confidence you have reposed in me; and for the assurances you have given me of your support and assistance, in vindication of my honour, and in the maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation, so openly and notoriously invaded and attacked.

“ The siege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all dispute, the end and design of the engagements entered into by the emperor and the king of Spain; but the preparations I had made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the rashness and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation, to suspend in some measure my resentments; and, instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding of my allies that assistance which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred with the most Christian king and the States-general in making such overtures of accommodation as must convince all the world of the uprightness of our intentions, and of our sincere disposition to peace, and demonstrate to whose ambition and thirst of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if these just and reasonable propositions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover; and the convention between me, his most Christian majesty, and the king of Denmark, is actually signed.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ The vigour and chearfulness you have shewn in raising so effectually, and upon such easy terms, the necessary supplies for the service of the current year, are not only instances of your zeal and affection to me, but demonstrate the established credit, power, and strength of this kingdom.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ It would have been a great satisfaction to me, if, before your separation, I had been able to speak to you more positively, and with greater certainty, upon the present posture of affairs. But, as you have now dispatched the public business, and as the season of the year requires your going into your respective counties, I chuse rather to put an end to the session, than to keep you any longer together unnecessarily. The provisions you have made, and the perfect union and harmony between me and my allies, will, I hope, enable me, by the Divine assistance, either to withstand and defeat the designs of our enemies, if their conduct should bring upon us the necessity of a war; or to improve the blessings of peace, if peace can, with any justice, honour, and security, be obtained.”

We may perceive from this speech, that notwithstanding the preparations for war, made as well on the side of the Hanover allies as those of

Vienna, that the contending powers were respectively desirous of peace; and that some overtures had actually been made towards a mutual accommodation, each of them having declared that the preservation of the tranquility of Europe was the sole end of their proceedings.

The Spaniard, in order to show that he was not intimidated by the mighty naval armaments of the English, proceeded in the scheme he had formed of attacking the important fortress of Gibraltar; and on the 11th of February, 1727, the trenches were actually opened before that place by the Conde de las Torres, captain-general of his Catholic majesty's forces in Andalusia, at the head of twenty thousand men, well provided with all sorts of artillery and warlike ammunition proportioned to the strength of the place, from which the Spaniards expected a stout resistance. Our ministry at home having had previous intelligence of this design, had ordered a squadron to be got ready at Portsmouth; the command of which was given to sir Charles Wager. The earl of Portmore, governor of Gibraltar, notwithstanding his advanced age, having been a colonel near forty years, resolved to repair in person to his government, and embarked on board this fleet; which sailing in the month of March, arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, when the troops which had been sent over from England were landed, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. At the same time five hundred men arrived from Minorca; so that the garrison now amounted to six thousand effective men, who being plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coast of Barbary, set all the efforts of the besiegers at defiance*.

The first use made of the extraordinary supplies granted by the parliament, was to send once more a fleet up the Baltic, where it was said the czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes, and afterwards to proceed to the execution of other designs prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain and her allies. The command of this fleet was bestowed upon sir John Norris, who had under him two new made admirals, Maurice and Hughes; the one rear-admiral of the white, the other rear-admiral of the blue. Sir John arrived at Elsinour in the beginning of May, where he was joined by a Danish squadron; but the czarina dying on the seventeenth of the same month, the court of Petersburg thought proper to lay aside their armament†.

About the same time the court of Vienna having shewn a disposition to make some attempts upon the barrier of the States-general in the Netherlands, these latter applied to our court to hold in readiness, in case of necessity, the ten thousand auxiliaries which England was obliged by treaty to send to their assistance. Hereupon the forces of Great Britain were augmented with thirty new-raised companies.

Notwithstanding all these hostile appearances, the treaty of Hanover being merely defensive, left the powers engaged therein at full liberty to use their utmost endeavours to bring about an amicable accommodation. Accordingly, Lewis XV.

king of France, first undertook this friendly office, which was conducted by the duke de Richelieu, his ambassador at Vienna, who, in concert with the British and Dutch ministers, drew up twelve preliminary articles, which were signed on the twentieth of May at Paris by the ministers of the allies, and afterwards at Vienna by the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors. They imported; that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years; and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix la Chapelle, for adjusting all differences; and establishing the peace of Europe.

This congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the conveniency of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at his own court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which above one half of the Spanish army had perished either by slaughter or sickness; while the English, who defended the place, did not lose above five hundred men. The court of Madrid, however, starting new difficulties, and refusing to restore the Prince Frederic, the English South-sea ship which had been detained at La Vera Cruz in the West Indies, Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coast of Spain, after the raising the siege of Gibraltar. At length, after many cavils and delays, these obstructions were removed.

Two years had now elapsed since king George had visited his German dominions; so that he resolved to embrace the present opportunity of enjoying that pleasure. Accordingly, having appointed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the third day of June, and landing in Holland on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover. On the road his majesty was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, which terminating in a lethargy, he was carried in a state of insensibility to Onabrug, where he expired at his brother's palace, on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign over these kingdoms, and was interred at Hanover among his ancestors.

We have, in the beginning of this reign, given a sketch of the character of George I. at the time he acceded to the British throne. As to his conduct after that accession, we must repeat, that his ministers were entirely accountable for it, he having constantly signified his intention to govern according to the laws of the country over which he was called to rule, and with a view solely to the good of his people. George I. was plain in his person, and simple in his address: though generally grave and composed in his public deportment, in his hours of relaxation he was easy, familiar, and even facetious.

I S S U E.

George I. married the princess Sophia-Dorothy, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had his late majesty George II. and the late queen of Prussia.

* Naval Hist. Hist. Reg. Tindal.

† Naval Hist.

We think we cannot conclude this reign more pleasingly than with a short account of the state of literature in this kingdom, from the death of Charles II. to this period, as given us by a modern writer †.

“ Dr. Atterbury (afterwards bishop of Rochester) and Dr. Clarke distinguished themselves in divinity; Mr. Whiston wrote in defence of Arianism; John Locke shone forth the great restorer of human reason; Cudworth traced the whole labyrinth of metaphysical argumentation; the earl of Shaftesbury raised an elegant, though feeble, system of moral philosophy; Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety and variety of metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction; lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphysician have been questioned since his posthumous works appeared; great progress was made in mathematics and astronomy by Wallis, Halley, and Flamsteed; the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the classical Dr. Freind and the elegant Dr. Mead.”

[It is with some degree of surprize that we find the name of the great sir Isaac Newton omitted by this author in his list of the improvers of astronomy and mathematics, since he was probably the greatest philosopher, and undoubtedly the greatest mathematician in Europe. We are far from pretending to draw his character entire: suffice it to say, in one word, that he has not left his equal perhaps on the face of the whole earth, having, even by the learned of foreign nations, been allowed the pre-eminence, and to be the unrivalled glory of the British name and nation!]

“ Among the poets of this æra we number John Philips, author of a didactic poem called Cyder; a performance of real merit: he lived and

died in obscurity. William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance, and regularity: Vanbrugh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with less art and precision: Steele, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the antient drama: Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue: Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate, though he yielded to none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter: Swift, whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy; he was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been unpleasant, had he not qualified them by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais: Prior, lively, familiar, and amusing: Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory: Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification: the agreeable Parnel: the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth: Gay, whose fables will vie with those of La Fontaine, in nature, humour, ease, and simplicity, and whose genius for pastoral was truly original.

“ The most remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

“ Dr. Bentley stood foremost in the list of critics and commentators: sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture: in a word, during the period we have run over, England made a considerable figure in every branch of learning and the liberal sciences.

† Smollett, in his History of England, vol. x. p. 323.

GEORGE II. A. D. 1727.

GEORGE II. on ascending the throne, had the happiness to find the minds of his new subjects in general prepossessed in his favour: they had with pleasure contemplated in him, while prince of Wales, many amiable qualifications, which promised them all the felicity they could wish, when he should one day come to rule over them. Although, during the life-time of his father, who seemed to have conceived some jealousy of him, he had been in a manner excluded from all share in the government, yet a more than common discernment supplied the defect in this part of his education; and his natural talents being improved and ripened by years, his majesty being in the forty-fourth year of his age at the death of his royal father, he seized the reins of government with full abilities to manage them.

At this time also conjunctures were particularly favourable to the new monarch. Commerce, the great idol of this nation, and to which she sacrifices

every other consideration, flowed uninterrupted through all her channels, bringing daily a spring-tide of wealth into the capital, from whence it circulated through the most distant parts of the kingdom, producing riches and ease: that such was really the situation of the country at this period, may be demonstrated by numberless proofs; a few only will suffice. It is an unalterable maxim, that when in any state money bears but a low interest, and that the value of lands is every day increasing, there must be great plenty of money in that state: now this was at present the very case with regard to England. The interest of money was not now at more than three and a half or four per cent. at the most; the price of lands, which not many years before was at twenty and twenty-one years purchase, were now raised to twenty-five, twenty-six, and twenty-seven years purchase; an evident proof that there were more persons able and ready to purchase lands than formerly. Another clear evidence

STORY OF ENGLAND
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Engraved for
MORTIMER'S
Hall of England



S. Wale delin.

C. Gignion sculpt.

GEORGE II.

dence of the increased wealth of Britain was, the great sums of late expended in the inclosing and improving lands, and the erecting of magnificent edifices. To this if we add the great increase of jewels, plate, and other rich moveables, much beyond former times; and, lastly, consider the increase in the tonnage of shipping, which in the last six years exceeded the preceding six years two hundred and thirty-eight thousand tons, we have undoubted proofs of Great Britain being in a most flourishing state, and, by consequence, her people rich and prosperous.

By the attention which had been shewn during the last reign to maritime affairs, our fleet was now on the most respectable footing; near two hundred sail of ships of war, as well of the line as frigates, fire-ships, &c. were either cruizing upon different parts of the ocean, or ready to sail from the several ports at the first warning, for the purpose of protecting our commerce, or annoying the enemy. Several regiments of well-disciplined troops were cantoned in different parts of the three kingdoms, so as to overawe the disaffected, and secure the peace and tranquility of the whole, while it strengthened the hands of government, and gave the new sovereign an ascendancy that had been unknown to his predecessors on the English throne for many years.

The parliament too, that body in other times so formidable to the sovereign, and who had for so many centuries been a constant check upon the regal power, under pretext of maintaining the rights of the people, now seemed to be a mere machine actuated by ministerial springs, and hardly waiting for the demand, lavished supplies upon the crown without end or limitation.

On the other hand, the state of affairs in Europe were every day growing more and more favourable to the peace and security of George, as well with respect to his British as his German dominions. Spain recovering at length from the illusion in which it had been held by the court of Vienna, became sensible how much it was her true interest to be heartily reconciled to Great Britain, and restore all the commercial privileges they enjoyed before the rupture between the two crowns, especially, as by keeping fair with king George she alone could hope to secure to Don Carlos, afterwards king of the Two Sicilies, the succession to the valuable duchy of Tuscany, and those of Parma and Placentia. To obtain this was the object of the treaty of Seville.

The emperor Charles VI. far from persisting to trouble the repose of Great Britain, readily gave up the new Ostend company; and by that concession obtained from his Britannic majesty the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, a family-law of which I shall have occasion to speak more particularly in the course of this history.

Holland, more closely united than ever with the English, her antient good friends and allies, blended her interests with theirs, and sincerely rejoiced at their prosperity, as the certain pledge of her own.

France, which was at this time principally governed by cardinal de Fleury, seemed desirous of peace, in order to repair the losses she had suffered, and to enrich herself at leisure by the extensive commerce she now carried on, without seeking to make any innovation.

The pretender, abandoned to his ill fortune, led an obscure life in the papal dominions, despairing to find any potentate in Europe weak enough to hazard his own tranquility, in support of the imaginary rights of a forlorn wanderer against a powerful monarch, actually in possession of the crown to which he aspired.

Thus, as I have already observed, George II. acceded to the crown under such favourable circumstances, as promised the most lasting happiness to himself, and the highest advantages to his people; yet (such is the precariousness of all human prospects) few reigns exhibit a greater variety of disagreeable events, both to the sovereign and the people, as will be abundantly manifested in the course of this history, the thread of which I shall now resume.

His late majesty's decease was not known in England till three or four days after it happened: but on the fourteenth of June an express arrived with the melancholy advice to sir Robert Walpole, who was then at his house at Chelsea. He immediately waited upon the prince and princess of Wales at Richmond, with the important intelligence; and they thereupon repaired to Leicester-house, where they had for some time kept their court. Here they were received by a number of the lords of the privy-council, and other persons of quality and distinction, who drew up and signed an instrument for proclaiming his royal highness king of these realms; and the ceremony of the proclamation was performed the next morning (Thursday June 15) at the usual places, with all the accustomed solemnities. His majesty in the interim caused all the lords and others of the late king's privy-council to be sworn of his privy-council: he likewise was pleased to make a declaration in council, in which, among other things, he had the following expression: "The religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, are most dear to me; and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, as it is now happily established, shall be my first, and always my chief care." On the evening of the fourteenth his majesty took and subscribed the oath relating to the security of the church of Scotland, according to the forms prescribed by the laws of that kingdom. On the fifteenth the earl of Scarborough was sworn of the privy-council, and appointed master of the horse to his majesty.

The next day the court of lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London waited on the king and queen, with their compliments of condolence on the death of his late majesty, and congratulation upon their new sovereign's accession to the crown. The example of the capital was quickly followed by most of the cities, towns, boroughs, and corporations in the three kingdoms and the plantations. On the nineteenth of June his majesty was proclaimed with great solemnity at Edinburgh and Dublin.

The parliament of Great Britain assembled on the first news of the late king's death, in pursuance of the act made for that purpose in the fourth year of queen Anne, but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of the month. All the great officers of state were continued in their places; sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the Treasury; and the system of politics established by the late king was still strictly adhered to.

The supreme direction of affairs was not yet consigned to any single minister. The lord viscount Townshend was in general considered as the principal manager of foreign transactions relating to treaties and negotiations, for which he was on all hands allowed to be very capable. The duke of Newcastle, his colleague, though not possessed of so extensive a fund of knowledge in these matters, had ingratiated himself with his sovereign by his exemplary zeal for the protestant succession in the illustrious line of Hanover.

The interior government of Great Britain was chiefly managed by sir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, and who had, from his first obtaining a seat in parliament, declared himself a strenuous partizan of the Whig party. As a public speaker, he was cool and clear; and though he might not, in a classical sense, be termed eloquent, he possessed that happy kind of elocution which seldom failed to persuade his audience into a belief of what he advanced. He was indeed inclined to speak rather too frequently for a man of his exalted station; but then he did it from a persuasion that he was better acquainted with the nature of the subject he handled than any of his friends who would have spoke for him. Few men better understood the nature of the public funds, and the iniquitous mystery of stock-jobbing; by which means he frequently counteracted the schemes of those who consulted their own interests at the expence of the public good; a charge which the most inveterate of his enemies could not make good against him. He was remarkable for his discernment of characters. In this distinguishing mark of a political genius he stood unrivalled by any minister we read of in history; but the greatest reproach (perhaps the greatest misfortune) of his administration, was, his applying himself only to the knowledge of men as they could be immediately useful in parliament. By this knowledge he could convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage, and always keep the venal part of the representatives of the nation in his interest, by gratifying them with profitable considerations for voting as he dictated. From the deaths of the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, in the late reign, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime minister, to which he finally attained soon after the accession of George II. and kept possession of longer than any minister recorded in the English annals. If, during his long administration, his measures were frequently reprehensible, those of his antagonists were not always right; for in the heat of their animosity to him they opposed, without distinction, the justifiable as well as the questionable schemes he set on foot. But to return.

The parliament, agreeable to the royal proclamation, met on the twenty-seventh of June, 1727, and the session was opened by a speech delivered from his majesty's own mouth; in which he gave an early omen of that paternal care he ever after exerted for the welfare of his people: among many other gracious expressions, he assured the two houses, that it should be his constant care to preserve the constitution in church and state inviolable in all its parts, and to secure to all his subjects the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights.

Addresses of condolance and congratulation being drawn up and presented by both houses, the com-

mons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration a motion for establishing the civil list, for the better support of the honour and dignity of the crown. On this occasion sir Robert Walpole, as chancellor of the Exchequer, reminded the house, that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, which had been settled on the late king, had fallen short every year, insomuch that the house had been obliged to make up the deficiencies; and his present majesty's expences, he said, must necessarily be expected to increase, as he had a large family: he therefore moved, that the entire revenues of the civil list, which produced about eight hundred and thirty thousand pounds, should be settled on the king during his life. This motion was violently opposed by all the anti-courtiers; but no one distinguished himself so much as Mr. Shippen, who was an avowed enemy to the reigning ministry, and was an intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic speaker: he urged, that this motion was inconsistent with the trust reposed in that house as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money: he observed, that the civil list branches in queen Anne's reign did not often exceed five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nevertheless, she called upon her parliament but once in a reign of thirteen years to pay the debts contracted in her civil-government; and these were occasioned by very extraordinary acts of piety and generosity, which she had exhibited on sundry occasions, particularly in the case of the poor clergy, towards the augmentation of whose livings she had given up the first-fruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds per annum; and immediately before her death said she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand pounds per annum. He affirmed, that a million a year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences of a profuse and vain-glorious administration. As none of the large sums which had been already granted were accounted for, but had all been sunk in the bottomless gulph of secret service, those sums, he said, had in all probability been employed in services not fit to be owned, in perverting from their public duty those who were weak or wicked enough to sell themselves as the tools and hirelings of a corrupt ministry. No answer was made to any of the particulars insisted upon in this speech. Antiministerial association was now reduced too low to be thought worthy such a mark of notice. The question was put. The house agreed to sir Robert's motion, and a bill was brought in upon the following resolutions; "First, That towards the supply granted to his majesty for the support of his household, the same revenues which were payable to his late majesty during his life, be granted and continued to his present majesty during his life. Secondly, That the said revenues be continued from the death of his late majesty."

While this bill was depending, a message was delivered by sir Paul Methuen, the treasurer of the household, from the king, recommending the making further provision for the queen, in case of his majesty's demise. The success of this message was considered as the touchstone of the disposition of the commons, who left it not long in suspense; for, after considering the message in a grand committee

mittee of their house, they resolved, "1. That a provision be made for the queen, in case she should survive his majesty, of one hundred thousand pounds per annum during her life, together with his majesty's palace of Somerset-house, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Old Park. 2. That his majesty be enabled to charge the said one hundred thousand pounds on all or any of the duties and revenues, for the better support of her majesty's household, &c. which shall subsist after his majesty's decease."

Pursuant to these resolutions, bills were brought in and passed both houses, and received the royal assent on the seventeenth of July; as also an act "to enable his majesty to be governor of the South-sea company," and an act "for continuing the imprisonment of Robert Blackburne and others, for the assassination-plot against king William." The same day his majesty made a most gracious speech to both houses, which sufficiently demonstrated the pleasure their proceedings had given him. He thanked the members for the provision they had made for the support of his family and civil-government, and for the ample provision they had made for the queen. He then subjoins the following remarkable paragraph:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is a great happiness to me to see the nation in so prosperous and flourishing a condition; at the highest pitch of glory and reputation; of great weight in holding the balance of Europe; defending themselves in their just privileges and possessions; and vindicating the honour of the crown of Great Britain."

His majesty having concluded his speech, the lord-chancellor, by the royal command, declared the parliament prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of August; but on the seventh day of that month it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for convoking another.

In the interim, some changes were made in different departments of civil oeconomy. George Byng, lord viscount Torrington, was placed at the head of the admiralty; the earl of Westmoreland was appointed first lord-commissioner of trade and plantations; Philip-Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, was nominated ambassador to the Hague; and the lord Carteret obtained the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland: the duke of Devonshire was dignified with that of president of the council; and the duke of St. Albans was appointed master of the horse.

On the eleventh of October their majesties coronation was performed with great splendor and solemnity: the bishop of Oxford preached on the occasion, and the day was celebrated in every part of his majesty's dominions with the most extraordinary rejoicings. On the thirtieth, being lord-mayor's day as well as the king's birth-day, conformable to an humble invitation from the city, their majesties, the princess-royal, and princess Carolina, accompanied by the great officers of state, and other suitable attendants, dined with the lord-mayor at Guildhall, were present at a ball, and returned to St. James's in the same state with which they entered the city, at eleven o'clock the same night.

The other domestic transactions of this year are of little importance to a general history of England: we shall therefore pass on to a view of foreign affairs during the remaining part of this year.

The reader may remember, that towards the close of the last reign we took notice of certain articles, preliminary to a general pacification, being signed at Paris on May 20-31, 1727, on the part of the emperor, his Britannic majesty, the most Catholic king, and the States-general, by which a mutual cessation of hostilities was stipulated for seven years; and that within four months after signing this convention, a congress should be formed, in which all the rights and pretensions of the contracting parties should be examined, discussed, and determined: but as soon as the articles were produced in public, it was immediately foreseen that the dark and ambiguous manner of wording them would give occasion to many cavils and disputes.

Accordingly, the preliminaries were no sooner signed than new disputes began to be started about the meaning of them, and such interpretations to be put upon the words of these articles as utterly destroyed the intent and design of them. The Spaniards insisted that a mere cessation of hostilities, as stipulated by the preliminaries, did not imply an actual raising of the siege of Gibraltar; and that the restitution of the South-sea ship Prince Frederic, with her cargo, was not mentioned or included in them. Besides this, the court of Spain demanded an *indulto* of twenty per cent. on the effects of private persons embarked in the Flotilla.

These points having been warmly litigated by the different parties for eight or nine months, they were at length adjusted by another convention negotiated by the count de Rothemberg, minister of France, and signed at the Pardo, near Madrid, the sixth of March, 1728. This instrument contained an explanation of the preliminaries: and it was once more solemnly stipulated, that all the respective pretensions on each side should be produced, debated, and decided in the congress to be held at Soissons, with a particular engagement that their Britannic and Catholic majesties would abide by what should be there regulated.

In the mean time, it was agreed that the British squadrons should be ordered, without delay, to withdraw from the seas of Old and New Spain; in consideration of which, his Catholic majesty likewise engaged that the blockade of Gibraltar should be immediately raised; that a clear and express order should be sent without delay for restoring the ship Prince Frederic, with her cargo, to the agents of the South-sea company; and that the effects of the Flotilla should be forthwith delivered to the respective proprietors.

These conditions being accepted on both sides, his Catholic majesty ratified the preliminaries; but before the ratifications were exchanged, some new disputes arose concerning the orders agreed to be sent to the West Indies, in pursuance of this convention. These fresh difficulties took up some time longer, but were likewise got over by the count de Rothemberg and M. Vandermeer, the minister from the States-general, who managed all our affairs at the court of Spain; and the congress was opened at Soissons on the fourteenth of June, 1728, of which more in its place.

While these negotiations were on foot, a treaty or convention, which afterwards made a great noise in the world, was concluded at Westminster, between his Britannic majesty and the duke of Brunswic-Lunenbourg-Wolfenbittel. By this convention the Serene duke engaged to guaranty all his majesty's dominions in Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany; and likewise to furnish a body of five thousand men, for which our king engaged to pay the said duke a yearly subsidy of twenty-five thousand pounds, for four years. By a separate article in this convention it was stipulated, that the duke's troops were not to be obliged to pass over to Great Britain or Ireland, but should be employed either in replacing troops that might be drawn from his majesty's German dominions, or be put into the garrisons of the States-general, in case any of *their* troops should be sent over to Great Britain.

The elections in England and Scotland for the new parliament having gone entirely in favour of the ministry, the two houses met on the twenty-third day of January, 1728, when the commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, esq. knight of the shire for the county of Surry; a gentleman of extensive knowledge, approved integrity, and abilities every way equal to the discharge of that honourable and important office, and who afterwards fully justified the choice of that respectable body, by his conduct in a longer series of public and irreprehensible services in that station than any man had ever done before him.

The king, in his speech to this new parliament, declared, that he was very sensible of the disagreeable and uneasy situation in which their affairs were at present placed, and had been greatly concerned to see many of the inconveniencies of a war attending his subjects, without any opportunity of resenting the injuries they had sustained, or gaining, in return, any of those advantages which the vigorous prosecution of so just a cause, and the success of his arms, might probably have secured to them: that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries; and tho' there was great reason to believe that the congress would soon be opened, and all obstructions removed, yet was it absolutely necessary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general rupture in Europe, and procured to the English nation many advantages, which would be entirely lost through a discontinuance of their armaments: that he was extremely desirous of reducing the national expences, and would not fail to set about this necessary and important work, as soon as the interest of his people would permit: he earnestly recommended to their consideration the increase and encouragement of seamen in general, that they might be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the service of their country; a consideration, he said, well worthy the representatives of a people great and flourishing in trade and commerce: that he hoped they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hospital, and proceed in all their deliberations with such unanimity, zeal, and dispatch, as to convince the world that none of them could be induced, from any views or motives whatever, to wish the distress of their country, or to give occasion, from the prospect of divisions that might be

excited and fomented at home, to interrupt or disappoint their expectations from abroad.

The two houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of loyalty and affection to his majesty. The lords in their address complimented him in the highest strains of applause, as the best of kings, and the true father of his country. The commons, not to be behind with them, poured forth their grateful acknowledgements for the blessings they enjoyed under his auspicious reign (in which it should seem they rather over-shot the mark, as it was hardly eight months old). They approved of all his transactions, promised to support him in all his undertakings, and declared they would cheerfully grant whatsoever supplies should be wanted for the public service.

These warm professions of the commons drew from the king a most gracious answer, in which he gave them thanks for their very loyal and affectionate address: "Such returns of duty and gratitude from his faithful commons, he said, would add, if any thing possibly could, to his resolution of promoting and consulting upon all occasions the welfare and prosperity of his people. The entire confidence you place in me (continues his majesty) will engage me more strictly to make use of the power and trust you have reposed in me for your interest, and to your satisfaction; and you shall always find my readiness to ease and reduce the expences of the public to your expectations." This answer was so highly pleasing to the house, that they unanimously resolved to return their most humble thanks for it by another address.

Nor did they confine themselves to words alone; for having considered the estimates which were laid before them by order of his majesty, they voted twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-five men for the land-service, and fifteen thousand seamen. They granted two hundred and thirty thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the king of Sweden; and another of half that sum to the duke of Wolfenbittel. The expence of the year amounted to three millions seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds sixteen shillings, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, and by a loan from the Bank of one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for which annuities, to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by the duty on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

We must not, however, suppose that these very liberal grants passed unopposed: the number of land-forces occasioned a debate, and great heats arose about allowing the Hessian auxiliaries. In regard to the loan of the Bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was in effect only perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day; that although some persons had arrogated great merit to themselves in having erected the Sinking Fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up of that project. This subject occasioned some warm altercation between this gentleman and sir Robert Walpole.

On

On the twenty-sixth of February the city of London presented a petition to the house of commons on the affair of the coal-tax, setting forth, "That the duties already laid upon coal and culm imported into the port of London only affect their trade; and the inequality of the burthen thereof is a great discouragement to their manufactures, as well as an hardship upon the whole trading people in and about the city of London; and praying the house would give them such relief as to their wisdom should seem meet." As the granting this petition would have entirely defeated the loan, it was rejected by the majority, and the tax was imposed.

Great heats and debates arose in the house of commons this session about the application of part of the public money. The commons having addressed the king for a particular account of the distribution of the money that had been granted the preceding year, a state of it was laid before them; but finding a charge of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, said in general terms to have been issued "for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom," they presented a second address, desiring a more exact and distinct specification of the disbursement of that sum. To this address sir P. Methuen, by his majesty's command, returned for answer, that the last parliament having given the late king, his majesty's royal father, a power to issue and apply such sums of money as he should find necessary for discharging such expences, and fulfilling such engagements as had been or should be made for the security of his kingdom, and the preservation of the peace of Europe, some part of the money mentioned in the address had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty for these great and necessary purposes, and the remaining part had been applied by his present majesty for the like services. His majesty therefore hoped that the house would repose the same confidence in him as they had done in his royal father, and rest assured that the money had been faithfully and necessarily expended, pursuant to the power given him by act of parliament, and for the uses and purposes therein directed; but that a particular and distinct account thereof could not be given, without manifest prejudice to the public service.

Such a message, though perhaps not unprecedented, was certainly very little agreeable to the established methods of proceeding between king and parliament, and would, under some reigns, have been construed into an unpardonable stretch of the regal power: it was indeed too glaring to escape the animadversions of the gentlemen in the opposition. Mr. W. Pulteney in particular inveighed against it, as vague, frivolous, and altogether unparliamentary, and such as might be made use of to defeat every enquiry which that house might think proper to set on foot concerning the disposal of public money. "If we allow of such answers, said he, we may resign our most precious privilege as a parliament, that of enquiring into the distribution of public money, and the conduct of corrupt ministers, who ought to be the objects of our censure." To this the advocates for the ministry replied, that the answer was conformable to another returned in the late reign to a like address: there was no more reason, they said, for distrusting his present majesty, than there was

for distrusting his royal father: that the commons were so well satisfied on that occasion, that instead of expressing any dissatisfaction, they returned the king an address of thanks for his gracious answer. Sir Robert Walpole said, that if the gentlemen on the other side of the question would but maturely consider the various and complicated interests actually subsisting on the continent, they would find it absolutely impossible that the public service could be carried on if every shilling of the money, expended for the benefit of the common cause, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, should be laid open to all the world. In the end, the house resolved, by a great majority, to accept of the answer returned by his majesty.

On the fourth day of March the commons took into consideration the state of the national debt; on which affair the house, resolving itself into a grand committee, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers, when a court-member moved for the following resolution, "That it appears to this house that the monies already issued and applied towards discharging the national debts incurred before Christmas 1716, together with the sum of six hundred and fifty-five thousand pounds to be issued at Lady-day next, amount to six millions six hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-two pounds five shillings and one penny farthing." The bent of this motion was evidently to appease the clamour which had been raised, that the public debts had increased since the establishment of the Sinking Fund. The anti-ministerial party, on the other hand, exerted all their abilities, which are allowed to have been very great, to expose the fallacious tendency of this motion. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who was at that time in high credit for his great knowledge of public business and foreign transactions, put himself at the head of the debate upon this occasion. He was supported by his relation Mr. William Pulteney, Mr. Shippen, and in general by all the heads of the opposition.

Mr. Daniel Pulteney was a cold, but weighty speaker; and tho' other members in the opposition had brighter parts, none of them possessed superior, if equal, abilities; because his capacity, which was sound and vigorous, had been improved by study. Mr. William Pulteney inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated: he was well read both in history and politics, and deeply skilled in the British constitution: he was master of a rapid and overpowering eloquence, and spoke with great freedom and courage. Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic. Sir William Wyndham was nervous, manly, and full of senatorial dignity.

These great men declaimed in the warmest terms upon the profuse mismanagement of the public money: they insisted, that notwithstanding the very liberal grants which had been made by parliament during the last and present reign, notwithstanding the establishment of the Sinking Fund, the national debt was annually increasing, and that too in a time of profound peace; a circumstance which yielded a very melancholy prospect, since at this rate the public debts must encrease farther in case of a foreign war, or domestic commotion; so that the heavy and numerous taxes, under which the people at present laboured, seemed likely to be entailed on them to latest posterity.

In support of these assertions, they demonstrated several fraudulent artifices used in drawing up the accounts: they shewed that those who had prepared them had, in order to render more capital the sum said to have been issued and applied toward the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas 1716, added no less than three millions for the advanced price given in 1720, to convert the irredeemable debts into redeemables, which they urged could not with any propriety be called a payment of those debts: that on the other hand, in the account of the present national debt, or of the increase of that debt since Christmas 1716, several large sums were omitted, particularly one million upon the credit of the civil list, and several deficiencies in the land-tax, malt-tax, and other funds, which certainly still remain a public debt.

After having exhausted all their rhetoric, however, the ministerial party carried their point; for a second motion being made by the opposition for the speaker to resume the chair, it was carried in the negative by a very great majority; in consequence of which the first motion was approved without any division.

The great debt due to the navy was another interesting object of this parliament; and therefore, on the twenty-ninth of April, the house came to the following resolution; "That in order to the more regular, constant, and punctual payment of seamen's wages for the future, a sum, not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds, be granted to his majesty, towards paying off and discharging such part of the debt of the navy as is due upon the head of seamen's wages."

And now the minister, though sensible that he had greatly the superiority of numbers in the house in his favour, resolved to establish his credit without doors, which had been of late very severely handled from the press, of which his opponents had in a manner the entire possession, while he was inconceivably negligent in this respect: he looked upon writing to be a mechanical kind of business, and took up with the first pen he could find in public offices, or whom he could oblige by private liberality; and it was very seldom he ever read over the pamphlets or papers that were wrote even in defence of his own measures. But to return: Sir Robert Walpole knew that the writers for the opposition had, by numbers and calculations, persuaded the people that the Sinking Fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure, sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances, had, by a shameful misapplication, proved of little or no service to the purpose for which it was originally intended. Such a notion prevailing among the public, could by no means be favourable to the administration. The minister therefore, in order to retrieve his character, made a solemn appeal to the tribunal of majesty itself, by causing a representation to be drawn up, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December 1716, with a state of the Sinking Fund and of the public credit.

It was a very elaborate performance, and began with some very severe reflections against the arts which had been practised in order to mislead the people in this important point: then, after stating the whole of the national debt, it represented to his majesty, that the several national debts in-

curred before the twenty-fifth of December 1716, which have been since discharged, after deducting the sum of twenty-two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven pounds eight shillings and four-pence, do amount in the whole to six millions six hundred and twenty-six thousand four hundred and four pounds sixteen shillings and nine pence half-penny; and that the several national debts incurred since the said twenty-fifth of December, 1716, and now subsisting, amount together to the sum of three millions nine hundred and twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight pounds seven shillings and one penny three farthings, which being deducted out of the amount of the debts discharged, the difference is so much real decrease of the national debt since the twenty-fifth of December 1716, being two millions six hundred ninety-eight thousand four hundred and sixteen pounds nine shillings and seven-pence three farthings. The representation then goes on to shew, "That by the several reductions from six to five, and from five now to four per cent. on the greatest part of the public debts; so great savings of interest have been made, that the Sinking Fund may now be estimated to be about one million two hundred thousand pounds per annum, and will be every year increasing, from the farther savings of the interest of the remaining debts from time to time, as they shall be paid off: which increase of the Sinking Fund, from four hundred thousand pounds to about one million two hundred thousand pounds (since Midsummer 1727) being in the hands of government, and applicable from time to time to the discharge of the principal, makes a gain and profit to the public equal to the discharge of one third of the principal debt; so that the said additional eight hundred thousand pounds to the Sinking Fund, if valued at twenty-five years purchase, at which rate all annuities are now currently sold, makes a real profit to the public of twenty millions: and if, notwithstanding the many difficulties this nation has laboured under by an unnatural rebellion, and by the many heinous plots and conspiracies since formed for overturning the religion and liberties of our country, and notwithstanding the embroiled condition of the affairs of Europe, we have been able to diminish the national debts so much already, what may we not hope for (concludes this paper) in regard to a speedy dispatch of them for the future?"

Such was the purport of this famous representation, upon which we shall only in brief remark, with the most approved writers on the other side of the question, that although the then administration, and those which succeeded it, had afterwards many such difficulties to struggle with as are enumerated in the above representation, more surely might have been done for increasing the Sinking Fund, by absolutely preserving it inviolable; although it must be allowed, that it would have been attended with many and great difficulties, considering that a second rebellion, and two very expensive wars, have happened since that representation was made. What is past needs not to be enlarged upon; but surely hereafter (especially in times of peace) a determined national frugality ought to be cultivated with the utmost attention; and it is earnestly to be hoped and wished, that in order to increase the Sinking Fund, the public might be benefited by a rational reduction of the salaries

salaries of many useless offices and employments in the revenue, &c. the fee-simple whereof would probably amount to a greater sum than many may apprehend, were a strict enquiry made thereinto.

The representation being approved of by the house, was presented to his majesty, who returned a very remarkable and favourable answer, importing, that he was highly pleased with this representation, which could not fail to give general satisfaction to all his people, by removing those groundless jealousies and apprehensions which had been propagated and dispersed throughout the kingdom: that the happy effects of the flourishing state of the public credit were too sensibly felt and seen, not to be confessed and acknowledged by every impartial person: that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it; a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without the necessity of incurring new incumbrances: and that they might be well assured, that it should ever be his particular care and study to maintain and preserve the public credit, and improve the Sinking Fund, and to avoid all occasions of laying new burdens upon his people.

This answer, fraught with so many expressions of fatherly tenderness for his subjects, paved the way for a message from his majesty to the house of commons, which was delivered on the fourth day of May by sir P. Methuen, and consisted in a demand of a vote of credit, to fulfil certain engagements entered into and concerted with the advice and concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. This message was productive of a long and violent debate; but notwithstanding all the efforts of the opposition, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty-seven against one hundred and one, that his majesty's request should be granted. This completed the triumph of the minister, who now seemed to have set his foot upon the neck of his adversaries.

They returned, however, to the attack, not so much from any view of being able to make a successful stand, as from a determined resolution to render the minister as unpopular as possible. With this view a motion was made on the seventeenth of May, for an account of the sale of woods, and grants of falls of woods, by his late majesty, from Christmas 1715 to January 1727, and how the same had been accounted for. This motion however had a negative put upon it, though it was represented that great waste had been made in the royal forests, at a time when the nation was in the utmost want of timber to supply and support the navy.

Little else material of public business happened this session of parliament, if we except an address of the commons to the king to purchase the Carolina charter, of which take the following short account:

Towards the close of the late reign the colonies of South and North Carolina were terribly har-

assed by the incursions of the Indians in their neighbourhood, the inhabitants being unable, with what assistance they could procure from the adjoining colonies, to withstand those savages; and the lords proprietors, unwilling to take upon themselves the expence of this Indian war, the deputies of the suffering colonies humbly besought his majesty to take them under his royal protection. The duke of Beaufort, the lord Craven, sir John Colleton, and others, the representatives of the original proprietors of those two provinces, having also declared by petition to his majesty their willingness to surrender their charter to the crown for a valuable consideration; the commons thereupon addressed the king to contract with the said lords proprietors of Carolina for the purchase and surrender of their title to that province, promising to make good the expence out of the next aids granted by parliament. In consequence of this address, an act was passed this session, by which (for the trifling sum of twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds) these fine provinces were made regal from after the 1st of June 1729: and in this regal state Carolina has amazingly flourished and increased in trade and commerce, and has extended its plantations farther back or westward. Proper supplies have been sent thither by the crown from time to time, whereby the neighbouring Indians were compelled to live in a peaceful manner, till some few years ago, when they were again reduced to reasonable terms, though not without much bloodshed*.

During this session the parliament were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the king had laid before them. They likewise made an attempt to amend the statute of limitations, which however miscarried in the sequel. They passed the mutiny-bill, together with those relating to the public supplies, and some others of a private nature. These having received the royal assent, the king closed the session on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

Towards the close of this session his majesty was pleased to raise the following gentlemen to the degree of barons of this kingdom: sir John Monson, by the title of lord Monson: sir Thomas Wentworth, by that of lord Malton: sir John Hobart, by that of lord Hobart: and sir Thomas Coke, by that of lord Lovel.

In the spring of this year the king made an excursion to New-market, where he was waited upon by the university of Cambridge, with Dr. Lambert, their vice-chancellor, at their head, who besought his majesty to honour them with his presence at dinner; which invitation he most graciously accepted. At a small distance from the town of Cambridge he was met by the mayor and corporation in their formalities, who conducted him through it to the Regent-walk, where he was received by the duke of Somerset, then chancellor of the university, attended by the whole body of

* Anderson, vol. II. p. 317.

that illustrious seminary in their proper robes and habits. At the senate-house he ordered several degrees to be conferred; at King's-college chapel he heard divine service, and dined at Trinity-college with great magnificence. His majesty made a present of two thousand pounds to the university, and retired in the evening to New-market, from whence he returned to St. James's the fifth day after his having left it.

England was at this time quite barren of remarkable events. In the beginning of July signior Como, agent from the duke of Parma, was ordered to depart the kingdom in two days, his master having offered a gross insult to king George, by inviting the pretender to reside in his dominions, and having received him with the honours due to the king of Great Britain.

In August several persons were taken into custody, and some of them sentenced to stand in the pillory, and to be committed to Bridewell to hard labour, on account of printing and publishing *Mist's Journal* of August 24, which, under colour of relating the affairs of the Persian empire, was deemed to contain very gross and scandalous reflections upon the government, and the happy establishment in the illustrious house of Hanover. Edward Farley, printer of the *Exeter Journal*, for reprinting *Mist's Journal*, had a bill of indictment found against him for high treason; but upon a petition to the queen, after lying near a year in prison, without bail or mainprize, he obtained a *noli prosequi*, and was cleared thereupon in open court.

The king's uncle Ernest Augustus, prince of Brunswic, duke of York, and bishop of Osnabrug, died at his palace of Osnabrug on the third day of August, and was succeeded in the bishopric by the elector of Cologne, according to the paction by which Osnabrug is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswic and that elector.

In the beginning of December following the nation was agreeably surprized by the sudden and unexpected arrival in England of his royal highness prince Frederic, his majesty's eldest son, who set out from Herenhausen on the twenty-fourth of November, attended by the marquis de la Forest, his lord-chamberlain, and lieutenant-colonel Delaunay, of the Hanoverian guards, who had been sent by his majesty, they being then at the English court, to bring over his royal highness, some doubts having been urged in the privy-council concerning the non-residence of a prince of Wales in Great Britain. The marquis passed for an English gentleman, named Compton, and the prince for his son. Arriving in this manner incognito at Helvoetsluys, they went on board a packet then ready to sail for Harwich, where his royal highness arrived on the third of December, lodged at Colchester that night, came to Whitechapel the next day about seven in the evening, and proceeded thence very privately in a hackney-coach to St. James's. The next day he was introduced to the privy-council, and created prince of Wales; and there was a brilliant and numerous court to congratulate his royal highness on his safe arrival, who was soon after addressed on the same occasion from all parts of the kingdom.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the congress which was opened at Soissons on the 1st of June O. S. this year. The British minis-

ters were, William Stanhope, esq. afterwards earl of Harrington; Horatio Walpole, esq. and Stephen Poyntz, esq. Those of the emperor were, the counts Zinzendorf and Windisgratz, and the baron Pentenreedter. Those of the French court were, the cardinal de Fleury, the marquis de Fénélon, and the count de Brancas. From Spain were sent the duke de Bournonville, the marquis de Santa Cruz, and Don Ignatio de Bernachea. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the Russians, the Poles, the dukes of Holstein, Parma, Bavaria, and the count Palatine, had likewise their several ambassadors there. But this numerous train of plenipotentiaries did little more than assemble in form, and produce their credentials; after which, having spent five or six months in ceremonies and diversions, they broke up, and separated without adjusting any one material point in dispute.

It is true, indeed, that a certain plan of accommodation, called a provisional treaty, was framed by the minister of the Hanover alliance during this assembly, and sent to the respective courts for their approbation: but as this draught of a treaty was neither relished at home, nor accepted abroad, it does not deserve much notice. I shall only observe in general, that it was little more than the preliminaries new-modelled, and digested into the form of a treaty, without any specific explanation of those points which most immediately affected the interests of Great Britain. Thus the fate of Europe was still left in suspense; the English fleet lay inactive in the West Indies; the sailors perished miserably, without daring to revenge their country's wrongs; for the ministry were unwilling to engage in a war; and in the mean time the Spanish guarda costas committed daily depredations on our merchant ships in that quarter of the world.

Through the natural infirmities of the king of Spain, who had betaken himself to a peevish recluse sort of life, his queen, an Italian by birth, had engrossed all power into her own hands. This princess was reserved, resolute, cunning, and dexterous in executing the most daring projects, even when attended with the most unpromising circumstances: she had fixed her heart upon the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca; and procuring a settlement for her son Don Carlos in Italy. This made her very indifferent in regard to a reconciliation with England: but she had been very assiduous in renewing a good understanding with the court of France, and now sought to strengthen her interest by a double marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The prince of Asturias, eldest surviving son of the king of Spain by his first queen, now espoused the infanta of Portugal; while the Spanish infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, but sent back by him, was matched to the prince of Brazil, eldest son of his Portuguese majesty. But it is now time to attend domestic affairs.

The parliament of Great Britain met, according to their last prorogation, on the twenty-first day of January, 1729, when his majesty, in a speech to both houses, acquainted them, "That the plan of a provisional treaty had already been approved by him and his allies, but that no satisfactory answer had as yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumstance created a state of uncertainty, which gave him great uneasiness: but he hoped they would believe, that nothing but a regard for the ease and interest of his

his people could have prevailed upon him, rather to suffer some temporary inconveniencies, with the daily prospect of obtaining a safe and honourable peace, than precipitately to kindle a war in Europe, and to plunge the nation into still greater and more enormous expences: that he was sorry to find that the state of affairs obliged him to continue the public expences, in order to enable him, as events might require, to act with vigour, and in concert with his allies, who had all of them resolved to make the same preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces: that he had some reason to believe, that the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been encouraged in their dilatory proceedings by the hopes which were given them from hence of creating discontents and divisions among his subjects; but he was persuaded, that their known affection for him, and a just regard for their own honour, and for the interest and security of the nation, would determine them effectually to discourage the unnatural and pernicious practices of some few, who suggested the means of distressing this country, and afterwards clamoured at the inconveniencies which they themselves had occasioned."

A man must have very little discernment, or else be miserably blinded by prejudice, not to observe in this speech the hand of the minister, labouring to render odious and unpopular all those who set themselves up to oppose him. The artifice had its desired effect; the two houses, all compliance with the will of those at the helm, joined in addresses that could not fail of being agreeable: pursuing the hint that had been given them, they professed their detestation and abhorrence of those who went about to distress their country, by unfair representations of the state of things, and clamoured at the inconveniencies they themselves had occasioned. The estimates having been examined in the usual form, the house voted fifteen thousand seamen for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, and which amounted to near twenty-three thousand men, begat a warm dispute, in which Mr. W. Pulteney and Mr. Shippen particularly distinguished themselves: they laboured to prove, from history and experience, the dangers into which a standing army brought the constitution: they urged, that the court of Vienna having readily agreed to the preliminaries for a general pacification, there ought to be a reduction of that augmentation of the army, which the differences lately subsisting with the house of Austria had induced the parliament to agree to. These arguments, however, were answered and represented as absurd by Mr. Horatio Walpole, and other staunch adherents of the minister, who said, that as no definitive resolution in favour of peace had been made by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, the reduction of our national troops during such a state of indecision, would only encourage the powers with whom we were at variance to insist upon higher terms: in a word, the motion for continuing the army upon the same footing it then was, passed by a great majority.

The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfembuttel, were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lutwyche,

and Mr. Pulteney; which last observed, that as the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Brunswick-Wolfembuttel usually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great Britain should defray the expence only of the additional forces which those powers had raised, in consequence of their conventions with the king of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving that this remark made an impression on the house, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure: he expatiated on the wisdom of the late king in concluding the Hanover alliance: he affirmed that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overawed by the Hessians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that therefore they ought not to grudge an expence which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquility of Europe. The question being put, the court carried their point by a great majority. It was then voted to grant the pay for the twelve thousand Hessians, and for the duke of Wolfembuttel's troops, and five hundred thousand pounds subsidy to Sweden. The house of commons, however, thought proper on this occasion to address his majesty, that whenever it should be necessary to take any foreign troops into his service, he will be graciously pleased to use his endeavours that they may be clothed with the manufactures of Great Britain. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and by the sale of annuities to the Bank, not exceeding fifty thousand pounds per annum.

All this time the Spaniards continued to commit great depredations on our ships and settlements in America, which set the English on fire to repel these insults; but the ministry, who were entirely devoted to peace, urged, that as something decisive must happen ere long, it was most eligible, as the nation had waited so long, to wait a little longer before it broke out into open hostilities. The opposition taking advantage of the popular sentiments, let slip no opportunity of reviling and exposing the government, who, for the sake of one man, sacrificed the honour and interest of their country. In order to counteract these attempts, sir George Oxenden made a motion in the lower house for an address to his majesty, in answer to his speech from the throne, to acknowledge his majesty's great goodness and wisdom in endeavouring to avoid all difficulties and delays, by concerting the most expeditious methods of bringing the negotiations at Soissons to a speedy and honourable conclusion; expressing their grateful sense of his majesty's watchful care for the ease and interest of his people, in declining to plunge the nation into an expensive war, as long as there was any prospect of obtaining a safe and honourable peace; and, finally, assuring him that the house, in an entire confidence of his majesty's tender regard for his own honour, and that of the nation, rested fully satisfied that, as soon as necessity required, he would

would not fail to take the first opportunity of doing justice to himself and the nation, in securing the trade and commerce of the kingdom.

The opposition, however, were prepared for this counter-stroke, and endeavoured to return it back upon the ministry, by rendering them obnoxious to the trading part of the kingdom. With this view they moved for an amendment in sir George's proposed address, and that the word *restore* should be substituted in the room of *secure* the commerce of the kingdom. This cavil, it must be confessed, did little honour to those who raised it, being at best but a poor quibble upon words. However, it so far answered the end, as to raise a warm debate upon a point the ministry were not very able to defend, their passive behaviour in regard to the insults of the Spaniards. Sir William Yonge was at this time a frequent and a ready speaker, and his oratory was florid and captivating. Some part of his private life, however, had been such as had created him many enemies; and the prepossession which prevailed against him, had extended itself to his parliamentary and ministerial character, though in this point of view he certainly exhibited many strong abilities. On this occasion he set himself with all his strength to refute the arguments brought by the opposition in support of their amendment. He said, that the distinction between *restoring* and *securing* commerce, was a distinction without a difference; because supposing (which however he would by no means admit) the British commerce was ruined, it might be restored before it could be secured. He observed, that whatever was just in the outcry against the Spanish depredations, was in a great measure owing to the intolerable avarice of some English interlopers, who carried on an unlawful traffick with the subjects of Spain in America, in defiance of treaties and the law of nations, as well as to the manifest prejudice of the fair British trader.

The opposition were strengthened in this dispute by sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls. He was esteemed an upright judge, and an uncorrupt senator. His knowledge both in law and equity were consummate; but he was a weak politician, and a very indifferent speaker. His prepossessions in favour of the old Whig principles were so strong, that he could not bear the thoughts of England detaching herself from the house of Austria, and joining her interest with that of Bourbon. This was a revolution in politics which he could not comprehend; and which, in his opinion, endangered the constitution of the kingdom, the security of which, he said, ought to be still more dear to them than the security of commerce. In a word, the ablest speakers on both sides exerted their utmost abilities in this debate; but the question being at last put, whether the address should stand in its original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ninety-four against eighty-seven.

It happening, however, that the Spaniards made prize of some of our ships engaged in a lawful trade, the indignation of the public could be no longer restrained: petitions were delivered to the house of commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruption they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards

in the West Indies. These being considered, the house ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congress at Soissons; and addressed his majesty for copies of all the letters and instruments which had been sent to admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West India squadron. Having obtained these necessary informations, they enquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to his majesty, desiring he would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations, for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction, and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The king assured them, he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his people in an affair of so much importance; and they in another address thanked him for his gracious answer.

The commons having made farther progress in the enquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, agreed to the following resolutions; that several ships, merchandizes, and effects belonging to the merchants of this kingdom, trading to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, had been taken by the Spaniards, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, for which no restitution had as yet been made; and that the masters and crews of several ships had been barbarously and inhumanly treated: that, in order to take the necessary care of the interests and properties of his majesty's subjects and those of his allies, who were deeply concerned in the cargo and effects belonging to the flota and galleons; and to the end that the said treasure should not be employed in carrying on and supporting dangerous measures and engagements against his majesty and his allies, the orders and instructions given to vice-admiral Hosier to block up the flota and galleons, and to endeavour to secure and detain them without embezzlement, until justice and satisfaction should be given to his majesty and his allies, were just, prudent, and necessary, tending very much to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. These resolutions were communicated in an address to his majesty, who was again requested to use his endeavours to procure satisfaction to the unhappy sufferers; and he assured the house that he would not fail to comply with their request.

The Spanish ministry, on the other hand, insisted that the English, being excluded by treaty from any right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, or of trading to that bay, their cruizers and guarda costas were warrantable in seizing and detaining all such vessels as they should find pursuing that illicit trade. To set this matter, which was the foundation of most of our disputes with the Spanish court, in a true light, I shall present my readers (from Mr. Anderson's celebrated Treatise on Commerce, and other authorities) with a short historical deduction of the right claimed by the British nation, to retain a colony, and to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy.

It was in the year 1662 that the English, from their colonies on the north continent of America,

first began to cut down the logwood trees, growing in infinite quantities on the uninhabited coasts of the province of Yucatan, and more especially in the bay of Campeachy, where they made a settlement for that end, as it was not near to any Spanish settlement or inhabitants. Their first settlement was near Cape Catoche, next the Laguna di Terminos, which was found more convenient, and where the English buccaneers afterwards found themselves obliged to settle, upon the treaty of Madrid between England and Spain in 1667; which treaty, though it made no particular mention of America by name, expressly stipulated "A general, firm, and perpetual amity between the two crowns, as well by land as by sea, and between all the countries under the obedience of either of the kings." By the year 1669 that English settlement was considerably increased, and much logwood was carried from thence both to New England and Jamaica. In the year 1670 was concluded at Madrid, by sir W. Godolphin, the first treaty between England and Spain which expressly related to America, and therefore is usually called the American treaty.

By this convention the *then* possessions of both nations in America are confirmed. This gave encouragement to more of our people to settle with the above-mentioned logwood cutters, as it was in a desolate and unplanted country, and that the Spaniards had not hitherto made any complaints about it: for it was not till the year 1672 that the Spaniards began to interrupt our logwood cutters there, or to make the least remonstrances to our court against their settling in that bay. Soon after, however, the Spaniards became so uneasy at that settlement, and our cutting the logwood, that they actually made prize of all English vessels they met in the American seas which had any of that commodity on board; of which the earl of Arlington, the English secretary of state, loudly complained to the Spanish court by a letter, in the year 1674: for, as the sole advantage our court had in view by concluding the American treaty was, that our people might, without interruption, trade to our own colonies, and peaceably enjoy our then possessions in America, we were herein greatly frustrated by the court of Spain's conduct; so that this American treaty has ever since afforded a handle or pretence to that court to seize on our ships sailing along their American coasts, although with no intention of carrying on any contraband trade. It has occasionally been farther improved by Spain, to the having any quantity of pieces of eight to be seized, when found on board our ships near their American coasts; yet (excepting two or three months in the year 1680 that the Spaniards, by a considerable force, dislodged our logwood-cutters from the Laguna di Terminos, and the island de Trist) our people have remained in possession thereof. In the year 1717 the marquis de Monteleone delivered a memorial against the British subjects settlements in the isle of Trist, and one near the Laguna di Terminos, in the province of Yucatan and bay of Campeachy, where they continued to cut logwood; declaring, that if in the space of eight months they do not leave the said place, they shall be looked upon and treated as pirates. Hereupon the matter was referred by the king to the board of trade: they gave it as their opinion, that the English had a right to cut logwood there; which opinion was founded on the

principles above related, confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht; wherein, after confirming the American treaty, a stipulation is inserted, that the same shall be without any prejudice to any liberty or power which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed before, either through right, sufferance, or indulgence.

The attention of the commons was not so wholly engrossed by affairs of a public nature as to suffer them to neglect certain matters of a domestic kind, which were about this time brought before them, and which were very important and interesting objects. Some public-spirited gentlemen, at the head of whom was Mr. (afterwards general) Oglethorpe, having received intimations of the cruelties and oppressions practised throughout almost all the gaols in the kingdom upon prisoners, particularly in his majesty's prison of the Fleet; Mr. Oglethorpe, who was a member of the commons, laid the information he had received before the house; upon which a committee was appointed, with Mr. Oglethorpe for their chairman, to enquire into the state of all the gaols over the kingdom; and on the twenty-seventh of February they repaired to the Fleet prison, that they might examine the prisoners in their own persons. In consequence of this visitation, what before seemed justly alarming, now rose into circumstances of such complicated guilt, as filled the committee with horror. Whereupon the house came to several resolutions, and committed Huggins and Bambridge, the late and present wardens, with several of their understrappers, close prisoners to Newgate. A state of the Fleet prison was published, which displayed a lamentable scene of cruelty and barbarity. Huggins and Bambridge were tried for many crimes and misdemeanors, as well as murder; but were unexpectedly acquitted. One Acton, farmer of and clerk to the Marshalsea, was also tried for murder, and acquitted. The issue of the whole was, that the gaols were put under proper regulations, and our unhappy fellow-subjects beneath the pressure of misfortunes, delivered from the gripe of villains who had made a practice of adding misery, torment, and extortion, to wretchedness.

Complaints having been made of the deficiency of the civil list revenue, some members moved for an address to his majesty, intreating him to order an account of these revenues for one year to be laid before the house. The address was presented, the account produced, and the house resolved itself into a grand committee, to take the affair into consideration. The ministry affirmed that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his majesty; and therefore moved that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the king on account of those deficiencies and arrears.

This motion was vehemently opposed by all the members of the anti-ministerial party: they insisted, from the examination of the officers of the revenue at their bar, with several accounts that had been delivered to the house, that this sum of eight hundred thousand pounds and more was actually standing out in arrears which would be soon paid into the Exchequer. The pretence of a deficiency was therefore given up, and the one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds were in a manner begged by way of salvo, to the credit of those who first demanded it as a just debt. Nay, for their honour, there

there is a clause inserted in the act which grants it, shewing it to be true; for it is there enacted, that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds shall be repaid out of any arrears of the civil list at his majesty's demise.

The sum of ninety-three thousand nine hundred and forty pounds of the late queen's civil list lottery, which remained unsubscribed to the South-sea company, being entirely paid off in the year 1728, by the thirty-five thousand per annum appropriated for this service; and there being an annual sum of sixteen thousand four hundred pounds then remaining more than what answered the bare interest of that part of the lottery which was subscribed into the South-sea company, this annual sum of sixteen thousand four hundred pounds was judged to belong to the civil list, and accordingly was taken, though, by an act of the sixth Geo. I. the whole thirty-five thousand pounds were appropriated for ever, with the other branches of the Sinking Fund, towards the payment of the national debt. Few persons, however, were surprised at the frequent necessities of the civil list, notwithstanding that ample revenue which was settled on the crown in the preceding reign, when it was found that no less a sum than one million three hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds was paid in four years, from March 1721 to March 1725, for pensions, bounties, and secret service-money, which is annually above half the civil list revenue.

It was from a reflection on the damage that must accrue by such profusion to both prince and people, and even to the ministers themselves, as it induced a corrupt dependence thro' all ranks and degrees of men, that the most reputable members in the opposition resolved to make a stand against this torrent, and, if possible, lessen the ministerial influence. With this view a bill was produced by Mr. Watkyns-William Wynn, for the more effectually preventing bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections. The title of this bill being so truly unexceptionable, the minister, fearful of increasing too much the popular clamour against him should he oppose it, though, on the other hand, if he suffered it to pass, his influence would be greatly diminished thereby, was for some time at a loss how to act: at length his prudence determined him to give it no opposition, and the bill accordingly passed through the lower house with great dispatch.

When it came into the house of peers, that august assembly thought proper to raise the penalty upon a corrupt voter, party, or agent, in the election for a member of parliament, from fifty to five hundred pounds; and the person so convicted to be for ever disabled to vote in any election, and disqualified from holding any office or franchise as a member of any city, borough, town-corporate, or cinque-ports. The lords likewise added to this bill the following clause: "That such votes shall be deemed to be legal, which have been so declared by the last determination in the house of commons, concerning any county, shire, city, borough, cinque-port, or place, and shall be final to all intents and purposes whatsoever, any usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

In the mean time their lordships had taken into their consideration the state of the nation, particularly the positive demand made by the court

of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his Catholic majesty, a copy of which was laid before the house. The lords engaged in the opposition took occasion from this letter to declaim violently against the ministry; and moved to resolve, that for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the treaty now depending, that the king of Spain do renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, in plain and strong terms.

This motion however was opposed by the lords of the court-party, who insisted, in the first place, that the pretensions of the court of Madrid were in themselves absurd and frivolous, since it appeared by the copy of the letter before them, that his majesty had only said that he would make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate the article of the restitution of Gibraltar, *with the consent of his parliament*; the promise therefore was no other than conditional, and could not in any sense be binding to his Britannic majesty, unless his parliament should give their consent. Furthermore, they said, that in their opinion Great Britain had a much better right, by the treaty of Utrecht, to Gibraltar and Minorca, than she possibly could have by any personal act or renunciation of his Catholic majesty. The desiring therefore any such act would imply a kind of invalidity of the right by which these possessions were already held. It was not to be doubted, they said, that the king and kingdom of Spain would readily embrace the first opportunity of endeavouring to recover these places; nor would any renunciation, however strong and peremptory, prevent their seizing such an opportunity whenever it should offer. Besides, should his Catholic majesty, as there was reason to believe he would, refuse to grant any such renunciation as was now proposed, all Europe would be apt to think that Great Britain held these conquests by a very weak and invalid title. After these and other arguments, the question being put, a negative was put upon the motion, though not without a spirited protest on the part of seventeen peers.

The court-party, however, had so much prudence in the midst of their triumph, as not to suffer a matter of so much importance to pass wholly neglected. Possibly the minister might think that all his power and influence would not be able to counterbalance the indignation which the people in general must have felt on the appearance of a settled design to give up these two valuable possessions. It was therefore resolved to proceed on the affair in the most solemn manner: a message was sent to the commons, inviting them to a free conference in the Painted Chamber, relating to the subject in debate, which was agreed to on the part of the latter, when the lords desired their concurrence to the following resolution; "That they do entirely rely upon his majesty that he will, for the maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca."

The opposition in the lower house, however, were not to be moved from their first principles: they insisted strenuously upon a *specific* renunciation of those places on the part of Spain; they spoke the voice of the nation, who could not with-

out concern see this essential object left liable to contest and altercation. The energy, the clearness of argument made use of by the minority on this occasion, brought over many members from the court-side, as appeared from the putting of the question, when the ministry carried their point only by a majority of two hundred and sixty-seven against one hundred and eleven.

The commons thus agreeing with the peers in their resolution, a joint address was presented to the king from both houses on the twenty-fifth of March, 1729, when his majesty was pleased in his answer to promise them, "That he would take care to secure his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca."

When the lords took under their examination the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were thrown out against the conduct of the ministry; and a motion was made to resolve, That admiral Hosier's expedition was an unreasonable burden on the nation; but this too was rejected, and occasioned another protest. Nor did the clause for granting one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to his majesty, to make good the deficiency in the civil list, pass thro' the house of peers without warm opposition. Divers lords alleged (as had before been done by some of the commons) that instead of a deficiency in the civil list revenues, there was a considerable surplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil list; and this at a time when the public debts were increased, and when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country. They observed, that if the produce of the civil list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of 800,000 l. the deficiency must be made good to his majesty by the public; whereas no provision was made by which, if the produce of those revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus should accrue to the benefit of the public: that by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing out at the end of every year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year, would certainly increase the surpluses in another: that the revenues of the civil list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is no deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might easily be increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. All these arguments, all these objections, however, served only to evince the weakness of the opposition, and the overbearing influence of the minister. Every motion made by the opposition was baffled: every motion proposed by the court-party was carried by an amazing majority.

At length the complicated business of this session being spun out to its utmost length, altercation was out of breath: each party wished to retire from the bustle of business; the one to enjoy its triumph, the other to brood over its discontent. His majesty, on May 14, after giving, among a number of other acts, the royal assent to one enabling the queen to be regent of the kingdom during his absence, without taking the oaths; and another

for the relief of insolvent debtors, and to thirty-two private bills, put an end to the session by a speech, in which he signified his intention of visiting his German dominions; and set out for Hanover on the twentieth day of the same month.

Great Britain at this time enjoyed uninterrupted repose, and commerce continued to increase. In the beginning of June the fleet at Spithead, under the command of sir Charles Wager, was joined by eleven Dutch ships of war under vice-admiral Somersdyke. This squadron was intended for the coast of Spain, in case affairs did not take a favourable turn with that court; but the treaty of Seville being agreed upon towards the end of the summer, the Dutch squadron returned to Holland in the beginning of October, and the English fleet separated soon after.

The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of lord Carteret; and their parliament assembling in the month of September, conducted their deliberations with the true spirit of patriotism. They settled funds for the discharge of their national debts, and for answering the exigencies of government: they gave all possible encouragement to manufacture, trade, and agriculture; and enacted several wise and wholesome laws for the improvement of domestic oeconomy. The session in that kingdom being closed, lord Carteret repaired to England, and was succeeded as lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the duke of Dorset. Colonel Stanhope, who was about this time created earl of Harrington, was appointed one of the secretaries of state, in the room of lord Townshend, who resigned; so that sir Robert Walpole now saw himself without a rival in the ministerial sphere. The earl of Waldegrave was appointed ambassador to France, to congratulate Lewis XV. on the birth of a dauphin, which filled that court with inexpressible joy.

Savoy at this time furnished the world with an extraordinary sight. Victor Amadeus II. king of Sardinia, and duke of Savoy, the same who was sometimes the ally and sometimes the friend of France and Austria, and whose wavering conduct had passed for policy, being tired of the burden of public affairs, and weary of himself, abdicated, through mere caprice, in the month of September this year, at the age of sixty-four, a crown which he had worn the first of his family. He resigned the regal authority to his son Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, and reserving to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chamberry, and espoused his favourite mistress the countess dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of marchioness of Somerive.

In October Peter II. czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the throne by the princess Anne-Ivanowna, second daughter of Ivan (John) Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of William duke of Courland. The following month died pope Benedict XIII. in whose room cardinal Laurentio Corfini was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

All this time the negotiations at Soissons seemed at a stand: at length it was agreed to open conferences at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England,

England, France, and Spain. The earl of Harrington, who had this year been nominated ambassador extraordinary to his Catholic majesty, had the management of this treaty on the part of Great Britain, together with Mr. Keen, our plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid, the Spanish plenipotentiaries being the marquis de la Paz, and Don Joseph Patinho.

By this treaty, which was signed on the ninth day of November, 1729, N. S. it was stipulated that all former treaties and conventions between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain should be as amply confirmed as if they had been expressly repeated: that their Britannic and Catholic majesties should guaranty to each other their respective dominions; and in case either of them should be attacked, the other should furnish to the party so invaded a body of twelve thousand men: that all such engagements contracted by his Britannic majesty, in consequence of the treaty of Vienna, as were inconsistent with the treaties subsisting between the crowns of England and Spain, antecedent to the year 1725, should be rendered void and invalid: that the commerce of the English and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, should be restored to its former footing, and orders should be instantly dispatched on all sides for that purpose: that his Catholic majesty should make reparation for all the damages that had been done by his subjects to those of the other two parties: that commissaries should be nominated, with sufficient powers, on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majesties, who should assemble at the court of Spain, within the space of four months after the ratification, or sooner, if possible, to decide whatever concerned the ships and effects taken on either side: that the said commissioners should likewise examine and decide, according to treaties, the respective pretensions which relate to the abuses that were said to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all other respective pretensions in America founded on treaties, whether with respect to the limits or otherwise: that the said commissioners should likewise discuss and decide the pretensions which his Catholic majesty might have by the treaty of 1721, to the restitution of the ships taken by the English fleet in 1718: that the said commissioners, after having examined, discussed, and decided the above-mentioned claims and pretensions, should make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majesties, who by the present treaty promised, that in the space of six months after making the said report, they would cause to be executed punctually and exactly what should have been so decided by the said commissioners. His Catholic majesty engages to send six thousand of his troops, without loss of time, to garrison Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia, for the better securing and preserving the succession of those states in favour of Don Carlos, and to be ready to withstand any enterprize and opposition that might be formed to the prejudice of what had already been regulated touching the succession. The contracting powers also promise to take the softest and most effectual means of persuading the dukes of Tuscany and Parma to admit these garrisons, upon their promising to take an oath to be faithful to the reigning powers in every thing that should not be contrary to the right of

succession reserved to the infanta Don Carlos; and upon their engaging not to meddle directly nor indirectly in the government of the places where they should be garrisoned, and to pay to the dukes of Tuscany and Parma all the honours due to sovereigns in their own dominions; and as soon as the succession of these territories should be quietly settled in the person of Don Carlos, his Catholic majesty engages to withdraw his troops from the said garrisons: the contracting princes agree, on their parts, to become guarantees to Don Carlos for the quiet possession and enjoyment of the said states of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, after he shall have once obtained them.

By the thirteenth article of this treaty the kings of England and France promise to ratify and guaranty all the particular regulations that shall be concerted between his Catholic majesty and the two dukes of Tuscany and Parma, relating to the aforesaid garrisons. The fourteenth and last article stipulates, that the States-general of the United Provinces shall be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which were to be dispatched within the space of six weeks at farthest.

Besides these, there were two separate articles, by which it was expressly stipulated, for the greater exactness, that the treaties of peace and commerce at Utrecht between Great Britain and Spain, in which are comprised the treaty of 1669 and of 1715; as also the Affiento contract of 1713, and its farther explanation, anno 1716, shall from this day (even during the examination by the commissaries) remain in their full force and vigour, for which end the Catholic king shall dispatch his cédulas to his vice-roys, &c. in America as well as in Europe; as also his Britannic majesty to his governors, &c. for the release of all ships and merchandize, and particularly the South-sea company's ship Prince Frederic and her cargo, shall be immediately restored: all which under the before-named guarantee.

In the accession of the States-general (which was performed in this same month) they were to furnish only four thousand foot and one thousand horse; and on the part of the other allies, they were to guaranty the abolishing the Ostend East India company; and the Catholic king engages that entire satisfaction shall be given them (the Dutch) for their grievances, as well in the West Indies as in Europe, and to re-establish their commerce, agreeable to former treaties; and, lastly, to grant them all the commercial privileges enjoyed by the nations most favoured.

Such were the contents of the famous treaty of Seville, which afterwards produced such an alteration in the system of Europe, by the concurrence of other events.

His majesty having returned to England from his German dominions, in the beginning of September, opened the session on the third of January, 1730, with a speech, in which he informed them, That he had concluded an absolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miseries and calamities inseparable from a war. He assured them, that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the stipulations of the quadruple alliance: that sufficient provision had been made for the indemnification and future security of the trading interest: and that he had given orders for

making an immediate reduction both of his land and sea-forces. He then concluded with recommending to their consideration the state of public credit, and the hardships of poor artificers and manufacturers.

The commons being returned to their house, fir Robert Walpole laid before them the treaty of Seville, when lord Fitzwilliams made a motion for a loyal address of thanks to the throne, conceived in much the same terms as the speech. This motion, however, was vehemently opposed by the country party, who proposed simply to assure his majesty of the steady and zealous attachment of the house to his royal person, government, and family, and of their readiness to support him in all measures which should be necessary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the interest and welfare of his people. In support of this allegation they threw out many severe and bitter reflections against the substance of the treaty: they urged, that the ministry had imposed upon his majesty in calling the peace an absolute peace, inasmuch as the most important interests of Great Britain were left to a future decision. It was no wonder indeed, they said, that the minister and his friends, who triumphed so much the year before on the mere project or draught of a treaty, should discover the same spirit of exultation upon procuring a formal one, actually signed, though there was still wanting the accession of one power, whose consent was most necessary to the putting it in execution; for, as the introduction of six thousand Spanish forces into the strong places of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, instead of six thousand neutrals stipulated by the quadruple alliance, was the basis of the Seville treaty, the concurrence of the emperor, to whom the feodality of these states belonged, was certainly requisite to the amicable execution of it; and yet he was not so much as complimented in the treaty with an invitation to accede, as the Dutch were by an express article. The minister maintained that the peace was absolute, and that no difficulties could happen in the execution of it, unless the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raise them, by the dissensions that might happen amongst us at home: he attempted to prove, that this treaty under consideration was framed to answer every desirable purpose, could give the emperor no disgust, secured our right to Gibraltar and Minorca, and would procure reparation to our merchants; assertions which, however, appear not to have been justified by the events. The question being at last put, whether to draw up the address in the original form proposed, the majority carried it in the affirmative.

After both houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to his majesty on the peace of Seville, the lords took that treaty into consideration, and it did not pass without severe animadversions. The lords in the opposition observed, first, that the merchants of Great Britain were subjected to great inconveniencies, by being obliged to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain. They said, that this stipulation was not only a hardship on British subjects, but also dishonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spa-

niards; and after all, they would have no more but the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries, which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary that Great Britain should be bound to ratify and guaranty whatever agreement should be made between the king of Spain and the dukes of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries: that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma, without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance: that they should guaranty for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma; a stipulation which, they said, would in all probability involve Great Britain in endless quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed, that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma in the room of neutral forces, stipulated by the former alliance, and agreeing that they should remain there until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all hazards.

The court-party, on the other hand, insisted that there neither was nor could be any essential difference, if the emperor was sincerely and heartily disposed to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, with regard to the eventual succession of the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia: that introducing Spanish instead of neutral troops into the garrisons of those dominions, could make no material difference, especially as the treaty had in the strongest manner stipulated the recalling those troops, as soon as the succession to the duchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, should be secured: and finally, that though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in question and the quadruple alliance; yet the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining satisfaction and security to our commerce, were considerations that ought infinitely to outweigh any apprehensions from a resentment that could be founded only on pride and ambition.

In answer to this plea of the ministerial advocates, it was observed by the opposition, first, that supposing this treaty so deviating from the former alliance, not to be prejudicial to the interests of his Imperial majesty, yet that the manner of making the alteration without his consent, and by way of triumph over him as a great stroke in politics, would be thought a reflection upon his honour at least, and must be attended with very fatal consequences. They likewise undertook to prove that the introduction of Spanish troops would be really prejudicial to the emperor and the empire, even according to the method of reasoning adopted by the advocates for this measure, they having plainly intimated that the design of the Seville treaty was to restrain the emperor's power in Italy; and consequently it was his interest to defeat that design, however it might be the interest of others to put it in execution. They observed furthermore, that this avowed end of the Seville treaty was aggravated by another, which had likewise been cried

up by the friends of the minister as a master-piece of politics, namely, the separation of Spain from the emperor, and thereby dissolving the Vienna alliance, which had been represented so advantageous to the latter. Did not this, they asked, affect the interests of his Imperial majesty? or could it be reasonably expected that he would not resent it?

The country party went still farther, and shewed that the variation from neutral to Spanish troops (without insisting on the affront, or having any regard to the Vienna alliance) was highly prejudicial both to the emperor and the empire; for the neutral troops stipulated by the quadruple alliance, were designed not only to leave the eventual succession of Don Carlos, but likewise the rights of sovereignty established in the emperor and empire over these states. Now this part of the condition was entirely reversed by the variation in dispute. To this it was added, that his Imperial majesty appeared very plainly to look upon the introduction of Spanish troops in this light, by refusing to consent to it, whilst he was under so beneficial an alliance with Spain, and even suffering himself to be disunited from that crown rather than comply.

They observed farther, that the Spaniards were so far from having renounced their pretensions to Gibraltar and Minorca, or recognized our right to the possession of them, that they are not so much as mentioned in the treaty; a plain indication that the court of Spain would not admit of any words therein which might annihilate their pretensions, and never did design to include our possession of that place in their general guaranty of "all his majesty's kingdoms, states, and dominions."

The lords on the side of the ministry exerted their utmost endeavours to baffle the arguments of their adversaries on this last very popular objection: they observed, that the Spaniards never could, even while on the best terms with the English, be brought to relinquish their right to Jamaica, which notwithstanding the English continued to possess unquestioned and uninterrupted. They said, that the strongest renunciations would be invalid, should the Spaniards ever be in a condition to dispute the English property in those places that England had conquered from the crown of Spain; and therefore to have insisted upon an absolute formal renunciation would not only have been altogether needless, but, in case of the Spaniards refusing it, would have even weakened our title to these places, besides hazarding the whole success of the negotiation, which they maintained to be highly for the honour, as well as interest, of Great Britain.

Such was the substance of the arguments for and against the peace, in which the most able and plausible speakers on both sides displayed all their talents for elocution. The public, however, and particularly the commercial part of it, appeared to be strongly prepossessed against the treaty. The lord Bathurst now moved for a resolution, "That the agreement in the treaty of Seville, to effectuate the introduction of Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, is a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tends to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and

to destroy the balance of Europe." After some debate the question was put upon the motion, and it was resolved in the negative. The like fate attended two other motions; the one, to resolve, "That Great Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, is not ascertained by the treaty of Seville, so as to extinguish the claims and pretensions set up by the Spaniards, which were followed by an actual siege since the cession of those valuable places by the treaty of Utrecht:" and the other, "That the stipulations in the treaty of Seville, for repairing the losses of our merchants, are insufficient and precarious."

Then it was proposed by some of the lords in the majority to resolve, "That the treaty of peace, union, and friendship, (for such was its title) concluded at Seville the ninth of November last, N. S. doth contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honour, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown; and that all due care is taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses suffered by the merchants*." After the debate, the question was put upon the said motion, and it was resolved in the affirmative; upon which several lords entered their protest against it, with their reasons at large, which made great impressions on the body of the people. It must be owned, at the same time, that those impressions were in a great measure strengthened by the weakness of the ministerial advocates without doors, who in general were the most contemptible writers that money or favour could be thrown away upon.

While the before-mentioned topics were agitating in the house of peers, the anti courtiers among the commons suspecting that the ministry were playing some hidden game, moved for an address to his majesty, entreating him "to communicate to his parliament any engagements he might have contracted for the payment of subsidies to foreign princes, or the hire of foreign troops, which had not been laid before them." This motion was treated by the courtiers as highly indecent, and implying a mean suspicion of his majesty; and upon the question being put, it was thrown out, by a majority of two hundred against one hundred and seven. And here I must once for all observe, that the ministry treated the opposition within doors as superciliously as they did that without. Secure of their own numbers in the house of commons, they seldom entered into that length or solemnity of debate which was necessary, either for the conviction or conversion of those who opposed them from principle. In short, matters were carried rather by dividing than debating. This conduct gave great and reasonable disgust to many noblemen and gentlemen of great credit and influence, who resented it by voting against the ministry; and their example served not a little to rivet in the minds of the people the unfavourable impressions they had imbibed of the court measures.

In the mean while, his Imperial majesty was so far from looking upon the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Tuscany and Parma as a trifling variation from the quadruple alliance, according to the doctrine of the British minister and his friends, that

* Journals of the House of Lords. Tindal. Polit. Stat.

he resented both the matter and the manner of it in the strongest terms, as a downright infraction of treaties, derogatory to his honour, and dangerous to his interests, as well as the rights of the empire. Such at least was the purport of numberless rescripts and remonstrances with which he filled all Europe, Germany especially. Nor did the court of Vienna content themselves with shewing their resentment in words and appearances only, but actually made preparations for pouring a large army into Italy, with orders to oppose the execution of the treaty of Seville; but being in want of money, they set on foot a negotiation for a loan in England of four hundred thousand pounds, this being the only country where they could raise money, as the great subsidies which they used to receive from Spain were now cut off.

Our ministry were very justly alarmed at a negotiation of this kind: they set all their strength to frustrate its success, and a bill of a very extraordinary nature was brought into the house of commons, "to prohibit his majesty's subjects to lend any sum of money to any foreign prince, state, or potentate, without licence first obtained from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some greater authority." This, however, was not to extend to prohibit any subscription to the public funds or trading companies of foreign kingdoms.

On the second reading of this bill Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman deservedly esteemed the first in commercial talents and ability amongst the anti-ministerial party, spoke against it in very strong terms. He said, that it would make Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent: that the article of lending money was so advantageous, that the Dutch, when themselves were engaged in a war with the Spaniards, who treated them as rebels, lent money, arms, and ammunition, to the enemy. He said, that this bill would disable the British merchants from lending money to the king of Portugal, a restriction that might be attended with very bad consequences to the nation: that the act, in any event, armed the ministry with too great and too extensive a power; and that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licences would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by that means might put into his pocket many thousands a year. He observed, that while this bill restrained the merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted the stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. "I know very well, said Mr. Pulteney, for whose benefit this complaisance is designed; but jobbing abroad in the stocks of foreign nations is what we should least encourage, and what we ought principally to prohibit; for we have suffered severely by that means already, and our ministry would never give us relief nor assistance."

Sir Robert Walpole and his friends finding themselves closely pushed by these arguments, contented themselves with resting the merit of the bill entirely upon the necessity at this particular juncture. Mr. Barnard, afterwards the famous sir John Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, after having explained his reasons, declared he would never con-

sent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, and a grievous hardship on individuals. He then proposed an exception, by which the prohibition should be restricted to the emperor alone, without extending to other powers. The bill, however, was vindicated by sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the house, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

The commons having examined the estimates for the ensuing year, voted seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine men for the land-service: they continued the subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel; and, in order to defray these and other necessary expences, they granted the sum of 2,280,000 l. These measures were strongly opposed by the anti-courtiers, who made several motions which they knew, if agreed to, would render the minister uneasy; and, if rejected, would make him unpopular. The principal of these was on occasion of the land-forces being voted, and was as follows: "That an address be delivered to his majesty, humbly to represent, that the house having, in consideration of the present state of affairs, voted such a number of land-forces for the current service of the year, assure themselves that his majesty, from his just regard to the constitution of the kingdom, as well as his earnest desire to ease his people of every charge not absolutely necessary, will take the first opportunity to make a farther reduction of those forces, if the state of affairs will admit, before the conclusion of this or the beginning of next session of parliament." This motion however was rejected without a division.

Another motion was made about the same time which gave the ministry no little uneasiness, as it was the most popular that had been levelled against them during the whole session. It was a motion to bring in a bill "for making more effectual the laws in being for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who had any pension, during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office held in trust for them, from the crown." We have already taken notice of the principal arguments that may be urged on both sides of this important question; suffice it at present to observe, that the following oath, to be taken by every member of the house, was proposed as a wise and necessary precaution:

"I A. B. do solemnly swear that I have not, directly nor indirectly, any pension, during pleasure, or for a number of years; or any office, either in whole or in part, from the crown, held for me or for my benefit, by any person whatsoever: and I do solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, that I will not receive, accept, or take, directly or indirectly, during the time of my being a member of this present parliament, any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any gratuity or reward whatsoever, or any office from the crown, to be held for me, or for my benefit, in whole or in part, by any person whatsoever, without signifying the same to this house, within fourteen days after I have received or accepted the same, if the parliament be then sitting, or within fourteen

fourteen days after the next meeting of parliament."

The violation of this oath was to be deemed wilful and corrupt perjury, and punished as such; and the seats of all members refusing to take it were to be vacated, as if they had been actually dead. A penalty of thirty pounds was inflicted upon every member for every day he should sit in the house without taking the oath, besides an incapacity ever after, either to serve the crown, or sit in parliament, or enjoy any place of profit or trust under his majesty or his successors.

Such was the substance of this famous self-denying bill, which has been so often renewed since, but never enacted into a law. For this time, however, the country party carried their point in the house of commons. The cry of corruption was become so general, that many who were not heartily for the bill (which it must be confessed was liable to several exceptions, and could not, even if passed into an act, have fully answered the purpose intended) were yet induced to vote for its passing; while the minister, who had reason to believe it would never make its way through the upper house, did not exert himself to have it thrown out below; for the question was carried in favour of it by a majority of one hundred and forty-four against one hundred and thirty-four; and Mr. Sandys, sir Edward Stanley, and Mr. Wyndham, were ordered to bring it into the house, through which it passed with very little difficulty.

When it was presented in the upper house, its friends moved for an address to the king, desiring a list of the pensions payable by the crown; but the motion was thrown out by a great majority. The bill being afterwards read (on the twenty-first of March) and the question being put, whether it should be committed? it passed in the negative, after a long debate; upon which a protest was entered by twenty-six peers. Another question was then put, that the bill be rejected; which being carried in the affirmative, produced a protest that was adhered to by the same number of peers as above.

In the course of this session the parliament passed several acts which, under a more popular ministry, would have met with great and deserved applause. They appropriated one million of the surplusage arising from the Sinking Fund, towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt; by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this tax.

They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act allowing the inhabitants of that province to export rice directly to any port of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre, provided the trade was carried on in British bottoms; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. Several other acts were also passed; some of which being of great national importance, we cannot close the proceedings of this session without taking particular notice of them.

Among others, a most excellent law was enacted for the better regulation of juries. Before this

time it was a reproach to the English law, that no provision was made to oblige men of substance effectually to serve as jurymen; for which reason it was very common for persons of property to shift that office from themselves upon indigent people, which opened an alarming field for corruption in capital cases, where the delinquents were monied men. But this act remedies all these inconveniences; for,

It requires "the petty constables to make up true lists of the persons qualified to serve on juries within their parishes or precincts; and to prevent frauds herein, the said lists are to be fixed on the church-doors twenty days before Michaelmas every year, for the inspection of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who may make their objections. The more effectually to exclude needy persons from this office, a jurymen must be a freeholder or copyholder of at least ten pounds per annum in England, and six pounds in Wales, or a leaseholder for life of the yearly value of twenty pounds. These lists being transmitted to the sheriff, he is to return no others upon juries but those whose names are found there; and to prevent the jurymen being summoned oftener than is reasonable (to the hindrance of their respective businesses or occupations) no person is obliged to serve oftener than once in two years, except in the small county of Rutland. When the assize is held, the name of each person summoned and impanelled is to be written, with his addition and place of abode, in distinct pieces of parchment or paper, rolled up in the same manner, as like each other as may be; which names are to be put into a box or glass; and when a cause is brought to be tried, some indifferent person, in open court, is to take out twelve of these parchment or paper-billets, one after another; and if any of the persons drawn do not appear, or is challenged or set aside, then a farther number, till twelve be drawn who shall appear, and shall be the jury to try the cause; after which those names are to be mixed again with the other, and a new jury is to be appointed for the next cause in the same manner."

From this excellent act two very essential benefits arise to the subject; for it becomes impossible to pack or corrupt a jury, because no man knows who will try the cause till the moment the jurymen are sworn; and the freeholders, &c. will be obliged to give attendance, because none can tell whether his name will be amongst those that are drawn out: in which case, if the person does not appear, after being three times called upon in court, he is liable to a fine of forty shillings, and five pounds, at the discretion of the judge.

Another act passed this session, which was also greatly in favour of the subject. It was, "An act for explaining and amending an act made in the last session of parliament, entitled, An act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons." By this act debtors might be carried to the nearest great assize, in order to be cleared; whereas, by the former law, they were obliged to be brought up to Westminster-hall to be cleared, however distant their place of residence might be therefrom. And whereas officers were, by the former act, restrained from carrying persons arrested to prison till the expiration of twenty-four hours after the arrest, which several persons taking

taking the advantage of, and refusing to be carried to any house whatever, had made their escapes in the night; it is now ordered that such arrested persons shall be carried to some house of safety; but the choice of the house is left to them, to prevent their being hurried to spunging-houses, and such-like places*.

An attempt was made this session of parliament to throw open the East India trade. As this is also an object of great national concern, I shall give an account of the proceedings therein at large; and the rather, as Great Britain this year was remarkably barren of any other transactions of moment worthy a place in history.

The English East India company's term for the redemption of their capital and of their exclusive trade being near its expiration (*viz.* on three years notice from Lady-day 1733) a powerful and strenuous opposition to its renewal or prolongation was at this time raised by several merchants, and others, who wanted to be incorporated and vested in the same trade; and who, foreseeing that the company would apply to the legislature for a longer time in their exclusive privileges, determined to be beforehand with them; and therefore, on the ninth of April, 1730, they presented to the house of commons their petition and proposals, as follow.

They offered to advance 3,200,000 pounds for redeeming the fund of the company, by five several payments; the last to be at Lady-day 1733, to be allowed an interest of four per cent. till the last-named term, and only two per cent. from and after that term. Provided,

"I. That they might be incorporated, and in all respects vested with all the exclusive privileges and trade of that company; yet so as not to trade in one *joint stock*, or in their corporate capacity; but that the trade should be free and open to all his majesty's subjects, who should pay *one* per cent. of the value of their exports to India, in consideration of their taking out a licence from this proposed corporation.

"II. That this trade be solely carried on from the port of London.

"III. That this proposed company's term be thirty-one years, and to be redeemed on three years notice.

"IV. That moreover, for enabling this proposed corporation to defray the expence of forts and settlements in India, as well as the preservation and enlargement of the trade, they may be empowered to levy a duty of five per cent. on the gross value of all the merchandize which shall be imported from India."

As this petition was not only of an interesting, but of a national nature, it greatly engaged the attention of the house. Alderman Barnard, and other eminent merchants, members of the house, supported this petition by several very plausible arguments. They observed, that great benefits would accrue to the public by accepting the proposal of the petitioners; for by the petitioners taking but two per cent. interest on three millions two hundred thousand pounds after a limited time, an annuity of ninety-two thousand pounds would be added to the Sinking Fund, which, at twenty-

five years purchase, was worth two millions five hundred thousand pounds to the public. They said, that the laying the trade open to East India, or the reducing it into a kind of regulated company, would, among many other advantages, necessarily occasion a larger exportation of our own product and manufactures to India; employ a much greater number of ships and seamen; greatly lower the prices of all East India commodities consumed at home; enable us to supply foreign markets cheaper, and in greater quantities, with Indian merchandize, whereby new branches of traffic might be opened, as well in Africa and America as in some parts of Europe; that hereby the customs and excise revenues would be greatly increased, and, in consequence, the national debt lessened. They alleged, (but gave no particular reason for such allegation) that great advantages might accrue by employing our shipping in freights from one part of India to another, more than the present company had ever been able to do; and, lastly, they observed, it would prevent persons acquainted with the trade of India from being under the necessity, for want of employment here, of seeking it in foreign nations; and would even bring home those who were already engaged in that way. This alluded to certain Englishmen engaged in the Ostend and Swedish East India companies. These were the plausible and principal arguments made use of to the legislature without doors, which were yet more abundantly amplified and improved without, in pamphlets and news-papers, which carried them, as is usually the case, much beyond rational probability.

We shall now, in justice to the present East India company, exhibit the principal points urged by them, by way of reply, in their own behalf. In the first place, they observed, that it seemed at present to be agreed on all sides, that the East India trade was a beneficial one to this nation, and consequently necessary to be preserved; but that the main question is, which is the best method to preserve it to us? *viz.* Whether by a company vested with exclusive privileges and regulations, such as the legislature shall from time to time direct? or, Whether the trade shall be left quite open to any adventurer who shall pay for a licence from the company? They observed, that the present opposition to the company proceeded in a great measure from the great gains which the company make, as their enemies do not pretend to have any thing to allege against their conduct, at least for the last forty years.

The company, said they, at present employ a vast stock in trade; their sales amount to about three millions yearly; and the customs accruing to the public are immensely great, and answer the appropriations made of them by parliament better than most other duties, they being in neat money, clear of all drawbacks and debentures, three hundred thousand pounds yearly. To prove this, they laid before the parliament on this occasion an account, shewing the amount of the value of goods, merchandize, and bullion, exported by their company from the port of London, from Christmas 1720 to Christmas 1727, and of the goods and mer-

* Proceedings of the House of Commons. Stat. 3. 4 Geo. II. Tindal.

chandize imported by the said company from Christmas 1722 to Christmas 1729. A copy of this account the reader will find in the note at the bottom of this page *, by which he will be enabled to form some idea of the importance of this trade. It was then asked, Would it be prudent in the legislature to suffer these customs to fall without a certainty of at least as much in the room of them?

The company next proceeded to show that the forts and factories cost them three hundred thousand pounds yearly; and doubtless, they said, the government could not maintain them for so little. These forts, and other buildings, they said, were unquestionably the present company's property, who actually purchased them of the old company, and were of great value: who then should set an equitable price on them? What certainty had the government, when they might be in their hands, that the proposed open trade will be always sufficient to maintain so vast an expence of customs and forts as six hundred thousand pounds yearly? For as every person is by the proposed scheme left at liberty (and will doubtless make use of it) to trade or not to trade thither, as it may suit his interest, it may happen that one year there may go fifty ships for India, and another year perhaps not five: and these being all *separate* traders, the government could have no certainty nor security from them, nor indeed from any other but an incorporated body, who have a great deal to lose, and who are able to bear the ill fortune of some particular years trading, without presently laying it aside.

It was furthermore asserted, that by the separate traders outbidding one another in India, for the sake of dispatch, the prices of goods there would be raised so high at length, as not to be worth the *buying*; and for the same reason at home, they could so undersell each other, till the goods would not be worth *selling*: that an united company will always be more diligent to watch the encroachments and attempts of other European nations in India, than separate traders will or can be, whose views naturally are contracted within the narrow circle of their own private interest alone.

To sum up the matter: the managers for the company told the house, that although the company had a claim to a perpetuity in this trade by the act of the tenth of queen Anne; yet some doubts having arisen touching the certainty of this right, because that act only repeats the provision in former acts, which directed, "That the privileges of trade should cease when the fund should be redeemed;" but does not explicitly enact a perpetuity of trade to this company, in the same terms as the act of that same session expressly does in favour of the South-sea company; the East India company being unwilling that their title to

this trade (however strong) should prove the occasion of disputes hereafter, therefore consent to take up with a temporary certainty in lieu thereof, and moreover to give the public almost four hundred thousand pounds for the same, by paying down two hundred thousand pounds in money, and farther consenting that their annuity of five per cent. which is not redeemable till the year 1736, be now reduced to four per cent. whereby they give up an annuity of thirty-two thousand pounds for six years to come, the value of which is one hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds.

Some other less important arguments were at this time advanced on both sides, which I shall not particularize. To conclude, the minister, who had great connections with the East India company, had been at vast pains to inform himself of the nature of the trade, and was, from the best accounts he could receive, convinced that it could be carried on only by an exclusive charter; he therefore heartily engaged in the cause of the company. And indeed the majority in the house of commons appear to have been on this occasion *unbiasedly* of the minister's opinion; for after very long and solemn debates, they rejected the above-recited petition of the merchants against the prolongation of the East India company's privileges: as likewise two others; one from the city of Bristol, the other from the port of Liverpool, to the same purport; and passed the bill in the company's favour, which afterwards received the royal assent, by the title of "An act for reducing the annuity or fund of the united East India company, and for ascertaining their right of trade to the East Indies, and the continuance of their corporation for that purpose:" whereby, after a full recital of former statutes and charters, the company agrees, and it is enacted, "That their present yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, or from five to four per cent. from Michaelmas 1730; in consideration whereof, and of two hundred thousand pounds to be paid by them for the public service of this present year (1730) all their exclusive privileges of trade to the East Indies are continued and prolonged, from Lady-day 1736 to Lady-day 1766, and three years notice then to be given, in all, including the said three years notice to Lady-day 1769, being thirty-three years, when, on repayment of their entire capital of three millions two hundred thousand pounds, their exclusive privilege of trade shall cease and determine; yet nevertheless the company shall continue as a corporation for ever, to enjoy the East India trade in common with all other subjects.

We have been the fuller here on the objections against this company, because the objections again started in the year 1754, and renewed at this pre-

Exported,				l. s. d.				Imported,				l. s. d.					
From Christmas.	}	1720	To Christmas.	{	1721	740,643	17	10	From Christmas.	}	1722	To Christmas.	{	1723	958,570	14	6
		1721			805,954	7	9	1723			1,165,203			1	4		
		1722			689,482	18	10	1724			759,778			12	3		
		1723			553,396	14	3	1725			914,122			13	7		
		1724			658,221	2	1	1726			1,125,829			14	4		
		1725			547,757	7	9	1727			869,474			16	9		
		1726			641,148	2	11	1728			972,033			16	11		
Total exports in seven years				l. 4,636,584	11	5	Total imports in seven years				l. 6,775,013	9	8				

sent time in certain pamphlets and news-papers, with a view to the like private ends, are the very same as above, with some additional ones indeed, drawn from the prodigious territorial acquisitions of the company in India within these three or four last years. The subject, however, has been so long canvassed by men of judgment and experience, that there is no room left to say any thing material now on the subject, and therefore I here close it once for all, nor shall I enlarge thereon in any future part of this history.

The royal African company declining more and more, so as not to be able to support their forts and factories on the coast of Africa, and the trade being thereby laid open so as to endanger them, the British parliament in this same year granted ten thousand pounds for that purpose, by an act for raising five hundred and fifty thousand pounds by Exchequer-bills, &c. which sum of ten thousand pounds was granted by parliament annually, till the year 1744, when, by reason of the war with France and Spain, twenty thousand pounds were granted for that end; the two following years ten thousand pounds were again granted annually for the same purpose; but nothing was granted for the year 1747.

In this same year the South-sea company's great ship Prince Frederic, which had been so long detained at La Vera Cruz, in the Spanish West Indies, occasioned by the differences between Great Britain and Spain, arrived safe in the Thames, laden for that company's account with four hundred thousand dollars, or Spanish pieces of eight, in specie; one hundred and ninety thousand pounds weight of cochineal*; forty-seven thousand pounds weight of indigo; and one hundred and sixty-seven tons weight of logwood; besides what came in private trade; supposed altogether to be worth three hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

On the fifteenth of May the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech, which concluded with the following remarkable words:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am very glad that, for the general satisfaction, you entered into a particular consideration of the state of the nation; and it is a great happiness to see, after so many unjust and unreasonable clamours, raised with all possible art, industry, and malice, that upon mature deliberation, and the most solemn debates, you were so far from finding any thing worthy of blame or censure, that all matters that came under your cognizance met with your approbation.

"This must inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries who, from a spirit of envy and discontent, continually labour, by scandalous libels, to alienate the affections of my people, and to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of me and my government, and in defiance of the sense of both houses of parliament.

"But I entirely rely upon your prudence and your concern for the peace and happiness of your country, to discountenance all such seditious practices, and to make my people sensible, that these wicked proceedings have no other view and end than to create confusion and distraction amongst us."

The parliament was then prorogued to the fourteenth of July.

I have already observed, that no transaction of any great moment passed in Great Britain this year. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians in America were brought to England by sir Alexander Cumin, and introduced to the king, at whose feet they laid their crown and regalia, and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subject to his dominion, in the name of all their countrymen, who had vested them with full powers for this purpose. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce proposed to them by the government; and being loaded with presents suitable to their taste and inclination, were reconveyed to their own country.

England was at this period terribly infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries; the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom; in which last article the ministry were certainly unaccountably remiss. A new species of villainy now started up; a set of miscreants made a practice of circulating letters, demanding sums of money from persons, on pain of having their houses burnt down to the ground, and consequently themselves and families ruined. In one instance, they had the impudent barbarity to put these threats in execution, by setting fire to the house of a rich merchant of Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demands. In short, the peculiar depravity of the times became at length so alarming, that the government was obliged to interpose, and a considerable reward was offered for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable practices.

In the course of this year the common-council of the city of London agreed that all the fines arising from those persons who were nominated sheriffs, and declined that office, should be appropriated for building a mansion-house for the lord-mayors of the city.

The hospital of St. Bartholomew being taken down in order to be re-built, the foundation-stone was laid by sir Richard Brocas, lord-mayor, on the ninth of July this year.

On the twenty-first of January, 1731, the parliament met, when his majesty, in his speech at the opening of the session, told them, that the present critical juncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention: that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might

* Mr. Anderson, author of a judicious and elaborate Treatise on Commerce, lately published, tells us, that so unusual a quantity of cochineal induced him to take with him two physicians down to the company's vaults, whereby they were perfectly satisfied that this drug is an insect, in all respects the

same with our lady-bird; and that it was purely by that insect's feeding on the fine red juice or sap of the Mexico shrub or tree, called the Prickly Pear, that it acquired its superior excellence, agreeable to what had been before asserted by several authors. Anderson, vol. II. p. 326.

be much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements, must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed before the season of action to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal consequences of a general rupture.

When the commons returned to their house, a motion was made for a loyal address to his majesty, by Mr. Campbel of Pembroke-shire; but the anti-courtiers insisted on restricting it to a simple promise to assist him only in such measures as should be absolutely necessary for procuring satisfaction to his allies, and providing for the interests of his people, expressing at the same time their hopes that his majesty would take care to prevent the breaking out of a war upon the Rhine or in the Austrian Netherlands; the preservation of which, in the hands that now held them, was of the greatest importance to these kingdoms, and the maintenance of which had cost the nation so much blood and treasure.

In support of this allegation the country party alleged, that the power of France was dangerous to the liberties, not only of England, but of all Europe: that evidence could be produced of that court having suffered the harbour of Dunkirk to be cleared and repaired, in direct violation of the treaty of Utrecht: that they had made great encroachments upon the English in the West Indies, the natural consequences of those pernicious connections which we had lately contracted with them: that for England to join with France in an attempt against the emperor, either in Flanders or upon the Rhine, would be acting against the very intention of that glorious confederacy which had humbled the power of France during the reign of queen Anne: that it would destroy that balance of power which had been so happily established, and had been the chief advantage that England or Europe had derived from that confederacy: that in any event it was extremely dangerous and inexpedient to promise, the very first day of the session, to support all his majesty's measures and engagements, before they knew what they were: and that, in fact, such an assurance rendered all their future deliberations fruitless and insignificant.

The minister and his friends found themselves hard pressed by these popular arguments: however, they endeavoured to shew that the worst consequences, both at home and abroad, might arise from this amendment being approved, since it would carry an implication of his majesty's intending something that was not necessary for the interest of England, or agreeable to the principles of public liberty; an insinuation which could not fail of discouraging the friends of the protestant succession at home, and animating their enemies abroad; and therefore the house ought to trust to his majesty's wonted prudence: and, finally, that the inserting such expressions in the address would have the appearance of encroaching on the royal prerogative, and dictating to his majesty in the operations of the ensuing war.

To this the members of the opposition replied, by asking how, if the French should be successful

in making acquisitions from the emperor in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, which must be extremely prejudicial to public liberty, the king could, with all the power the parliament could give him, prevent the fatal consequences that must ensue?

Lord Hervey, eldest son to the earl of Bristol, who by this time began to make some figure in the house, and was a fast friend of the minister, took notice, in answer to the objections of the opposition, that the house of Austria, as well as that of Bourbon, might by its ambition destroy that balance of power which was so justly dear to England. He said, the conduct of the French at this time had nothing alarming in it: that he thought it would be highly absurd to pull down the house of Bourbon to raise that of Austria into the power of acting in the same manner the other had done: and that he entertained not the least doubt that his majesty had interest enough with his allies to establish a confederacy to oppose any measures that the court of France might adopt prejudicial to the desired equilibrium of power. As to the proposed alteration, he said, should it be adopted, this would be in fact proclaiming to all Europe that the emperor was left to act as he pleased; and if the allies should agree that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine or in the Netherlands, the king of Great Britain and his allies might as well submit at once to receive laws from the imperial court.

This debate, which was long and warmly agitated on both sides, ended in the address being voted in its original form; and such another, preceded by the like contest (headed by lord Carteret, who had now joined the country-party) was carried in the house of lords.

The anti-courtiers, however, resolved once more to revive the pension-bill. The motion was introduced with great solemnity by Mr. Shippen, and the bill made its way with very little difficulty through the commons; but when it was sent up to the lords, it was, as before, by them rejected. On this occasion Dr. Sherlock, then bishop of Bangor, who was among those who opposed it, made a speech on the occasion, by which he incurred a great load of popular odium. After advancing a great number of arguments, in which he endeavoured to demonstrate that this bill had a very bad tendency, he concludes with the following remarkable words: "Though this bill at first might seem to be a self-denying act, and to some particular members may perhaps prove so; yet the commons, considered as an house of parliament, will find in it, no doubt, a very great enlargement of power; and whatever tends to break the balance between the powers essential to this constitution, must sooner or later prove the ruin of the whole. An independent house of commons, or an independent house of lords, is as inconsistent with our constitution, as an independent, that is, an absolute king; and whoever loves the liberties and laws of his country, will no more desire to see the one than the other. Let bribery be punished; let corruption be punished; but let us not give so much strength to one part of the constitution as shall make it able to overpower the rest."

This speech was industriously circulated through the kingdom by the country-party, with their own notes and commentaries upon it; in which they endeavoured to prove, that his lordship only spoke the

the sentiments of the minister, who had formed a subtle design to overturn the constitution, by destroying the independency of the two houses of parliament. It must be confessed that the prelate made use of a very unlucky phrase, though perhaps not in the sense that his adversaries applied to it.

The minority seeing every question carried almost without a division by the minister and his adherents, began to grow uneasy at the remissness of their friends, who did not give a proper attendance; and as of themselves they had no method of compelling them thereto sooner than their own convenience suited, this occasioned a new and diverting scheme of compulsion. A call of the house being ordered and held, two members, who were considered as of the country party, were, for non-attendance, moved by their friends to be taken into custody. The court-party, however, interfered warmly in their behalf, and they were excused: the same indulgence was extended to several others; some on account of their indisposition, others on pretence of their being on the road. This conduct of the court was certainly very ill judged, as it was against the most established rules of parliament, since the attendance of every member in the house is to be considered not as optional, but as a matter of indispensable duty. Besides, they constitute a part of the great council of the nation; and therefore the sovereign has an indubitable right, by the constitution of England, to insist that the full complement of his counsellors should attend his service, upon the high and arduous matters that come before the parliament, relating to the public. The courtiers themselves seem to have been sensible of their indiscretion; for, in order to compromise the matter, they agreed to the appointing of certain days, within which the absentees should attend; and upon neglect they were to be committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms attending the house.

This great preparation on the part of the minority was intended to strengthen a second attack they meditated upon the establishment of the Hessian troops in British pay; for after the house had been furnished with all necessary papers, a motion was made for referring the estimate of the twelve thousand Hessian troops to the committee of supply. This motion begat a very warm debate; and as there is somewhat new, and worthy of particular notice, in the following arguments, I shall introduce them here, for the reader's amusement. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, though a staunch Whig in his heart, yet on this occasion adopted a maxim of the Tories, which had not been heard of since the death of queen Anne. He said, that wars had happened on the continent of Europe, of which, tho' foreign to the interests of England, she had borne the expence. It was urged in reply to this, that commerce had connected England with the continent, though nature had disjoined her from it: that the English, by their influence on the affairs of the continent, had acquired many advantages in trade; and, in order to maintain these, they were sometimes obliged to interfere in foreign quarrels: that some of the countries of Europe, which consumed a great many of the English com-

modities, had so little communication with the sea, that they were inaccessible to our fleets; and therefore, if they laid the trade of the English under any hardships or inconveniences, or offered them any insults or indignities, the English had no other means of asserting their rights, or recovering their wrongs, than by employing some of the powerful states upon the continent to wreak their resentment: that this had frequently been found a very useful expedient to England; but that she could not any longer avail herself of it than while she was ready, in her turn, to perform the more friendly offices to these potentates. They alleged, that it was upon this very principle that the treaty of Hanover was concluded, and the Hessian troops were taken into British pay; and that those two measures had prevented the fatal effects which might have attended the ambition and obstinacy of the emperor: that upon the same principle likewise was founded the treaty of Seville, which, by our engaging for the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into Italy, had effectually detached Spain from the emperor: that the latter, however, had filled Italy with his armies, in order to prevent the introduction of these garrisons. The Hessians, who were in our pay, it was said, were the only curbs the emperor had in Germany; consequently, that the dismissal of these forces at present would leave him at liberty to kindle a flame in Europe, which might cost Great Britain many millions to extinguish. Such were the arguments that determined this parliament to continue the establishment of the Hessian troops, as likewise the subsidy of the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel*.

The two parties were at this time exasperated against each other to the highest degree of animosity and resentment. The court-writers charged the minority with sedition and defamation, and with employing every art that could alienate the nation from his majesty's person and government. The minority replied to this in several public papers and pamphlets, especially in one, entitled, *The Country Journal, or, The Craftsman*; by Caleb D'Anvers, Esq. a paper that soon discovered itself to be immediately directed against the minister. Lord Bolingbroke (whom Dr. Swift calls the greatest genius in Europe) and Mr. W. Pulteney were immediately suspected to be concerned in it; but the care of publishing it, and supplying it with materials, when none were communicated, was intrusted to Mr. Nicholas Amherst, formerly of St. John's College, Oxford, from whence he was said to have been expelled for his satirical wit, which he dealt about rather too freely upon his superiors. His writings on different subjects, both in prose and verse, had been very well received.

The minister, as I have already observed, was unpardonably negligent in his choice of writers: the best amongst them was Dr. Hare, bishop of Chichester, who wrote a vindication of the treaty of Hanover, under the title of "*An enquiry into the reasons of the conduct of Great Britain, with regard to the present state of Europe*:" in which he endeavoured to set forth the dangerous tendency of the first treaty of Vienna, and to prove from

* Parliamentary Debates. Tindal. Journal of the House of Commons.

thence the absolute necessity of the counter-alliance formed at Hanover. This book seems to be written with a greater air of confidence, and intimate knowledge of facts which were a secret to the rest of mankind, than almost any other political piece that appeared during sir Robert Walpole's administration. Accordingly, it drew from the other side more answers, observations, and remarks, than perhaps were ever bestowed upon a single pamphlet.

The party-war was still carrying on with great acrimony on both sides, when the Remarks on the History of England began to be published about this time, under the name of Humphrey Oldcastle. The judges of writing were soon convinced, both from the stile of these Remarks, and the thorough knowledge of mankind discovered in them, that the author could be no other than lord Bolingbroke. The publication of them continued through this year, and to the twenty-second of May in the next, when that remarkable Craftsman came out, which contained the author's vindication of Mr. Pulteney and himself, and gave rise to more personal invective than had been common, or, perhaps, than was decent, in persons of such high rank and distinction.

But, previous to this, and during the present session of parliament, a quarrel happened between lord Hervey, then a member of the house of commons, and Mr. W. Pulteney, which occasioned a duel. The rise of this quarrel was as follows: A pamphlet had been published, it was thought, by the former, against the writers in the opposition, entitled, *Sedition and Defamation displayed*. In answer to which came out another, which the town ascribed to Mr. Pulteney, called, *A proper Reply to a late scandalous Libel, entitled, Sedition, &c.* As the author had used our nobleman with a pretty deal of contempt, it was on the presumption that Mr. Pulteney was the man, that his lordship sent him a challenge to meet him in the Green Park. They met accordingly; and several passes having been made on both sides, in which lord Hervey received two or three wounds, and Mr. Pulteney a slight one in his left hand, they closed in; and were disarmed by sir John Rushout and Henry Fox, esq. their friends who attended them. Such an affair as this could have no other tendency than to inflame all the adherents of the respective parties, and make them ready on the first occasion to expose private history, and whatever they knew or heard suggested of each other's characters.

It was about this time that two petitions were presented to the house of commons, representing the delays of justice occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law. The first petition on this head came from Yorkshire; and the committee to whom they were referred, on Feb. 22, reported to the house, "That it appeared to them, that the proceedings in the law being in law-Latin, abbreviated and wrote in court-hands and characters, untintelligible, and not legible to the most part of the persons concerned, especially in criminal cases, were a great delay to justice, and occasioned most dangerous frauds: that special pleadings were very expensive, intricate, and dilatory, and highly prejudicial to the property of the subject: that the recovery of small debts, as the law was now practised, was so expensive, that

many prudent people chose rather to lose their just dues than go to law for the recovery of them; a circumstance that tended to the destruction of credit, and the great detriment of trade: that the number of attornies admitted in the King's Bench amounted to eleven hundred and fifty-seven; and the number of those in the court of Common-pleas exceeded three thousand."

In consequence of this report, a bill was brought in for changing this practice complained of, and enacting, that all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. Though one would imagine very little could be advanced against such a regulation, founded on the most obvious principles of common sense, the bill met with a warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the antient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleadings. The bill however passed through both houses, and received the royal assent.

The Spaniards still continuing their depredations and cruelties in the West Indies, a great number of merchants, from different parts of the kingdom, presented petitions for redress to the house of commons, who referred them to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be well-founded; whereupon a motion was made for an address to his majesty, desiring he would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavours to prevent such depredations for the future, and to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained, and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America.

The opposition were by no means satisfied with this motion; they proposed an amendment to it, importing a desire that his majesty would take the most vigorous measures to procure satisfaction to our subjects for the losses they had sustained from the Spaniards, and to prevent the like insults for the future. In support of this amendment the party alleged, that there was very little probability that we should ever obtain any satisfaction from Spain by the means of negotiating; and that to delay matters any longer would, in fact, be giving up the British commerce in America: that the depredations complained of had been committed by virtue of express orders from the court of Spain, whose whole conduct evinced an intention to drive the English entirely out of the West Indies. Mr. Pulteney, sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Barnard were the principal speakers in this part of the debate.

They were answered by sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and sir William Yonge, who urged, that the first proposed address was all that the house could properly, prudentially, or with any degree of decency, lay before the throne, in which the undoubted power of making peace or war was constitutionally vested. Sir Robert Walpole said, that orders had been sent by the court of Spain to their governors to put a stop to those depredations; and that his Catholic majesty having, in fact, by the treaty of Seville, engaged to make good the losses sustained by the British subjects from the Spaniards in America, it was evident that he could have no thought of a scheme of expulsion, as had been men-

mentioned by the gentlemen who were for the amendment. It was moreover alleged, that the captures since the treaty of Seville had been very few, and those doubtful cases; and insisted, that before the house advised his majesty to proceed to hostilities, they should be very sure that the complaints on which they founded such a resolution were uncontrovertible; which could not be done, they said, without hearing both parties, whereas only one as yet had been heard. After a great debate, the amendment was rejected, and the address presented in its original form.

Great part of this session was taken up in relieving the subject from the abuses of the law, as also from the exorbitant and unreasonable rates exacted by the charitable corporation from the industrious poor, for the money they supplied them with upon goods pledged, &c. This affair was referred to a committee; and after proper examination of persons and papers, it appeared that the corporation had taken, for large sums they had lent, ten per cent. under colour and pretence of reasonable costs and charges: upon which a bill was brought into the house, and afterwards passed, for regulating the lending of money upon pledges, and for preventing usury and extortion.

The merchants trading to the British sugar-colonies, and the planters, having petitioned the house of commons, complaining against the British continent American colonies †, “for their carrying on a trade with the foreign sugar-colonies of the French and Dutch, from whence they were supplied with sugar, rum, molasses, &c. instead of those of our own sugar-colonies, as well as with foreign European goods and manufactures, contrary to the tenor or intention of the laws in being, and of the fifth article of the treaty between king James II. and the French king in the year 1686: and they alleged, that as this new method of trade (first begun to be complained of in the year 1715) increased and enriched the colonies of other nations, so it was injurious to the trade of this kingdom, and greatly impoverished the British sugar colonies; and therefore praying relief therein.” Whereupon a committee was appointed, upon whose report a bill was brought in, and passed the house of commons, “For the better securing and increasing the trade of his majesty’s sugar-colonies.” It was indeed dropped in the house of peers; yet, as being a subject of the greatest consequence to our American commerce and colonies, I shall exhibit an abstract of that bill, as it was sent up to the lords.

It enacted, “That no sugar, rum, or molasses, of the plantations of foreign nations, shall be imported into Great Britain or Ireland, or to any of the king’s dominions in America, under forfeiture of lading, ship, and furniture; and those who aided, abetted, or received, were to forfeit treble value thereof; masters of ships taking in any such foreign sugar, in order to be landed in Great Britain or British America, were subjected to a fine of two hundred pounds; and all masters of ships lading sugars, &c. at the British sugar-colonies, bound to any other part of the king’s dominions, shall, before he sails, deliver to the collector of the port, a

true account of his lading, and take a certificate thereof, with the merchant’s name who shipped them, and of him to whom consigned; and when arrived at his intended port, shall take an oath, and sign a true manifest of his lading. And whereas great number of horses, and great quantities of lumber, had been exported from our continent colonies to the foreign sugar-colonies, whereby they were enabled more easily to carry on their said sugar-plantations; none such were to be transported hereafter to those foreign colonies; and when any such goods are to be shipped from the continent-colonies, the master shall give a bond for five hundred pounds that they shall not be carried to any foreign sugar-colony. A fine of three hundred pounds was inflicted on any governor, custom-house officer, &c. conniving at any fraudulent importation of foreign sugars, &c. Nothing in this act, however, was to extend to the restraining the usual importation of sugars from the dominions of the king of Portugal.”

During the course of the debates upon this bill, the friends of it clearly proved, that if a stop was not immediately put to the trade between New-England and the French sugar-colonies in America, the absolute ruin of the English sugar-islands must ensue. It appeared, that by New-England ships furnishing the French colonies with terres and timber, cut out of the king’s woods; and by the small duties paid upon French sugars in Martinico, compared to what was paid in Barbadoes and Jamaica, the French were enabled to undersell the English very much, no more than one per cent. being paid for exportation of all the produce of the French islands. It was farther proved, that the vast improvement in all kind of manufactures of linen, woollen, and iron, in and about Boston and New-England, enabled them to serve the French with all these commodities, and in return they had their molasses, sugars, rum, and silks, to the great prejudice of Great Britain.

On the other hand, it was attempted to be shewn, that the northern colonies, and consequently the mother-country, profited greatly by the intercourse complained of; and some hints were thrown out, that we might reject the disabling so large and so powerful a people. It was alleged in behalf of the northern colonies, that as they and Great Britain do actually take off *all* the sugar, rum, and molasses, which our sugar-isles do or can possibly produce; and that our said northern colonies do moreover take off vast quantities of rum and molasses from the French of Martinico, and do likewise get a great deal of them from Surinam, Guadaloupe, the Grenadoes, Cape François, Cayenne, &c. should all but our own sugar, rum, and molasses, be absolutely prohibited, many great inconveniencies would follow. In the first place, we should lose the employment of several thousand tons of shipping in the trade between the northern colonies and these foreign sugar colonies. Secondly, the northern colonies could not possibly be supplied with near the quantity of rum and molasses which they stood in need of for the carrying on many most profitable trades in which they are now engaged. Thirdly, this would put a most

† Viz. New-England, Rhode Island, New-York, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey.

dangerous monopoly into the hands of our own sugar-planters, so as that the India and Turkey trades by the northern colonies could not afford to pay the rates which would be demanded, even supposing our islanders could make sufficient quantities of those goods for both the American and British consumption. Fourthly, it would greatly increase the French shipping and navigation, not only in bringing lumber, horses, &c. to their own sugar-islands, but in carrying from thence to Europe all their rum and molasses, where, no doubt, they could find markets for them, as they already do for their sugars, so as to have supplanted us, and to undersell us in Holland, and at Hamburgh, Cadiz, &c. Fifthly, if the complaint of the Barbadians be true, viz. that their lands are so far worn out, that it requires the labour of three negroes to produce as much sugar as could formerly be raised by the labour of one, they need but remove to Jamaica, where they may have excellent fresh land enough; and as the value of such new land is a trifle, when compared to the value of the stock required for a sugar-plantation, they have that entire to carry along with them to Jamaica; and the charge and trouble of their removing thither would be amply compensated by the abundant product of those new lands; and which, consequently, would enable them to undersell the French and Dutch plantations, the only seeming means left for our recovering the trade of the re-exportation of our sugars. Sixthly, that from the foreign sugar-colonies our northern colonies bring back considerable quantities of gold and silver along with their sugar, rum, and molasses, whereby they are enabled to pay their mother-country for the vast quantities of her product and manufacture which they take of her; and which, without this trade, so much complained of, they could not possibly do. Lastly, that the prohibiting the continent people from purchasing of the foreign colonies their sugar, rum, and molasses, or even laying the high duties on them, would utterly destroy a commerce of such great consequence to the northern colonies, as that without it they could not carry on their fisheries, their fur-trade, and their navigation, with the Indians; neither could they dispose of the product of their lands and labour, a great part of the profits whereof center in Great Britain, in payment of the manufactures, &c. they had from thence. Upon the whole, said the advocates for the northern colonies, the secret and real view of the sugar-islands is, to gain the absolute monopoly of sugars and rum, with respect to the subjects of Great Britain, to themselves, that so they may have it in their power to exact what prices they shall please from the buyers.

These arguments, however, being chiefly founded on speculation, were not deemed sufficient to outweigh those urged on the other side, particularly with regard to the vast disadvantages that Martinico, and all the French sugar-islands, must be under, were they not supplied with horses, tools, wood, and all kinds of utensils for carrying on their sugar-works; while all that the northern colonies receive in return may be supplied by the produce of our own sugar-islands. It was then strongly urged, that if they were not timely check-

ed in their illicit practices, there might be danger of their setting themselves up as an independent state: in the mean time, it was said, the bill in question would have this good effect at least, that if it passed into a law, it would oblige the northern colonies to apply themselves to raising flax and hemp, and other naval stores, which must be of immense service to the mother country.

Notwithstanding all these plausible allegations on both sides, in a matter of so great importance to our commercial interests, there was nothing legally decided until two years later. The ministry were highly censured for the backwardness they shewed in this affair, which was so very interesting to the mother-country; for, as we before observed, the act for encouraging the sugar-colonies was dropped in the house of peers: but, indeed, when such material alterations are required to be made, in a long-established, or even connived course of any important branch of commerce, great and serious deliberation, and mature observation and consideration, seem absolutely requisite in a nation like ours, whose principal support depends so much on commerce and plantations †.

Such were the principal transactions of this session of parliament, which closed in the month of May, 1731, by a short speech from the throne.

The allies of Seville finding the emperor in earnest, and fully determined to stand in his defence, began to abate somewhat of their former high strain. The cabinets of Europe were again employed in framing expedients. Couriers were continually passing from court to court, and the public prints amused the nation with nothing but new plans or new reports of accommodation, whilst a large fleet lay in the road of Barcelona, and a numerous body of land-forces were assembled on the neighbouring coasts of Spain, ready to embark upon the first motion for the intended expedition. But his Imperial majesty having rejected all propositions made to him for acceding to the treaty of Seville; and seeming determined to abide extremities rather than consent to their measures, the time was worn out in negotiation only, and the Spanish armada retired to their harbours, without any action, like our fleet at Spithead the year before.

Thus did affairs continue in a doubtful situation between peace and war, as they had continued for several years past, till the beginning of the present year, 1731; about which time a private negotiation at Vienna, between Great Britain and the emperor, began to get air, and in less than three months afterwards a treaty of peace and alliance was actually concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the king of Great Britain. The truth is, that the depredations of the Spaniards in America, and their backwardness in executing the treaty of Seville, had provoked the English ministry to such a degree (owing in great measure to the severe reflections cast upon them, on account of their tameness, by the opposition, who had now the general voice of the nation on their side) that they made proposals to the court of Vienna, which the latter accepted. What these were, and the treaty concluded in consequence thereof, will be shewn hereafter.

† Parliamentary Debates. Proceed. House of Commons. Proceed. House of Lords. Tindal. Polit. Stat.

In the beginning of the year the duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared that his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; intreating the powers of Europe to have compassion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still-born, prove a female, or, if a male, die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain, and in the mean time appointed five regents to govern the duchy.

Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of Imperial horse immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation, and leave the administration entirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these duchies for the infant Don Carlos; and that, if the duchess-dowager should not be delivered of a prince, the said infant might receive the investiture from the emperor whenever he pleased, provided he came without an army.

Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great Britain and the States-general interposed their mediation so successfully with the emperor, that he desisted from the prosecution of his designs. On the sixteenth day of May, 1731, the secret negotiation between the courts of London and Vienna was perfected into a treaty.

By the first article of this treaty (known by the name of the treaty of Vienna) a mutual guaranty of all the territories belonging to the contracting powers is stipulated.

The second article stipulates a general guaranty of the pragmatic sanction in favour of the emperor's female heirs.

By the third article, his Imperial majesty consents to the introduction of the Spanish troops into the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and binds himself to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the consent of the empire for that purpose.

By the fourth article it is stipulated, that all parts of the treaty shall be duly and truly executed.

The fifth article entirely abolishes all navigation to the Austrian Netherlands; excepting the sending (once only) two ships from Ostend: and commissioners, by the same article, are to meet on the parts of both powers at Antwerp, for settling a tariff between Great Britain and the Austrian Netherlands.

By the sixth article it is agreed, that all points of difference amongst the contracting powers, or any of their allies, should be amicably adjusted; and that the present treaty is not to derogate from the force of any of the former treaties subsisting between either the contracting parties, or their allies, excepting so far as they are inconsistent with the present treaty.

By the seventh article, the English, touching their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, are to be treated on the same footing as they were in the reign of Charles the Second of Spain, and as it is usual to treat a nation with which one is in strict friendship.

The eighth article fixes eight months after the ratification for the accession of the other powers who shall be invited into the treaty.

The ninth and last article allows six weeks for exchanging the letters of ratification.

Besides these, there was a separate article, which declared, "That the guaranty entered into by the contracting powers, should not extend to the emperor's dominions, which might be attacked by the Turks. At the same time his Britannic majesty declared authentically, that notwithstanding the introduction of Spanish garrisons into the strong places of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been settled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his Imperial majesty and the empire, or to the security of the kingdoms and states which his Imperial majesty actually possesses in Italy; or, lastly, to the preservation of the quiet and dignity of those who were then the lawful possessors of those duchies, and therefore he renews to the emperor the guaranty of those countries. But to take away all suspicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he emitted a declaration, of the same force and date with the treaty, importing, "That if the pregnant duchess-dowager of Parma should be brought to-bed of a son, the introduction of the Spanish troops to that duchy should still take place; and that, if she should be brought to bed of a daughter, Don Carlos was immediately to be put into possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, by an eventual investiture from the emperor and the empire." And his Imperial majesty farther declares, "That in case the duchess-dowager should be brought to-bed of a daughter, he will immediately withdraw his troops from the duchies of Parma and Placentia, to give way to the peaceable possession."

Although the States-general were included in this treaty, neither France nor Spain were so much as mentioned in it; which seemed to be somewhat extraordinary, as to the latter at least, since the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Italy with the emperor's consent, made one of the principal stipulations of this new treaty: nay, what is still more surprizing, it was with extreme difficulty that they were brought into it at last; and even then not without insisting on several alterations in the act of approbation; one of which was, that the introduction of Don Carlos with six thousand Spanish troops into Italy, should be effectuated previously to the execution of any engagements on their parts, however they might stand prior to the treaty of Seville. The Dutch were still more backward in their accession, and did not accede at last without several restrictions. As for the court of France, they were so far from listening to any solicitations on this head, that they exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent the concurrence of Spain: nay, they expressed such resentment both against the treaty itself and the manner of negotiating it, that nothing less was apprehended by us from them than an invasion from Dunkirk, where they had actually assembled a large body of troops. To guard against attempts of this nature, the coasts of Kent were immediately covered with regiments of horse, foot, and dragoons, who were ordered to march thither from all parts of the kingdom;

and

and the fluctuation which such an alarm naturally occasioned in our stocks, afforded the locusts of the alley a plentiful harvest.

These apprehensions being at length dissipated, and news arriving that general Stampa, with the imperial forces, had taken formal possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, in consequence of the relic of the deceased duke at length declaring that she was not with child, sir Charles Wager was dispatched about the latter end of August to the court of Spain, with a large squadron of English ships, in order to wait upon Don Carlos and the Spanish troops to his new dominions. The admiral's ship was fitted out in a most splendid manner for the reception of his royal highness; but after a course of pompous visits between the commander of the Spanish fleet and our admiral, on his arrival at Cadiz; and the same honours having been afterwards paid him at the court of Seville, his Catholic majesty was pleased to discharge him from the trouble of taking Don Carlos under his care, and required no more at his hands than to convey the Spanish troops to Italy, in conjunction with his own admiral. The combined fleet accordingly set sail from Barcelona in the month of October, and arrived at Leghorn, from whence our squadron afterwards returned to England.

As soon as the court of Spain received intelligence that their forces were safely landed, and that every thing relating to the introduction of Spanish garrisons in Tuscany was finished, the young prince was sent after them by land as far as Antibes, they chusing to let him travel through France, rather than accept of those magnificent accommodations which had been provided for him and his retinue on board our squadron, at so great an expence. His highness embarking on board the Spanish gallies at Antibes, landed at Leghorn on the twenty-seventh of December, and was received there with all possible marks of joy and respect, especially by the English factory, who erected a triumphal arch in honour of the day. The imperial general, Stampa, was no sooner informed of his arrival, than he withdrew his forces into the Milanese, and the infant took possession of his new dominions.

The English ministry exulted not a little in the completion of their schemes: they challenged the boldest of their enemies to mention a single circumstance necessary for the peace of Great Britain that had been neglected. It must be confessed, that this second treaty of Vienna prevented an immediate war, and served to keep things together for some time; but it certainly did not establish a firm and lasting peace: for, to speak in the mildest terms, a remarkable coldness ensued between us and France; and the preparations in the ports of Spain, for equipping another armament the very next spring, seemed to give our ministry such an alarm, that a fleet was fitted out here likewise in a great hurry, and rendezvoused for some time at the Nore, under the command of sir George Walton. This seemed to intimate that our court had some jealousy of the designs of the Spaniards; for as soon as soon as certain intelligence came that they were landed near Oran, the admiral was or-

dered to strike his flag, and the ships returned into harbour*.

The state of the nation at the end of this year was also far from being tranquil, notwithstanding the new alliances it had formed. The violence of party-pamphlets continued to such a degree, that even the most sacred repositories of friendship were broken up and exposed to every vulgar eye. This served only to exasperate matters, and to render party-controversies merely personal. It was generally supposed to be somewhat of that kind which occasioned the disgrace of Mr. W. Pulteney, whose name was in July struck out of the list of privy-counsellors by his majesty's command; he was also ordered to be put out of all commissions of peace; and all this on account of his being the supposed author of some writings highly reflecting upon the minister, and against the measures of the court.

In the month of October this year the duke of Lorraine paid a visit to England; and after having had several private conferences with his majesty, he returned to Holland in December in one of the royal yachts. Few people at this time suspected the motive of his visit, which was afterwards said to be to engage (by the desire of the emperor) his Britannic majesty's approbation of his becoming husband to that monarch's daughter.

The parliament of Great Britain meeting on the thirteenth of January, 1732, the king in his speech declared, "That the general tranquillity of Europe was now restored and established, and all his expectations on that head fully answered: that the share of credit and influence which the crown of Great Britain had had in accomplishing that difficult and disagreeable work, and which redounded so much to the honour and interest of the nation, as it was universally confessed abroad, would, he was confident, be agreeable to his people, and acknowledged with gratitude by his parliament: that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the several courts of Europe had been employed in finding means to execute the measures which the contracting powers had concerted for securing the succession of Tuscany and Parma in favour of the infant of Spain; but the various, jarring, and contending interests, hard to be reconciled, and united, in effectuating a point of so much importance; the ambitious views and hopes of obtaining on every side farther advantages; and the natural jealousies and suspicions arising among the several powers concerned; all these opposite principles and purposes had kept in suspense and unexecuted, what the court of Spain had very much at heart, and had occasioned such troubles and disturbances as embarrassed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the interest of this nation."

The rest of the speech is in the same congratulating stile; and it concludes in the following warm manner: "This happy situation of affairs, I promise myself, will inspire you all with such temper and unanimity, and such ardent zeal for the public welfare, as becomes a parliament sensible of the great blessings they enjoy: the duty and affection of my subjects is all the return I de-

fire for my paternal care and concern for them: my government has no security but what is equally conducive to the happiness and to the welfare of my people; and their happiness has no foundation but in the defence and support of my government: our safety is mutual, our interests inseparable."

The opposition to the court measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session. When the commons returned to their house, the lord Tyrconnel, an Irish peer, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they should declare their entire approbation of the king's conduct, acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government, express their confidence in the wisdom of his councils, and declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. This motion was seconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, but violently opposed by sir Wilfred Lawson, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, sir W. Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not object against a general address of thanks, but exposed the absurdity and bad tendency of expressions which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. Sir Wilfred Lawson observed, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for Spain, and the favours we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had sustained from that nation.

Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by being guaranty to the pragmatic sanction, laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family, when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the grand seignior. They might be attacked, he said, when it would be much against the interest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war upon any foreign account: that it might one day be for the interest of the nation to join against them, in order to preserve the balance of Europe, the establishing of which had already cost England such immense sums of money; and he expressed his apprehensions, that the court of Versailles would accuse the English of a breach of good faith, in concluding the treaty of Vienna without their participation.

Sir William Wyndham insisted upon the absurdity of entering into a strange variety of obligations, not only inconsistent with, but opposite to each other; obligations, the motives of which could not readily be conceived nor accounted for upon any known principles of sound policy; for by this conduct we were made to affront in their turns all the great powers of Europe; and not only so, but to set them at variance with each other; and this was done at a prodigious expence, at a time when the nation was loaded with debts and taxes; while, on the contrary, his Imperial majesty, by his wisdom and steadiness, had compassed his own ends.

Mr. Oglethorpe was of opinion, that many other things related more nearly to the honour and interest of the nation than did the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction: he instanced the obtaining reparation for the Spanish depredations, the procuring the complete demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk, and the putting the militia of our own country upon such a footing as might render them more useful in case of an invasion. He mentioned the hardships which the protestants of Germany suffered from the house of Austria; and expressed his hopes, that before the Dutch acceded to the

treaty of Vienna, such explanations and concessions would be made by the emperor as should secure the future tranquillity of Europe.

The motion was defended by Mr. Pelham and Mr. H. Walpole, brother to the minister: the former was pay-master of the forces, and brother to the duke of Newcastle: he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and attached to the interests of his country, though frequently mistaken in the true nature of them, and at all times ready to support the measures of the ministry. On this occasion he asserted, that it was no way inconsistent with the dignity of that house to thank his majesty in the most particular terms, for every thing he had been pleased to communicate in his speech from the throne: that no expressions of approbation in the address could be any way made use of to prevent an enquiry into the measures which had been pursued, when the treaties should be laid before the house. He said, at the opening of a session the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great Britain; and from the resolves of her parliament the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would ensue between his majesty and his people: that their appearing jealous of his majesty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign states and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false steps that might have been made by his ministers.

Mr. Walpole made a long speech, in which he justified the ministry in every step they had taken. He shewed that they could not, consistently with the national honour and interest, have sooner guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, inasmuch as they were not sure but the emperor designed Don Carlos for his son-in-law; in which case the extensive dominions he was to possess in Italy might have proved fatal to the repose of Europe. He denied that there was any thing to fear from the resentment of the court of Versailles, who were still desirous and willing to continue in the strictest friendship with us. He affirmed, that had his Most Christian majesty guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, Don Carlos might have met with invincible obstacles to his succession; and that, in all probability, neither the Dutch or Great Britain would have been able to persuade the emperor to give up the Ostend company, or to do them justice in other respects. After a long debate the question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

The next subject of importance which came before the commons was the number of land-forces. When the supply fell under consideration, sir W. Strickland, secretary at war, moved for seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine men for the service of the current year. He was opposed by Mr. (afterwards sir) Watkyns-William Wynn, who moved that the army should be reduced to twelve thousand men. A warm debate ensuing, was managed in favour of the first motion, by lord Hervey, sir Robert Walpole and his brother, Mr. Pelham, Sir Philip Yorke, attorney general, who was a better lawyer than a politician, and shone more as an advocate at the bar than as an orator in the house of commons. The last partizan of the ministry was sir W. Yonge, one of the lords commissioners of the Treasury, of whom a modern writer has given a character, which seems rather dictated by party-inveteracy than by that spirit of

of impartiality and truth which ought to distinguish every historian. Mr. Wynne's motion was supported by the lord Morpeth, eldest son to the earl of Carlisle; by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with great weight, though embittered with too great a proportion of severity; by sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard.

The courtiers argued, that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land-forces as might defeat the designs of malcontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous measures, in case the peace of Europe should be embroiled: they endeavoured to shew, that ever since the Revolution the government had never reduced its forces without having cause to repent it, by the encouragement which such a reduction gave to their foreign and domestic enemies. They expostulated on the wisdom of his majesty, and his tenderness for the liberties of his people; together with the jealousy of the parliament which would never suffer any army, raised by their consent, to subvert either the freedom or the property of the subject. It was moreover observed, that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year.

To these arguments the members in the opposition replied, that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous: that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives to courage and perseverance: that the civil magistrate was able to preserve the power of the country; and that the number of malcontents was contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing army, and measures of the like arbitrary tendency. Other nations, it was said, had been enslaved by standing armies. History, ancient and modern, was produced for examples. The Roman army, who had subverted the liberties of their country, that of Cromwell, and of James II. were adduced as instances to heighten the parallel the opposers of the bill laboured to establish.

These remarks were answered by sir Robert Walpole, who said, that there could be no danger of this sort from the present army, which was commanded by men whose properties were too considerable to suffer them to head, or even to encourage any attempt against the civil constitution of their country: that all arguments drawn from past times, against a regular military force, were foreign to the purpose, considering the vast alterations which had been introduced into the civil system of Great Britain, and of all Europe: that England was now a commercial nation, and could not spare from her trade and manufactures a number of men sufficient to defend her as a militia, in case she was attacked by regular troops, great armies of which were now kept on foot by all her neighbours: that the maintaining of the proposed number of troops was not only dictated by prudence, but, if the matter was duly considered, by oeconomy likewise: that, should the army be re-

duced, the nation would be in the most imminent danger, from the designs of Jacobites and disaffected persons: and, finally, that it was well known that the papists and Jacobites were then, and always had been, the most forward in the cry for the reduction of the army.

Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, upon those publicans who refused to vote in elections, according to the direction of the ministry. Mr. Pulteney asserted, that the money raised for the sustenance of eighteen thousand men in England would maintain sixty thousand French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the continent. Sir W. Wyndham declared, that eighteen thousand of the English troops in the late war were maintained on less than two thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number. Besides, the expediency of reducing the number from eighteen thousand to twelve thousand, was insisted upon as the natural consequence even of his majesty's own declaration from the throne; by which he had given his parliament to understand, "that the peace of Europe was established, and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people." If eighteen thousand men then, it was said, were sufficient, on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe (as was the case last year) it was surely reasonable to think that a less number would suffice when peace was perfectly re-established. Whatever solidity might be in these reasons, or however they might be the sentiments of the nation, they made no impression on the house, where the majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction*.

The minister, conscious of his own unpopularity, resolved at this time to make an attempt to recover his credit with the landed gentlemen of England. This was no other than a scheme to give them relief by reviving the duty upon salt, in order the more easily to lighten the burden of the land-tax. Accordingly in a grand committee of the house, sir Robert Walpole said, "That in raising the supplies granted, his majesty's intention was, that the burden should fall as equally as possible upon the subjects: that it had long lain upon the gentlemen of the landed interest: that no tax could be more general than that upon salt, or more tolerable to individuals, be they ever so poor; whereas the land-tax, which had continued for forty years, affected the land-holders only. He therefore moved, that the duties upon salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for the term of three years." In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared, that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound.

Plausible as this proposal was, it did not operate so strongly with the house as the author expected. The country-party to a man inveighed loudly against it: they observed, that two years had elapsed since the king, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burdensome to the poor. The

* Parliamentary Debates. Hist. Rep. Tindal. Smollett.

house was then of opinion, that the tax upon salt was the most burthenſome, and the moſt pernicious to the trade of the kingdom of all the impositions to which the poor were ſubjected, and therefore it was taken off; but that no good reaſon could be produced for altering their opinion ſo ſuddenly, and reſolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to eaſe a few rich men of the landed intereſt.

Mr. Plumer, in particular, took upon him to answer the miniſter, and, in the courſe of his ſpeech, obſerved, that the character of a right tax was wanting in this: for, ſo far from taxing the luxuries, it taxed the moſt ordinary neceſſaries of life; that the motion, if approved, tended to diſtreſs the landed gentlemen more than the land-tax itſelf, inasmuch as by diſabling manufacturers from carrying on their trade, it would diſable tenants from paying their rents; and, moreover, it was highly impolitic, ſince the revival of it might alienate the affections of the people from his maſteſty. He deſired every landed gentleman that heard him, to conſider what he could make of his eſtate if we had no trade, no manufactures, nor any number of populous trading towns in England: he asked, who would be ſuch a fool as to deſire to be relieved of one ſhilling in the pound upon the land-tax, when he muſt pay as much another way, namely for the ſalt made uſe of in his family, and when at the ſame time he dimin-iſhes the yearly income of his eſtate much more than one ſhilling in the pound, nay more than any land-tax ever amounted to in England. The land-tax, he ſaid, was but an annual diminution of a gentleman's eſtate; he might be free of it, or part of it, the ſucceeding year: but if, by the decay of trade and the hardſhip that was laid upon the poor farmer, he ſhould be obliged to lower the rents of his eſtate, that would be a diminution which, it was to be feared, would endure for ever."

Some other gentlemen in the oppoſition obſerved, that while this tax was exacted in England, a great number of merchants ſent their ſhips to Ireland to be victualled for their reſpective voyages; that ſince it had been aboliſhed, many experiments had been ſucceſsfully tried with ſalt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this impoſition, which was likely to answer no one good purpoſe, but to the miniſter, who would now have it in his power to employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, all of them wholly depending upon him, whoſe influence in elections they would proportionably increaſe.

Mr. Walpole, reſuming his diſcourſe, ſaid, that with regard to the objection, that the revival of the duty would be prejudicial to the commerce of England, he begged leave to obſerve, that the trade and commerce of England had never made ſo rapid a progreſs as during the thirty years that this tax laſted, and that the victualling of ſhips at Corke, in Ireland, in order to avoid paying the duty in England, was ſo far from being detrimental, that it was in fact beneficial to the kingdom; that as to another objection, as if the revival of the duty would hurt agriculture, the allegation itſelf was founded on a falſe fact, inasmuch as that ſpecies of the commodity which was proper for manure, might be had in any quantity free from duty.

Some other ſpeeches were made upon the ſubject, particularly one by Mr. Pulteney, who undertook to refute all the arguments of the miniſtry in favour of the tax. The queſtion, however, being put, was carried in the affirmative, but not without the moſt violent debates. The bill met with much the ſame treatment in the upper houſe, where it was warmly conteſted, but finally paſſed.

The reader will readily remember, that, in the laſt ſeſſion, ſome complaints had been made againſt the Charitable Corporation, to the houſe of commons: it now became a very ſerious affair. This company was firſt erected in the year 1707. Their profeſſed intention was to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor, upon ſmall pledges, and to perſons of better rank upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. Their capital was at firſt limited to thirty thouſand pounds, but, by licences from the crown, they increaſed it to ſixty thouſand pounds. In the month of October, of the preceding year, George Robinson, eſq. member for Marlow, their caſhier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to examine the ſtate of their affairs, when it ſoon appeared that a moſt pernicious ſcene of villany had been carried on, inasmuch as thirty thouſand pounds was all that could be diſcovered to answer a capital of near ſixty thouſand pounds, the remainder having been embezzled by means which could not be diſcovered. The proprietors hereupon preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, repreſenting, that by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom they had committed the management of their affairs, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital, and many of the proprietors were reduced to abſolute beggary; they therefore humbly prayed, that, as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment, without the aid and aſſiſtance of parliament, that houſe would be pleaſed to examine into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners as the houſe ſhould think proper.

This petition was very graciously received, and the houſe appointed a committee to conduct the enquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, in conſequence of which, Mr. Robinson, ſir Robert Sutton, and ſir Alexander Grant, were expelled the houſe, for having had a conſiderable ſhare in theſe malpractices; and a bill was brought in to reſtrain them, with their accomplices, Dennis Bond, William Burroughs, George Jackson, Benjamin Robinson, Richard Wooley, and Thomas Warren, eſqrs. from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects.

While the committee was ſitting upon this black affair, they received a letter from one Belloni, a banker at Rome, informing them, that Thompson, the warehouse-keeper, was ſecured in that city, with all his papers, and confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and that the papers were tranſmitted to his (Belloni's) correſpondent at Paris, who ſhould deliver them up, on certain conditions ſtipulated in favour of the priſoner.

From ſeveral concurring circumſtances, and the characters of the perſons concerned in conducting this

this intelligence, the committee inferred, that it was no other than an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had procured the arrest of Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection to the English nation; the proposals contained in the letter were therefore rejected with disdain, and both houses concurred in an order, that the letter should be burned by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange: and the lower house came to the following resolution: "That it was an insolent audacious libel, attempting, by false and insidious insinuations, to impose upon the parliament and people of Great Britain; and, by specious pretences, and professions of esteem, affection, and compassion, to amuse the unhappy sufferers of the Charitable Corporation, with vain and deceitful hopes of relief; that the said letter was, in itself, absurd and contradictory, conceived, at the beginning, in terms, and in the style of power and authority, or as proceeding from some extraordinary interest and influence, but concluding in the person and character of a private banker at Rome, who agreed upon certain conditions in behalf of John Thompson to deliver certain books and papers belonging to the said Thompson; that the conditions required and demanded in favour of Thompson, seemed at the same time to be vague, evasive, and uncertain, tending to procure advantages and indemnity to himself and his accomplices, without any prospect of benefit to the corporation: and that the whole transaction appeared to be a scandalous artifice, calculated purely to delude the unhappy, and partly to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity."

Another, but a more daring and barefaced instance of the abuse of parliamentary confidence, happened to be discovered this session, by the unwearied application of lord Gage. Certain commissioners had been appointed to sell the English estates forfeited by the rebellion of the year 1715; and among others, the forfeited reversion of one that had belonged to the Derwentwater family, which was adjudged worth nine thousand pounds a year: this reversion had been sold, in a clandestine manner, by two of the commissioners only, to one Mr. Smith, a friend of theirs, for the trifling sum of one thousand pounds. This affair was no sooner known abroad, than it made a very great noise, and, by the indefatigable pains which lord Gage took, the whole mystery of iniquity was minutely detected; in consequence of which a bill was prepared in the lower house, to make the sale void. Dennis Bond, esq. (the same who was concerned in the Charitable Corporation affair) and serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of a notorious breach of trust, and expelled the house, of which they were members. During this session, no less than five members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; a melancholy proof of national degeneracy.

All the supplies were granted, and, among other articles, the sum of twenty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds, seven shillings, and six pence, for the *agio* or difference of money in the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch; but this was not obtained without a violent dispute, in which Mr. Pulteney greatly distinguished himself. On this occasion some

words happened between him and Mr. Pelham, which brought on a challenge, and both gentlemen went out of the house in order to terminate their dispute without delay; which being observed by the speaker, he ordered the serjeant at arms to follow them forthwith, and summon them to return to the service of the house: they complied, and Mr. Speaker then obliged each severally to declare that they would not prosecute any quarrel, or shew any farther resentment, for what had passed between them in the house; and here the affair ended. The misfortune was, at the time we now treat of, personal invectives were too common between both parties.

The pension-bill was revived this session, for the third time, and again rejected by the house of lords. Some efforts were likewise made towards restoring the trade of the sugar-colonies in America, but they met with so strong an opposition from the northern colonies, that they proved of little or no effect: an act, however, passed for encouraging the growth of coffee in his majesty's plantations in America.

It was not only in the house of commons that the minister had a strong opposition to encounter; the peers were far from unanimously approving his measures. On the rejection of the pension-bill, several lords entered very spirited protests. When the number of standing forces came to be debated, the earl of Chesterfield argued for the court motion. The earl of Oxford moved for the reducing them to twelve thousand effective men. The earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people; schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The marquis of Tweeddale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public; he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men demanded as a standing force, were now modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand, on any emergency. The duke of Argyll endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries; then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion; and, after all, acknowledged that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered by lord Carteret; nevertheless victory declared for the ministry.

The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum out of the sinking fund, and passed divers acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king, on the first day of June, gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both houses, that the States-general had acceded to the treaty of Vienna, that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence: he accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

In this same year, a number of gentlemen of distinction and worth set on foot one of the most disinterested, charitable, and (to the public) beneficial designs, that was ever undertaken. Hitherto all our American colonies were professedly planted for the immediate benefit of the undertakers; but this was solely for a national and charitable purpose, without any other benefit to the undertakers than what results from the pleasure of doing good. Most of them were members of parliament, who having lately had occasion to observe the misery of the prisoners confined in our gaols for debt, were moved with compassion for the relief of such unfortunate objects, who, were they settled in some new colony in our plantations, might, instead of a burden and a disgrace, prove a great advantage to their country; and that, moreover, many persecuted protestants from beyond sea might take the benefit of such a colony, for setting up their residence there, with the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties.

There was still a great part of the charter-lands of South Carolina, situated on the southern part of that province, bordering upon Florida, remaining unplanted, which it was highly the interest of Great Britain to occupy and plant as soon as possible, lest either the Spaniards from Florida, or the French behind it, from their usurpation of Mississippi, should seize on and plant what they found so unoccupied; more especially as the latter people greatly lamented their not having any footing on any part of the eastern shores of North America, so as to communicate more easily with their sugar-islands, their voyages to and from the Mississippi colony being by no means so convenient for receiving thence supplies of provisions, lumber, &c. which they were, for that reason, obliged to take from our British continent-colonies. This vacancy then was judged absolutely necessary to be filled up as soon as possible.

These reasons were sufficiently urgent for gentlemen of so public-spirited a character and disposition to make the attempt. But first they were to be authorised by his majesty's perpetual charter, which they obtained in this same year, 1732, on the ninth of June, "empowering twenty-one gentlemen by name, and such others as they should, from time to time, elect into their body, to be trustees for establishing the colony therein named Georgia, in America, bounded between the most northern stream of the river Savannah, and the most southern stream of the river Alatomaha (an extent of upwards of one hundred miles) along the sea-coast; and going westward from the heads of the said rivers, in direct lines, to the South Sea; with the islands within twenty leagues of the sea-coast. The said trustees were thereby empowered to receive and manage the contributions of all persons and corporations inclined to give money for the transporting of people to, and settling them in, the said colony. This corporation was made capable in law to hold and purchase lands, &c. in Great Britain, to the value of one thousand pounds yearly, and in America to an unlimited value, for the said charitable purpose. Their common council was to consist of fifteen persons, with power to make them up twenty-four (as they afterwards were). Georgia was to remain for ever an independent province, save only that the government of its militia shall remain in the governor of South Carolina; but the government

of the colony in other respects to be in the trustees for twenty-one years, when it was to be vested in the crown. Liberty of conscience and freedom of worship allowed to all its inhabitants, papists excepted. No trustee to hold lands or office in Georgia. The grants of lands to be registered in England, in the office of the auditor of the plantations."

It may be truly said that the trustees took all possible pains for executing the trust, and no one distinguished himself so much as Mr. (afterwards lieutenant-general) Oglethorpe, who had the principal share in first setting this undertaking on foot. They erected two good towns, Savannah and Frederica, at the north and south extremities of the province, besides several villages and small forts; and one in particular among the Indians, called Augusta, with a small garrison, for the protection of the Indian trade, two hundred and forty miles inland, up the river Savannah. They planted a common nursery-garden for white-mulberry trees, for the feeding of silk-worms. By the planting of Georgia, Carolina has felt the benefit of being able to run out (as they term it) much land, which till that new frontier barrier was established, they had no inclination to do, whereby those lands have been raised to five times their former value about Port Royal and towards the river Savannah.

Georgia produces a great variety of excellent plants and drugs, and orange trees in some parts of it; great plenty of horses and black cattle are raised, and the Saltzburghers (who went over there from Germany) have since raised more corn than the colony could consume. There is plenty of wild fowl, and also fish on its coasts; and since it has fallen under the government of the crown, it gradually increases in people and improvements. Upon the whole, Georgia cannot fail to be of great service to Great Britain on many accounts. The English navy may, in its harbours and bays, in case of a war, safely lie in wait for the Spanish galleons, or for the French from Mississippi, in their return to Europe through the dangerous gulph of Florida. The trustees erected a fort in the country of the Upper Creek Indians, almost four hundred miles from the sea, and not above forty miles from the nearest French fort in Mississippi, whereby all that tract of country is kept possession of for us.

We will now turn our eyes upon the situation of affairs on the continent. The States-general had succeeded in forwarding the project of a marriage between the eldest archduchess of Austria and the duke of Lorraine, by which means the indivisibility of the Austrian dominions, the great object of the pragmatic sanction, was secured, without subjecting Europe to any apprehensions of danger by her matching with a more powerful prince. They had procured a full and perpetual abolition of the Ostend company; and all their disputes with the emperor in East Friesland were adjusted to their entire satisfaction.

The court of Vienna seemed cordially to return to its ancient system of harmony and friendship with Great Britain; but carried its persecutions against its protestant subjects to such an height of cruelty, that the king of England was obliged to interpose in their behalf. France, by the bigotry of cardinal de Fleury, and the blind deference of the sovereign to that minister, was rent in pieces by religious

religious dissensions, which, while they destroyed her own internal tranquility, rendered her incapable of disturbing that of her neighbours.

Spain having compassed her favourite point of settling don Carlos in Italy, now undertook an expedition against Oran, a town of some consequence, which lies opposite to Carthage, and which the Spaniards, after having possessed for two hundred years, had lost to the Moors in 1708. This expedition fully answered the purpose for which it had been undertaken, they not only taking Oran, but making themselves also masters of the strong fort of Mazalquivir. It was the armament fitted out for this expedition that had given that alarm to our court, of which I have already taken notice.

Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, after having abdicated the throne in favour of his son Charles Emanuel, suffered himself to be persuaded by his wife, an ambitious woman, to engage in some intrigues for resuming the sovereign sway; but these being discovered by his son, the reigning king, he ordered his person to be secured at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong guard: his wife, the countess of St. Sebastian, was conducted to Ceva.

The dispute that had long subsisted between the king of Prussia and the young prince of Orange, touching his succession to the estates possessed by king William III. (in quality of prince of Orange) was at last adjusted by a formal treaty, signed at Berlin and Dieren.

I shall close this short review of the affairs of Europe this year, with an interesting event that happened in Prussia, where the prince-royal (the present famous king of Prussia), nephew to his Britannic majesty, had fallen under the displeasure of his father; a reconciliation, however, was happily effected this year, by the prince-royal consenting to marry the princess of Bevern, a match which, though rather disagreeable to himself, was the price he was obliged to pay for being re-admitted into favour with his father. The virtues of this lady, however, were such, that when the prince succeeded to the throne, he voluntarily shared with her his royalty.

The Dutch were alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by an extraordinary species of worms which bred in the piles and timber-work that supported their dykes, and threatened the destruction of those props of their common-wealth. They prayed, they fasted, they humbled themselves in the most extraordinary manner before heaven, in order to avert a calamity which they knew not how otherwise to guard against: at length they were delivered from their terrors by an hard frost, which effectually destroyed these dangerous enemies. At the close of this year, M. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the elector of Hanover at the imperial court, received the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor*.

The history of England at this period, cannot but be very dry and unentertaining to the reader, as it furnishes no domestic occurrences worth mentioning, consisting chiefly in an annual revolution of debates in parliament, in which the same arguments are perpetually recurring on the same subjects.

His majesty being returned from his German dominions, the session of parliament was opened on the sixteenth of January, 1733, by a speech from the throne, wherein the king declared, that the situation of affairs, both at home and abroad, rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two houses any other reasons for calling them together, but the ordinary dispatch of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of parliament. When an address of thanks came to be proposed, importing the entire satisfaction of the house at the present situation of affairs, as well foreign as domestic, the country members observed, in opposition to it, that there appeared very little reason for the nation to be satisfied with the present posture of affairs; for, in the first place, it was very well known that the French were actually busied in repairing the fortifications of Dunkirk, in direct violation of the most solemn treaties; that the British merchants were still left exposed to the cruel and insolent depredations of the Spaniards; that the commerce of England daily decreased; and that every session of parliament opened a new scene of villany and imposition: the address, however, was carried by the court party by a considerable majority.

The pension-bill was once more revived, and again lost in the house of peers. All the reasons formerly advanced against a standing army were now repeated, and a reduction of the number warmly insisted upon; but to very little effect, the army being voted on the present establishment. The next debate of note was with regard to the Spanish depredations, when sir Wilfred Lawson made a motion to address his majesty, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants. This motion occasioned a violent debate; the minister would gladly have evaded it, but he could not do it with decency, or even without danger. His tenderness for the court of Spain had made him indulge them in various delays, as to the execution of the treaty of Seville, with regard to their harassing the English in America. Sir Robert Walpole was sensible this conduct of his had given the opposition an advantage against him; but he acted on this occasion with great address and no less honour, by frankly owning that his majesty had nothing to lay before the house upon the motion which had been made, as many unforeseen accidents had prevented the commissaries from entering upon business sooner than the month of February last: however, he hoped affairs would be settled in such a manner as to give full satisfaction to every member of that house, and full reparation to every one of the subjects of Great Britain, who had met with a real injury from the Spaniards. This apology, however, was treated with great contempt by the members in the opposition, and the minister, though he could have carried the question, suffered it to go against him, rather than inflame the minds of his adversaries too much, whom he well knew possessed the confidence of the nation. The address was accordingly presented, and an answer came from the crown, which was little more than a copy of the apology which the minister had made in the house.

The warm dispute between the British American sugar-colonies and the British northern colonies, which had lasted from the year 1731, concerning the trade of the latter with the French, Dutch, and Danish sugar-colonies, of which we have already treated, was now reconsidered by the house, and at length finally terminated by the prudent temperament of an act for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, which laid a duty upon all rum, sugar, and molasses, brought from the northern colonies.

While the commons were deliberating upon the supply, sir Robert Walpole moved, on the twenty-third of February, that five hundred thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year. It is not to be supposed that a motion of this nature could pass without being severely animadverted upon by the members in the opposition: accordingly sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and sir John Barnard, exerted all their force of argumentation to expose the minister for his iniquitous practices of pillaging so sacred a deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt. Sir Robert heard and answered with amazing temper and coolness, all the invidious reflections, the bitter sarcasms, and the personal invectives with which his opponents loaded him; he knew that the opposition might justly be termed "*vox & preterea nihil*," a mere empty sound, and that all their objections would vanish before his superior influence. The motion was approved by the majority, and the sum accordingly taken for the use of the crown.

A ferment very dangerous to the minister was, however, now working in the nation. He had begun, so long ago as the year 1724, to encrease the number of excises, by changing the customs on coffee, tea, and chocolate, to an inland duty; he had brought the salt duty, after he had detached it from the sinking fund, and remitted it a short time (to soothe the people), under the same regulation. This last alteration gave some alarm, though the first had passed off very easily; but the scheme which the minister now meditated, and of which he made no secret, namely, an excise upon the two articles of wine and tobacco, had impressed the people with the notion that little less than a general excise was intended. Never in the memory of man was the nation so alarmed at the designs of a minister as in the present case. The court-writers had endeavoured to prepare the people for this new inland duty, by a pamphlet entitled "*Some general Considerations concerning the Alteration and Improvement of the Public Revenues*;" but for some months before it was proposed in the house, it became the chief subject of contention between the court and country-writers; and the Craftsman in particular gave such a history and picture of excises in his weekly essays, as raised in the people most terrible apprehensions concerning the extension of them. These papers were collected together, and published under the title of "*Arguments against Excises*." They had their effect, and an universal clamour was raised against the ministerial proposal even before it had been offered to the public. When the parliament met, it was every week expected that sir Robert Walpole would lay his scheme before the commons, and very broad hints were thrown out upon that subject;

and in the debates occasioned by the minister's motion for issuing and applying five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking fund, for the service of the current year, Mr. Pulteney happening to say, that "Though he was aware of the motion now made by that honourable gentleman sitting near him, yet he was in hopes, that what he had now moved for, was not all that he was to open that day in the committee," and then mentioning the excise project, and painting it in the most frightful colours, almost all the gentlemen who spoke after, made a digression from the point under consideration to that in expectation, and anticipated the proposition before it was made. In all probability, however, it was made the sooner on this occasion, the country gentlemen insisting on it while the house was full, and before the members were tired with attendance. The call of the house having been fixed to the seventh of March, sir Robert Walpole then proposed that day sevensnight for resolving into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon, and payable from, tobacco and wine.

On the fourteenth of March the commissioners of the customs and of the excise attending, pursuant to an order of the preceding day, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer opened and explained his scheme in a long studied speech. He began by taking notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his scheme before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originally arisen from smugglers and unfair traders, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public; and that these had been strenuously assisted by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great Britain to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from tobacco; upon the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants, were now become their masters; upon the injury done to the fair trader, and the loss sustained by the public in respect to the revenue. He asserted, that the scheme he was about to propose, would remove all these inconveniencies, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add two or three hundred thousand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealers in those commodities; he recited the several acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco; he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise; he endeavoured to obviate some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of excise to those of the customs: that the farther subsidy of three farthings per pound, chargeable upon imported tobacco, should be still levied at the custom-house, and payable to his majesty's civil list, as heretofore: that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of the excise; that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have

one lock and key, and the merchant importer have another, and that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by exportation or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the custom-house, discharged of the three farthings per pound, which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without farther trouble: that the portion designed for home consumption should, in the presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of four pence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of giving bond and finding securities for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majesty, and in the country by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceeding in courts of law and equity.

Such was the substance of the famous excise scheme, the proposing of which occasioned the most interesting debate that could happen in a British house of commons. It held till two of the clock next morning, and was managed and maintained by all the ablest speakers on both sides the question. Sir Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, one of the members for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the opposition. Sir John Barnard, another representative of the city of London, distinguished himself in the same cause: he was supported by Mr. Pulteney, sir William Wyndham, and others of the country party; while sir Philip Yorke (now appointed lord chief justice of the King's Bench, and ennobled in the course of the ensuing year), warmly espoused the minister's scheme; as did also sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the Rolls, assisted by the lord Hervey, sir Thomas Robinson, sir William Young, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which last was far the most eminent for talents and address of all the ministerial advocates.

Those who argued against the scheme, accused the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations as to the hardships under which it had been said the planters laboured. They affirmed, that the planters had never thought of complaining, till put upon it by letters and applications from London: that the scheme was so far from being calculated to relieve the planters, that it would expose the factors to such grievous oppression, that they would not be able to continue the trade, consequently the planters would be utterly ruined; and, after all, it would not prevent the frauds against which it was said to be provided: that from the examination of the commissioners of the customs, it appeared that those funds did not exceed forty thousand pounds per annum, and might be in a great measure abolished by a due execution of the laws in being, consequently this scheme was unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to trade,

and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a grievous oppression. They suggested that it would produce an additional swarm of officers and warehouse-keepers appointed and paid by the Treasury, so as to multiply the dependents on the crown, and enable it still farther to check the freedom of elections: that the traders would become slaves to excisemen and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their own commodities except at certain hours, when attended by those officers; that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he should sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay; and that if a law should be enacted in favour of this scheme, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise laws into every branch of the revenue, in which case the liberty of Great Britain would be no more.

After a very warm debate, the question being put, upon a motion made by the minister, that the present duties on wine and tobacco should, from and after the twenty-fourth of June next, cease and determine, it was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and sixty-six against two hundred and five.

The other resolutions subsequent to this, for altering the customs to an inland duty on those commodities, and appropriating this inland duty to the same uses as the customs, were passed without a division. Thus did the excise scheme triumph for the first day; and even on the sixteenth, upon the report of the committee, after another long debate, it was agreed to by much the same majority, when it was ordered that a bill should be brought in pursuant to the said resolutions. As the history of this bill will be ever memorable in Great Britain, I shall give an abstract of it from the Historical Register for the year 1733, with the arguments for and against it, as the only means of giving a just notion of the whole affair.

This famous bill was brought in on the fourth of April, and read the first time, after which Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his majesty's command, acquainted the house, that his majesty consented to their making such alterations as they should think fit for the public service, in relation to the subsidy on tobacco, then payable on account of his majesty's civil list. It was next objected, that some parts of the said bill were not within the resolutions of the house pursuant to which the said bill had been ordered to be brought in, and therefore it was moved, that the bill should be withdrawn, which passed in the negative, two hundred and thirty-two against one hundred and seventy-six. Then a motion was made for adjourning, which likewise passed in the negative. At last it was resolved that the bill should be read a second time, on that day sevensnight; two hundred and thirty-six against two hundred. Next day after bringing in of this bill, a motion was made for the printing such a number of copies as should be sufficient for the use of the members of the house; but, upon the question, the Noes had it by one hundred and twenty-eight against one hundred and twelve.

As this bill very much concerned the trade and commerce of this nation, the lord-mayor of the city

city of London (John Barber, esq.) procured a copy of it soon after it was brought into the house of commons, and having laid it before the common-council, it was there resolved to petition the house against it; and a petition being immediately drawn up, and agreed to, the same was presented to the house of commons on the tenth of April. The petitioners herein express themselves as follows: "That they presume, in all humility, to express to the house, as they had already done in some measure by their instructions to their members, the universal sense of the nation concerning any farther extension of the laws of excise: that the burden of taxes already imposed on every branch of trade, however cheerfully borne, was severely felt; but the petitioners apprehended that this burden would grow too heavy to be borne, if it was encreased by such vexatious and oppressive methods of levying and collecting the duties, as, they are assured by melancholy experience, the nature of all excises must necessarily produce: that the merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers of the kingdom, had supported themselves under the pressure of the excise laws now in force, by the comfortable and reasonable expectation, that those laws, which nothing but public necessity could be a motive to enact, would be repealed in favour of the trade of the kingdom and of the liberty of the subject, whenever that motive should be removed, as the petitioners presume it effectually was, by the undisturbed tranquility which the nation enjoyed at home, and the general peace which was so firmly established abroad: that if this expectation should be disappointed; if the excise-laws, instead of being repealed, were extended to other species of merchandize not yet excised, and a door opened for extending them to all; the petitioners cannot, in justice to themselves, to the merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers of the whole kingdom, and to the general interest of their country, conceal their apprehensions, that the most fatal blow, which ever was given, would be given on this occasion, to the trade and navigation of Great Britain: that that great spring, from which the wealth and property of the subject flowed, would be obstructed, and the mercantile part of the nation would become not only less able to trade to advantage, but unwilling to trade at all; since no person, who could enjoy all the privileges of a British subject out of trade, even with a small fortune, would voluntarily resign some of the most valuable of those privileges, by subjecting himself to the laws of excise: that the petitioners are able to shew, that these apprehensions are founded both in experience and reason; and therefore they hope, that the house will be pleased to hear them by their counsel against the bill."

It has always been a privilege enjoyed by the city of London, that any petition from them is presented to the house by their sheriffs, and brought up by the clerk of the house, and read at the table, without asking the leave of the house for that purpose; whereas all other petitions must be presented by a member of the house, and cannot be by him brought up, or read at the table by the clerk, till leave be first asked and obtained of the house. Accordingly, the petition was brought up and read at the table; and as soon as it was read, sir John

represented how much the city and citizens of London, as well as all the other trading parts of the nation would be affected by the bill for altering the method of raising the duties payable upon tobacco, and how just reason they had to insist upon being heard by their council against it; concluding with a motion for granting them leave to be heard by their counsel, if they thought fit.

In opposition to this motion it was insisted on, by the minister and his friends, that it had always been the practice of that house, never to receive any petition, much less to admit counsel to be heard, against any bill for imposing of taxes upon the subject; for that, if such a thing was to be admitted, it would be impossible ever to pass any such bill, because there would be so many different petitions presented against it, by those who were to be subject thereto, that it would be impossible to hear counsel separately upon every such petition within the usual time of the continuance of one session of parliament; and that in refusing to admit counsel to be heard, there could be no inconvenience, because every man, and every body of men, had their representatives in that house, who certainly would represent their case to the house, if any particular hardship was to be put upon them by any bill then before the house.

To this it was replied, that the house had never pretended to any particular custom of refusing petitions, except against those bills which were called money-bills, that was to say, such bills as were brought in for raising money for the service of the current year; and that even as to them there were many precedents where the house had admitted the parties whom they thought to have a real interest therein, to be heard by their counsel against the passing of such bills: that the admitting of counsel, even in such cases, could never prevent the passing such bill, because the house could always order all parties petitioning to be heard at one time, and could give such directions, that it would never take up many days to hear every thing that could be objected by every one of the parties petitioning: that though every part of the nation had their representatives in that house, yet it was very well known, that speaking in public was not the talent of every man; from whence it might happen that the particular persons or part of the nation which was then to be aggrieved by what was passing in the house, might not have any such members as were proper to lay their case fully and clearly before the house; and that therefore, even as to money-bills, it was proper to admit parties to be heard against them, when it appeared that they were very particularly interested therein.

But as to the case then before them, there was not the least pretence for refusing the desire of the petition; because the bill against which it was presented, was no money-bill; on the contrary, it was even insisted on by the advocates for it, as one of the greatest arguments in its favour, that there was no new duties to be imposed; it was a bill only for altering the method of collecting the taxes already imposed; and therefore it could never be pretended that there was any practice or custom of the house to refuse parties interested to be heard against such a bill: that if there had been such a custom introduced, it ought not to be observed, especially when such a considerable body as the lord-

lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London came with an humble petition to be heard against the bill, which they thought would not only be highly injurious to them in particular, but destructive to the trade and commerce of the whole nation.

In this debate there were many precedents brought by Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gibbons, and Mr. Bootle, where the house had received petitions, and admitted counsel to be heard against many bills; and there were likewise precedents brought by sir William Young, and Mr. Winnington, where the same had been refused, the reading of which took up a great part of the day.

After the debate had lasted some time, upon putting the question for allowing the petitioners to be heard by their counsel against the bill, there was a division, and the question had a negative put upon it, two hundred and fourteen against one hundred and ninety-seven: after which it was ordered, that the petition should lie upon the table until the said bill should be read a second time.

The strain in which the petition of the city of London was drawn up, could not fail of having great effect with the public, especially as it was seconded by others, in the like style, from Bristol and all the capital towns in the kingdom. The truth is, the minds of the people were wrought up to such a pitch of fury and resentment, as threatened little less than a general rebellion. While the bill was depending with the commons, the house was surrounded with such immense crowds of people, and these too so noisy and riotous, that it was at the imminent hazard of their lives that any who favoured the scheme could either enter or come out. This occasioned sir Robert Walpole to conclude a speech he made in the course of the debate with the following remarkable, though unguarded, expressions. After having declared, that he did not look upon the clamours without doors against the scheme, to be the voice of the nation, "Gentlemen (continued he) may say what they please, of the multitudes now at the door, and in the avenues leading to this house: they may call them a modest multitude, if they will; but, whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited so long at our door: it may be a very easy matter for some designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them; and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they will end: he is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that could with the same ease appease them; for this reason I must think, that it was neither prudent nor regular to use any methods for bringing such multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever: gentlemen may give them what name they think fit: it may be said, that they come hither as humble supplicants; but I know whom the law calls sturdy beggars, and those who brought them down hither could not be certain, that they might not have behaved in the same manner."

It is hardly to be expressed how great a ferment this part of the minister's speech threw the house into; it was with much difficulty they could be brought into such a temper as to be able to resume the debate: at length sir John Barnard stood up, and said, that merchants of character had an undoubted right to come down to the Court of Re-

quests and lobby of the house of commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce; that when he came to the house he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of Sturdy Beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever; that it was well known, that the city of London was sufficiently apprized of what was that day to come before the house: where they got their information he knew not; but he was very certain, that they had a right notion of the scheme which had now been opened; and they were so generally and zealously bent against it, that whatever methods might have been used to call them hither, he was sure it would have been impossible to have found any legal methods to have prevented their coming thither.

Although the power of the minister was then very great, tho' he had the success of this scheme very much at heart, and tho' there was no doubt that, had he pushed it, he might have got the bill passed into a law: yet, observing that the whole nation was now alarmed, and beginning to be in fear of his life, he thought proper to drop the design, by moving the next day, April 11, when the bill was about to be read the second time, that such second reading might be postponed to the twelfth day of June next. Though by this motion it evidently appeared that the bill was to be dropped, yet some gentlemen, who had from the beginning appeared strenuously against the whole scheme, were not satisfied with letting it drop in so easy a manner, and therefore they were for having it rejected; but this proposition did not come to a motion, much less to the question, so that the first motion was agreed to without opposition; and upon the Friday after, which was the day appointed for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider farther of the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues then charged upon and made payable from tobacco and wines, it was resolved, that the house would, upon the fourteenth day of June next, resolve itself into the said committee: so that part of the scheme which related to the duties upon wine was never laid before the house.

Such was the conclusion of a project, which the populace was taught to believe threatened no less than the utter extinction of their liberties and properties; but which, since the rage of party has subsided, has been considered by many sensible and experienced persons in a more favourable light; nay, the most exceptionable parts of this project have, though in another shape, been since passed into a law, and that too at the request and application of those very persons who were most forward in opposing the measure.

However, the miscarriage of the bill was, at the time we are speaking of, celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster; the Monument was illuminated, and the minister burned in effigy by the populace.

There having been great crowds of people about the house of commons on the eleventh of April, and some of them having behaved in a very tumultuous manner, the next day complaint was made to the house, by several members who had voted in

in favour of the scheme, "That a tumultuous crowd of people had assembled the night before, and several days during the session, in the Court of Requests and other avenues to that house, and that they themselves, and several other members of the house, had been last night, in their return from the house, menaced, insulted, and assaulted, by a tumultuous crowd of people in the passages to the house*." Whereupon it was ordered and declared, *nemine contradicente*, "I. That the assaulting, insulting, or menacing any member of that house, in his coming to or going from that house, or upon account of his behaviour in parliament, was an high infringement of the privilege of that house, a most outrageous and dangerous violation of the rights of parliament, and an high crime and misdemeanor. II. That the assembling and coming of any number of persons, in a riotous, tumultuous, and disorderly manner, to that house, in order either to hinder or promote the passing of any bill, or other matters, depending before that house, was an high infringement of the privilege of that house, was destructive of the freedom and constitution of parliament, and an high crime and misdemeanor. III. That the inciting and encouraging any number of persons to come in a riotous, tumultuous, and disorderly manner, to that house, in order either to hinder or promote the passing of any bill, or other matter depending before that house, was an high infringement of the privilege of the house, destructive of the freedom and constitution of parliament, and an high crime and misdemeanor."

Then it was ordered, "I. That the members of that house who served for the city of London should signify the same to the lord-mayor of London. II. That the members of that house who served for the county of Middlesex, should signify the said resolutions and declarations to the sheriff of Middlesex. III. That the members of that house, who served for the city of Westminster, should signify the said resolutions to the high bailiff of Westminster." Which orders were accordingly signified by their respective members, who next day reported their having done so to the house†.

After the miscarriage of the excise-scheme, the house unanimously resolved to enquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs, and a committee of twenty-one members was chosen by ballot for this purpose. The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the house of lords, who made some amendments, in consequence of which it was laid aside; and by another bill, establishing a lottery to raise five hundred thousand pounds, for the relief of those who had suffered by the Charitable Corporation. After having undergone some alterations, it passed through both houses, and received the royal assent.

His majesty having at this time determined for some wise reasons of state, to bestow his eldest daughter, the princess royal, upon the prince of Orange, he sent a message to the commons, on the eighth of May, acquainting them with the

same. He said, he made no doubt that this match would be acceptable to all his good subjects, and therefore promised himself the assistance and concurrence of the house in enabling him to give such a portion to his eldest daughter, as should be suitable to the present occasion, and might contribute towards supporting with honour and dignity an alliance that would tend so much to the farther security of the protestant succession on the throne of these realms, and the farther strengthening the protestant interest on the continent of Europe.

In reply to this message, the commons returned a most warm and affectionate address, and immediately voted, that out of the money arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, his majesty should be empowered to apply the sum of eighty thousand pounds as a marriage-portion for his eldest daughter.

The last affair in this session which engaged the attention of the commons, was a question concerning the constitution of their house. Lieutenant-general Wade, member for Bath, had been appointed governor of Fort William, Fort George, and Augustus, in Scotland; the point therefore in dispute was, whether his accepting those offices had vacated his seat in parliament? The anticourtiers were strenuous in maintaining the affirmative; and in support of their opinion they produced a number of precedents, and then moved, "That the accepting a commission of governor or lieutenant-governor of any fort, citadel, or garrison, upon the military establishment of Great Britain, by any member of the house who was an officer of the army, should vacate his seat as member of parliament." The question, however, being put, was carried by the court, ninety-six against eighteen; and this determination has been regarded as decisive of all succeeding cases of the like nature.

Several warm attacks were made on the minister in the house of peers, during the course of this session; particularly on the thirtieth of May, a motion was made to resolve, "That it is the opinion of this house, that the produce of the sinking fund should be applied for the future towards reducing such taxes as are most grievous to the subject, oppressive to the manufacturer, or detrimental to trade." This motion occasioned a long and warm debate, in which all the arguments which have been already recited for taking money from the sinking fund, were repeated, as also those against it. The lords, however, which supported this motion (amongst whom the lords Carteret and Bathurst distinguished themselves) said, that a great difference lay between the interest of the creditors of the public and the interest of the nation; for though the former might find it for their interest not to draw their money out of the public funds, yet it never could be the interest of the nation that taxes should be perpetuated, which must be the case, if the money of the sinking fund continued to be alienated. In reply to this, the lords of the court-party said, that the taking money from the sinking fund was in fact no alienation of it from the purposes of its first establishment, and that the interest of the nation could not be more effectually

* The minister in particular, in his coming to and returning from the house, had been insulted in the most outrageous manner; and at one time his life was saved by Mr. Cunningham, a Scotch member, who had the courage to draw his sword and keep off the rabble till his friend escaped: for which seasonable

piece of service his majesty rewarded him with the government of Jamaica.

† Proceedings of the House of Commons. Parliamentary Debates, Historical Register.

consulted, than by easing the landed interest, which was done by applying part of the money of the sinking fund to the service of the current year. The motion being rejected, among other reasons, for being a motion for a resolution very improper for a house of peers to come to, a strong protest was entered by eighteen lords, in which they very clearly and impartially stated all that had been urged for the motion; but the most remarkable was the close of the protest, and which was directly levelled at the minister. It ran thus:

"We insist with great earnestness and concern on this point, from our observation of what has lately passed on the occasion of attempts being made to extend the cruel and arbitrary methods practised under the laws of excise, and naturally and necessarily, as we apprehend, flowing from them. If any new law of this kind has passed elsewhere, we persuade ourselves it could not have prevailed in this house: but we think it the more incumbent upon us, after such an attempt, and such national resentment expressed against it (both which are of public notoriety), to promote as effectually as we are able, the quiet and happiness of his majesty's reign, by cutting off any hopes or fears which may be still entertained, that such a project will some time or other succeed; and to this good and laudable end we conceive, that nothing would have contributed more, than such a solemn declaration of the sense of this house, as is contained in the question."

The affairs of the South Sea company were at this time run into great disorder: the lords of the opposition moved, and carried their motion, that the directors of that company should lay an account of the produce of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the former directors, who had been mulcted by the parliament. From this it appeared, that the large sums of money arising from those forfeited estates had been distributed among the proprietors by way of dividend, even before recourse was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied. Lord Bathurst therefore moved for a resolution of the house, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order of a general court for that purpose, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors of that stock. This motion, however, was defeated by a majority of members in the court interest; and then the house ordered, that the present and former directors of the South Sea company, together with the late inspectors of their accounts, should attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated; but as no direct proof could be established of any embezzlement, and as the discussion of the matter would have been attended with more bad than good consequences, the majority thought proper to postpone the scrutiny*. A bill, however, passed, for converting a farther part of the capital stock of the South Sea company into annuities, redeemable by parliament.

The persecution against the protestants in Germany, particularly the Saltzburghers, still reigning, it was thought, by many of the public-spirited gentlemen concerned in the scheme for settling the colony of Georgia, that it would be good policy to

grant those unhappy people an asylum in the British dominions in America, particularly in that infant colony, which, through the indefatigable pains of Mr. Oglethorpe, wore a very promising aspect: a petition was accordingly presented to parliament for that purpose, who were pleased to give encouragement to the proposal, and even to grant ten thousand pounds to the trustees, out of the sale of the lands in the island of St. Christopher's, for carrying it into execution.

On the eleventh of June, the public business being by that time all dispatched, the king put an end to the session with a short but severe speech against the authors of the heats and animosities that had been lately spread through the nation.

It is by no means foreign to this history, to observe, that this same year, 1733, a new and most laudable corporation was erected for promoting English protestant working schools in Ireland. Mr. Anderson, author of the *Origin of Commerce*, tells us, that he having been at this time somewhat useful in corresponding with Dr. Maule, then bishop of Dromore, for promoting the charter of the corporation, received from that bishop the following well vouched account of the number of people, both protestants and papists, in all Ireland; a matter sufficiently curious to claim a place in the body of this work.

By the bishop's books, and other authentic vouchers, it appeared that there were at least two millions of people in that island, of which there are very near six hundred thousand protestants, and somewhat above one million four hundred thousand papists, or nearly five papists to two protestants. The following is a list of the total of both religions in the four great divisions, called provinces, of Ireland, viz.

	Protestant Families.	Papish Families.
In Ulster	62,620	38,459
Leinster	25,238	92,424
Munster	13,337	106,407
Connaught	4,299	44,133
Total	105,494	281,423

Which, at five to each family in the country, and ten for Dublin, the capital, and seven for Corke city, makes in all two millions fifteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine souls.

This account makes the protestant families to be in Dublin	8,823
The popish families in the same city	4,119
	12,942

Which, at ten to each family, makes the people of Dublin amount to

Protestant families in the city of Corke	2,569
Popish families	5,398
	7,967

Which, at seven to a family, makes the number of souls in the city of Corke

So noble a part of the British empire as this island, is well worth the cherishing, as far as can be done without prejudice to Great Britain. King William III. on his first landing on it, turning to

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Historical Register.

old marshal Schomberg, said, "This island is well worth fighting for."

We are now to attend foreign affairs. The court of Spain, this year, fell upon a project for erecting an East India company for trading to the Philippine Islands directly from Cadiz, by the Cape of Good Hope; and although it concerned all the other European nations trading to India, yet it more especially concerned the Dutch to oppose it, as it was directly contrary to the latter part of the Vth article of the treaty of Munster, anno 1648, between Spain and them; and as the same article had been lately successfully made use of against the Ostend company of the Spanish or Austrian Netherlands, it might be yet more strongly opposed to the erection of this new company, viz. "Moreover it is stipulated and agreed, that the Spaniards shall confine their navigation in the East Indies in such manner as it is at present possessed by them, without having it in their power to extend the same any farther. As also the inhabitants of the Netherlands shall abstain from frequenting those places which belong to the Castilians in the East Indies." Now the East India trade, as then possessed by Spain, was practised solely from New Spain to the Philippines, and back to the port of Acapulco; but no East India trade at all from Spain by the way of the Cape of Good Hope: wherefore the Dutch at this time most justly and zealously, and in the end effectually, opposed so palpable a contravention of that treaty. But it is probable I may have occasion to mention this subject again, and therefore shall at present say no more of it.

On the fifth of February this year (1733) died Augustus II. king of Poland, whose death opened a new and dreadful scene of war in Europe, the neighbouring princes interesting themselves strongly in the choice of a new sovereign. The elector of Saxony, son to the late monarch, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French king, declared themselves candidates. The emperor, the czarina, and the king of Prussia espoused the cause of the Saxon: it was natural for the king of France to support the pretensions of his father-in-law; and no sooner was he informed that the emperor had assembled a body of forces in Silesia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to advance to the Rhine with a numerous army, and take measures for entering Germany, in case the Imperialists should attempt to penetrate into Poland, on the frontiers of which they, and a large body of Russian troops, were now hovering.

In the mean time Stanislaus, who was still at the court of France, found means to transport himself privately into Warsaw, the capital of Poland, where he continued undiscovered till he found it for his interest to appear in public. As the day of election drew nigh, the Russian and Prussian ministers delivered their several declarations, by way of protest, against the eventual election of Stanislaus, as a proscribed person, and one rendered for ever incapable of wearing the crown.

About the middle of August, the Russian general Lascki entered Poland, at the head of fifty thousand men: the diet of the election was opened with the usual ceremony. Prince Winozawiski, chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula (or Wiezer) with three thousand men, including some of the nobility who adhered to the party of Augustus. The primate of Poland, who

always acts as regent during an interregnum, endeavoured to reconcile all differences among the grandees, in order to proceed peaceably to the new election: Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king, and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. Augustus's party protested against the election, and, being now increased to ten thousand men, they joined the Russian army, which had advanced by hasty marches. Stanislaus, sensible of his inability to withstand such powerful enemies, retired, with the primate and French ambassador, to Denmark, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warsaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was instantly surrendered, and the soldiers and inhabitants plundered the houses belonging to the grandees who had declared for Augustus, as likewise the hotel of the Russian ambassador.

While these transactions passed, the Poles, who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impossible to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a colo, or great council, at Cracow, where the elector of Saxony was chosen, and proclaimed by the bishop of that place, king of Poland, by the name of Augustus III. on the sixth day of October. The two armies then crossed the river, and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where, in their turn, they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

Mean while the French king, incensed at the part the emperor had acted against his father-in-law, entered into a treaty with the courts of Madrid and Turin, by which they agreed jointly to declare war against the emperor. These three powers had their respective interests, but they all concurred in one view, namely, the weakening the house of Austria.

The dukes of Savoy had been a long time gradually encreasing their dominions, by sometimes assisting the emperors, and sometimes declaring against them. The king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel, hoped to procure the duchy of Milan, and it had been promised him both by the ministers of Versailles and Madrid. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather Elizabeth of Parma, his consort, aspired at more considerable establishments for the royal offspring than Parma and Placentia. Lewis XV. sought to aggrandize his own glory by pulling down his enemies. Never was negotiation more speedily concluded, than that which united these three monarchs, and Europe was now filled with manifestoes by all the parties at variance.

England could not declare herself without the concurrence of the United Provinces; and that cautious republic shewed no great readiness to launch into an expensive and ruinous war, merely for the sake of supporting the emperor's quarrel. In vain did the Imperial ministers solicit, with the greatest earnestness, both our court and the States-general, to take the most speedy and vigorous measures to prevent their ally from being crushed by the power of his enemies, and the ballance of power in Europe thereby utterly disjointed: we both stood by, unconcerned spectators of the rapid progress of the French, who passed the Rhine in the month of October, under the duke of Berwick, and laid siege to Fort Kehl, which he soon reduced; while another body of French forces, under marshal Villars,

Villars, joined by the king of Sardinia, subdued Pavia, Pizzighitone, Cremona, Secco, Frezzo, with the fort of Fuentes; and not long after marshal de Villars ended a glorious career, at the age of eighty-two, after having reduced the important city of Milan.

The emperor, dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to accommodate all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of England; and Mr. Keene, the British minister at the court of Madrid, made proposals for that purpose. Philip expressed his acknowledgements to the king of England; but declared that the emperor's advances came too late, and that his own resolutions were already taken. In the mean time he sent a powerful army into Italy, under the duke of Montemar, who reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, which was bestowed upon the infant don Carlos, who had already been acknowledged hereditary prince of Tuscany. Thus did the emperor Charles VI. lose almost all Italy, by giving a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain obtained, in two campaigns, the Two Sicilies, which had been so often before taken and retaken, and had been the constant objects of the attention of the house of Austria for above two centuries. All this time the other potentates of Europe looked on without intermeddling: the Venetians declared they would take no share in the war in Italy; the Dutch soon entered into a neutrality with France; and we, in concert with those states, employed ourselves in mediations, instead of affording the desired assistance.

On the seventh of November, this year, his serene highness the prince of Orange arrived, in the Fubbs yacht, at Greenwich; proceeded, in one of the king's barges, to the Tower, and from thence, in one of his majesty's coaches, to Somerset-house; and the next day was received by the royal family with the greatest respect. Soon after his highness was taken ill, which retarded his marriage for some time.

Not long after the rising of the parliament, the court party lost one of its ablest advocates in the earl of Chesterfield, who, being disgusted at the conduct of the minister, resigned his place of steward of his majesty's household. The duke of Montrose relinquished his office of lord privy-seal of Scotland; and his example was followed by lord Clinton, one of the lords of his majesty's bed-chamber, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon. About the same time the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham were deprived of their posts in the army. These removals and resignations gave great uneasiness to the public, which was, however, in some measure allayed by some promotions in the law, which were universally agreeable. Mr. Talbot, solicitor-general, one of the most accomplished lawyers and upright judges in the kingdom, was constituted lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and created baron Talbot of Hensoll; sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, was advanced to the office of lord chief-justice of the court of King's Bench, and honoured with a peerage, by the title of lord Hardwicke: the place of solicitor-general was then bestowed on Mr. (afterwards sir) Dudley Ryder, and that of attorney-general on Mr. (afterwards sir) John Willes.

The year 1733 was distinguished by the death of many persons of high rank: George Byng, lord

viscount Torrington, so famous for the defeat he gave the Spaniards in 1718, died on the seventeenth of January, and was succeeded by sir Charles Wager as first lord of the admiralty: on the twenty-second of the same month died the earl of Pembroke, who had gone through the greatest offices of state since the Revolution: on the nineteenth of March died lord Raymond, lord chief-justice of the King's Bench: on the seventh of May died the earl of Cholmondeley; and in October died Henrietta, the young duchess of Marlborough, by which that title devolved to her sister's son, the earl of Sunderland; and about the same time the duchess of Ormond departed this life.

This year, indeed, was ushered in with an epidemic disorder, much like a cold, which attacked all sorts of people, and proved fatal to great numbers, particularly those in years, insomuch that in one week, the last in January, the Weekly Bills were at the amazing height of fifteen hundred and eighty-eight, being more by six hundred than had died in any one week since the great plague.

It may not be altogether useless to remark, that his majesty having, in the course of this year, by proclamation, prohibited the passing or circulating of the old and much worn-out gold coins of the realm, of twenty-five and twenty-three shillings, commonly called Broad Pieces, and the halves and quarters thereof, he also, for the ease of his people, directed his receivers of taxes, and also the officers of his mint, to receive them at four pounds one shilling per ounce troy, during one whole year; and that such of them as should be so brought to the mint, should be coined into the modern current gold coins of the kingdom. But it being apprehended that the advantage of so good an allowance as four pounds one shilling per ounce might be a temptation for bad persons to counterfeit the said old coins, a law was passed afterwards, making such a practice high-treason, and forty pounds reward was offered to such as should discover the counterfeiters thereof.

On the 17th of January, 1734, the parliament met, and the session was opened with a speech from the throne as usual, in which, among other things, his majesty told the two houses, "That though he was no way concerned in the war which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle spectator of the present events, or be indifferent about the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful confederacy. He said, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers which were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the States-general of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most adviseable for the common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe; that he should order the estimates to be laid before them, of such services as demanded their present and immediate care: that the augmentation, which would be proposed for the sea-service, would be very considerable; but he was confident, they would think it reasonable and necessary: that he must particularly recommend to their care the debt of the navy, which had been every year laid before them; but, from the present circumstances

stances of the times, he believed, they would be persuaded, that it now required some provision to be made for it; a thing that could not well be longer postponed, without manifest detriment to the public service: that, as these extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raise the supplies necessary for defraying them, with that readiness and dispatch, and with that just regard to the true interest of his people, which this parliament had hitherto shewn upon all occasions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with such temper and unanimity, and such expedition in the public business, as might give him the sooner an opportunity of taking the sense of a new parliament: that he flattered himself his present resolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and, whatever insinuations might be thrown out against the conduct of the government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundless jealousies, and make it appear, that Great Britain ought always to act that part which the honour and interest of the nation called upon it to undertake."

The motion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both houses, which, it must be confessed, appears to have proceeded more from a spirit of contradiction and cavilling, than from any reasonable cause of objection.

On the twenty-third of January the commons agreed to address his majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna in 1731, with the secret and separate articles, and the States-general's act of concurrence; and on the same day sir John Rushout moved for another address, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville should be submitted to the inspection of the commons.

This motion introduced a long and violent debate. Sir W. Yonge observed, that the treaty of Seville being prior to that of Vienna, letters and instructions relating to the former could have no connection or concern with the latter: that nothing could be more improper than to call for papers which might reveal the nature of any negotiation that was then upon the carpet: that nevertheless, if the house should think fit to take the treaty of Seville under their consideration, it might then be proper to call for any particular paper that might give light to their deliberations; but if they want to confine their present enquiries to the treaty of Vienna, the motion now made was altogether improper.

Sir W. Wyndham on the contrary declared it his opinion, that the impossibility of carrying the treaty of Seville into execution had given rise to the stipulations contained in the treaty of Vienna; and that they could not pretend to judge of the propriety of the latter, without having the papers that related to the former laid before the house.

After a hard struggle this motion was overruled; but the opposition, far from being discouraged by this defeat, resolved to return to the attack with double vigour. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth day of January, Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and had a surprising perseverance in wrangling, moved, that the house should examine the instructions which had been sent to the

British minister in Poland some years before the death of king Augustus, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The intention of this motion was to come at the truth of a report which had pretty confidently prevailed, that the British ministry had not only favoured the election of Stanislaus, but had even entered into a secret engagement with France, to assist her in supporting him on the Polish throne.

This motion was violently opposed by all the court-party, and insisted on with no less vehemence by those in the opposition. In the debate the several speakers gave into the most unwarrantable and ungentleman-like personalities, the repetition of which would disgrace a national history; and they were carried on both sides so far, that the speaker was obliged to inform the gentlemen, that they had lost sight of the question, which he again read. Then sir W. Wyndham, who was always decent and parliamentary, stood up to support Mr. Sandys's motion by clear argumentation. He began by observing, that this motion implied no disrespect to his majesty, but only tended to canvass the conduct of the minister, and that the papers called for might be necessary for that effect: that this he said, in order to obviate the arguments that might possibly be urged in favour of the ministry, as if the motion was unnecessary and disrespectful, because his majesty at the opening of the parliament had told them, that he was in no wise engaged in the war, and had no concern except by his good offices in those transactions, which had been declared to be the principal causes and motives of the rupture: that, in a constitutional sense, the speech of the king was to be considered as the speech of the minister; and that the house had even a right to enquire, whether his majesty's declarations were or were not agreeable to truth: that it was well known the States-general had concluded a treaty of neutrality, without the knowledge or consent of England; a circumstance which seemed to imply a distrust of the British power, or at least a suspicion that they could not with safety place any confidence in the councils of the British ministry.

Sir Robert Walpole stood up in person to answer this gentleman, and refute his allegations. He said, he did not deny that the king's speech was to be considered as the speech of the minister; but still he thought it ought to be treated with decency, as it was stamped with the sanction of his majesty's name; and that in any event it was both unjust and unparliamentary to arraign it of falsehood, without producing any one charge against it, except such as were founded on bare surmises and vain suppositions. He took notice, that all the late motions about papers were calculated to plunge the nation precipitately into war in a quarrel and at a conjuncture when there was no great occasion to deliberate. "I believe, continued he, it will appear that our present situation is one of the very best that the nation could possibly be in, with relation to the present posture of the affairs of Europe. The gentleman who spoke last thought proper to mention the states of Holland, and to affirm they have done something for their own security: it is true they have done something; they have entered into a treaty of neutrality, whereas we have remained entirely inactive; but on that

very account I look upon the English to be in a much better condition than the Dutch: by that neutrality they have engaged not to act at all, nor to concern themselves in the present war: we are still at liberty, and may on any event take that part which shall then appear most for the interest of Great Britain."

In the course of the debate Mr. Pulteney reflected on the scandalous decisions, as he called them, of the majorities in parliament, and inveighed with great severity against the majority who had rejected the two late motions, and whom, he supposed, were influenced and directed by the minister. This charge, added to the assertions which were daily advanced with the utmost confidence, in the legion of pamphlets and papers which at this time swarmed throughout the nation, that every member who voted for the minister was a mercenary hireling, and sold his voice for the sake of place or pension, in possession or expectancy, made sir Robert think it necessary to seize this occasion to exculpate himself and his friends from so black a charge. This he endeavoured to do in a speech, from which I shall here give the reader an extract, by way of specimen of this great man's talent for oratory.

"An honourable gentleman, sir, who spoke some time ago, took indeed a great deal of liberty in talking of majorities; but I would have gentlemen to know, that when they talk of such majorities at present, they speak of their equals as members of this house, of their equals on any ground in England: let gentlemen but cast their eyes round the house, and they will find a number of gentlemen superior to the highest number of their minority, who can as little be suspected of corruption, as any of those who generally appear on the minority of the question.

"It is easy for gentlemen to represent the measures lately taken by the government, as unwise, inconsistent, and the like; but when the day comes for enquiring into them, which I as heartily wish for as any in this house, I believe those measures will appear in a quite different light; and those gentlemen who may, perhaps, have hearkened to every little whisper of some of the foreign ministers at this court, which is, I believe, the only foundation for what they have asserted, will find themselves at last sorely disappointed. Whenever such an enquiry shall be resolved on, I doubt not but the majority of this house will agree to call for every paper that can be thought necessary for giving a full information of the present state of the nation: but this is not the question at present, nor are we now to enquire, whether his majesty has had any share in those transactions which have given occasion to the present war; and therefore, I cannot think we have, at present, any thing to do with any instructions to his majesty's ministers in Poland, or elsewhere.

"His majesty, it is true, expects the assistance of his parliament; but for what? He does not immediately expect such an assistance as to enable him to take any part in the present war; he wants only such as may enable him to put the nation in a proper posture of defence; and surely we may determine what will be necessary for that end, without enquiring into any of our foreign negotiations. It is for this reason, sir, that I think the house has done right in rejecting all the motions hitherto

made for letters and instructions relating to our foreign affairs; and for the same reason, I make no doubt but they will likewise reject the present motion."

After these and some other speeches the question was put, when the motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of several other proposals made by the members of the opposition. Sir John Barnard presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise-laws, and praying relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city members, explained the grievous hardships which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole house. They were opposed by sir W. Yonge and Mr. Winnington, and other friends of the minister, and very warm debates ensued thereupon; but in the end the minority were baffled, who seemed to display the most consummate talents in satire, argument, and reasoning, for no other purpose but to add to the triumph of those they opposed.

Great debates also arose about a motion for an addition of one thousand eight hundred men to the number of land-forces which had been continued since the preceding year; in which the opposition exhibited greater proofs of personal animosity against the minister than of a real attention to the interests of their country, or the safety and advantage of the kingdom. The augmentation, however, was carried in despite of all their efforts; but they resolved, in return, to clog the wheels of administration with every rub they could possibly throw in its way. With this view, less patriotic than invidious, they laid hold of the dismissal of the duke of Bolton and the lord Cobham from their respective regiments, to raise a furious outcry against the minister, as if these noblemen had been set aside merely because they had refused to concur implicitly with all the court measures. On the thirteenth of February the lord Morpeth, eldest son of the earl of Carlisle, made a motion in the house of commons for a bill to prevent the officers of the army from being deprived of their commissions, otherwise than by the judgment of a court-martial to be held for that purpose, or by address of either house of parliament. Even the friends of this motion were struck at first hearing it, with a sense of the absurd manner in which it was expressed, which indeed tended to little else than the establishing a stratocracy, or absolute despotism in the army, as it took from the sovereign the power of removing from his command even the general of the forces, however dangerous or disloyal the designs or conduct of such general might be: the motion was therefore amended, and restricted to "officers not above the rank of colonels." Extravagant as this motion was, it was sustained with great vigour and address by the ablest speakers among the minority: the noble lord who made it had recourse, in defending it, to the government of foreign countries, and particularly mentioned the example of Holland and Sweden. In the former country, he said, no officer could be broken without the sentence of a court-martial; and in the latter none could be removed from his commission without the consent of the senate. He was seconded by sir John Rushout,

Rushout, who observed, that there were then upwards of forty officers of the army members of that house; and said, that by the house agreeing to the motion, it would effectually secure the independency of those gentlemen upon the minister, which would not a little contribute to the freedom of votes, as well within that house as without, on the occasion of elections. And here it will be proper to hint to the reader; that this was supposed to be the last session of the present parliament; and therefore the anti-courtiers endeavoured to weaken the influence of the minister as much as possible, in order to break the powerful majority which had so long put a negative upon their most favourite motions.

These arguments were answered by Mr. Clutterbuck, colonel Bladon, Mr. Winnington, sir Thomas Robinson, and other gentlemen of the court-party, who all vehemently opposed the motion, which they treated as absurd and extravagant, and the most bare-faced attempt to unhinge the constitution, and introduce a commonwealth; that had ever been made since the commencement of the civil wars under Charles I. Should this motion, they said, be approved, the whole of the British constitution would soon be at the mercy of the army: that at present the officers depended on the king for their commissions, and the army itself upon the parliament for its countenance and pay; but if the parliament should once make the officers independent of the crown; and give them a sort of freehold in their commissions, they would soon make both king and parliament dependent on them: for could it be supposed, that if both king and parliament should be inclinable to make a reduction of the army hereafter; those gentlemen, with swords in their hands, would willingly comply, and retire to their respective habitations at the desire of the commons? Would they not rather tell the commons that their commissions were for life? They were their freehold, made so by a law of the parliament, and that they could not be deprived of them unless they had been guilty of some crime, which could only be determined by a court-martial? and in that case gentlemen might easily guess what redress the nation could expect from a court-martial, every member of which must necessarily be personally interested in opposing the will of king and parliament in the matter of military reduction.

The debate was concluded by sir Robert Walpole, who, after affirming that the motion aimed at reducing the government to a military constitution, said, that he knew great endeavours had been of late used to make it believed abroad, that this was a divided nation, and the people disaffected; and that, should this proposition receive the sanction of the legislature, it would induce foreigners to give credit to what they had heard; for they would naturally infer that the parliament had no confidence in the king, and had therefore taken from him that power which his predecessors enjoyed. This, he observed, might produce a multitude of evils, especially at this juncture; and therefore, he thought, they should all say on this occasion what their forefathers said on another, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*"

The debate being closed, the question was put, and carried in the negative without a division. The opposition however had another stroke in reserve;

for no sooner was the opinion of the house declared on this motion than Mr. Sandys made another for an address to the king, desiring to know who addressed his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their respective regiments. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and sir W. Wyndham; but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was set aside by the majority.

The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons. It was read a first and a second time; but when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a strong opposition, and produced a warm debate, which issued in a question that, like the former, underwent a negative.

Many great inconveniencies to commerce, and frequent frauds, having long notoriously prevailed by means of stock-jobbing in the city of London, a bill was brought in to prevent that infamous practice, by prohibiting and rendering void all bargains for stocks bought or sold, for a future time, by persons on one hand not possessed of such stock, and on the other, by many not of circumstances or ability to pay for such stock, whereby many unwary persons, and their innocent families, have been undone. This bill was proposed by the minority, and the passive conduct of the ministry, who suffered it to pass into a law, with little or no opposition, seems in some degree to invalidate a charge generally alleged against sir Robert Walpole, and perhaps too implicitly believed; namely, that the principal part of his income, and that of his family, arose from trading in the stocks; and that, as he was in the secret of affairs both at home and abroad, he made use of his knowledge to influence the funds in the manner he thought most advantageous to himself and his dependents.

But the subject which of all others in the course of this session produced the most violent debates between the two parties, was, a motion made by Mr. Bromley for repealing the act for septennial parliaments.

In support of this motion he alleged, that the reasons for prolonging the sitting of parliaments from three to seven years, were now at an end: that the people in general looked upon septennial parliaments as a grievance and innovation in the constitution: that he begged leave to remind the house of the act made in the sixteenth of Charles II. which wisely provided against the too long continuance of one and the same parliament, by ordaining that a new parliament should be called once in three years, or oftener if need required: that this act was expressly confirmed by the bill of rights: that from the time of the Revolution to the first year of the late king, no parliament had sat above three years, and some only one session: that he thought triennial parliaments were more grievous than annual ones, and consequently septennial parliaments must be doubly more grievous than those which lasted only three years: that supposing he should be mistaken in this point, which nevertheless he could never admit without due conviction, the argument in the preamble to the septennial bill was altogether inapplicable to the present times: the act against bribery and corruption, he said, would necessarily remedy that evil, as it would prevent corruption in the elections;

but

but nothing but the frequent return of new parliaments could prevent it in the elected. In order to effectuate this desirable purpose, he moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments.

Sir John St. Aubin, knight of the shire for Cornwall, and a gentleman of considerable influence in the house, stood up to second this motion. In the course of his speech he gave an historical detail of the duration of parliaments from the time of Henry VIII. shewed how triennial parliaments came to be lost by the revival of the septennial act; and endeavoured to prove that septennial parliaments were better adapted than triennial ones for the purposes of a wicked minister; and that, in proportion to the frequency of parliaments, they were more advantageous both to the king and people.

These and many other arguments were used in favour of this motion, which was opposed by the whole weight of court influence: the ministry in particular insisted on the great increase of popery and Jacobitism in the kingdom, as a reason against weakening the hands of government at this time: they called upon those on the other side of the question to produce a single instance in which the administration had encroached upon the rights and liberties of the people since the septennial act had taken place; or to shew that his present majesty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the royal prerogative beyond its legal bounds.

Sir John Willes, the new attorney-general, made a long and learned speech in favour of septennial parliaments, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the transition from triennial parliaments to septennial was in itself a right measure, and agreeable to the true principles of the English government: nay, he insisted that even the triennial act was not obtained upon the principles of liberty, but merely with design to distress king William and the friends of the Revolution, which, he said, had the effect looked for by the proposers of this alteration, by drawing that monarch into several engagements, equally disadvantageous and disgraceful to him and his people, and were afterwards made a handle by his enemies to depreciate and revile his government. With regard to the objection made by some gentlemen, that the elected during a long parliament were apt to lose their dependence on their constituents, a thing which could never happen if parliaments were annual, he begged leave to remark, that although all the members of the house had undoubtedly a dependence upon the people for their election; yet after they were chosen, and had taken their seats in the house, he thought that dependence ceased, at least in so far as regarded their behaviour in parliament, the whole power of the electors then devolving upon the members, who, in every question that came before the house, were to regard only the public good in general, and to determine according to their own judgments; otherwise they could not be said to act freely, nor could such parliaments be called free parliaments.

This doctrine of the independency of members upon their constituents after elections, gave so

much offence to sir John Barnard, that he thought proper to answer it in a particular speech, in which he accused the attorney-general of advancing a doctrine altogether new. He declared, that he valued himself more upon the honour of sitting in that house, as one of the representatives of the people, elected such by their free and uncorrupted choice, than he should do on the greatest honours the crown could bestow; and that he thought the dependence he had, and should always acknowledge to have, on his constituents, preferable to any mercenary dependence on the greatest sovereign in the universe. At last, the subject being entirely exhausted, the question was put and carried in the negative by a great majority.

On the twenty-eighth of March sir Robert Walpole delivered a message from the crown to the house of commons, importing, "That as the war which had lately broke out in Europe still continued to rage, his majesty hoped he might be enabled to augment his forces, if such augmentation should be found necessary between the dissolution of this parliament and the election of another." This message, introduced as it were by surprise into the house, at the latter end of a session, when a great many members had retired to their country seats, could not fail of alarming those who thought unfavourably of the minister: they considered it as a stroke aimed at the vitals of our liberties; they made a suitable stand against it; they disputed every inch of the argumentation: nor did they recede till, borne down by the weight of superior numbers, they perceived all farther contest vain. The result was, the voting and presenting an address to his majesty, signifying the compliance of his faithful commons with his royal request. In consequence of another message, the house prepared and passed a bill, empowering his majesty to settle an annuity of five thousand pounds for life on the princess-royal, as a mark of his paternal favour and affection*.

The opposition was carried on with equal ardour in the house of peers as it had been in the house of commons, and with no better success. The leading speakers against the measures of the administration were, the lords Bathurst and Carteret, the earls of Chesterfield and Abingdon. The duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, much to the same purpose with that which had been rejected by the commons; and after a warm dispute, it also underwent a negative. The like fate attended a motion made by lord Carteret for an address to his majesty, to acquaint the house by whose advice the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham had been dismissed from their respective commands, and what crimes were laid to their charge to occasion such dismissal.

The house of peers were also a good deal busied this session in matters concerning their own body. Those who had framed the act of union had, by an unaccountable oversight, neglected to establish any proper judicatory for trying the validity of any claim to a Scottish peerage, excepting the court of session of Scotland, which many of the English peers thought was an encroachment upon their rights. It was therefore moved to resolve, "That no peer who hath claimed or shall claim

right by succession to any peerage of Scotland, other than a descendant from the body of a peer or peers, who has been in possession of the peerage claimed since the twenty-fifth of April 1690, shall be admitted to vote at any election of a peer or peers, to sit in parliament for that part of Great Britain called Scotland, until his right and title be determined in this house." This was certainly a very excellent motion, and it had been greatly to be wished that it could have been complied with; but it was directly repugnant to the articles of union, as well as to the right of succession to the peerage in Scotland.

It had been an evil long complained of, and, as should seem, with but too good foundation, that the great majority of the Scottish representatives, who always voted for the ministry, was owing to the exertion of an undue influence in the elections: the lords of the upper house therefore made several attempts to prevent this evil for the future. Among other things, they moved to resolve, "for the better freedom of the election of a peer or peers to sit in the parliament of Great Britain on the part of Scotland, that the election shall be by way of ballot." This motion, however, being proved contrary to the articles of union, was likewise rejected. The anti-courtiers then made another more directly to the purpose: it was introduced by the earl of Marchmont, who moved to resolve, "That it is the opinion of this house, that any person or persons taking upon him or them to engage any peer or peers of Scotland, by threats, promises of place or pension, or any reward or gratuity from the crown whatsoever, is an encroachment on the freedom of elections, and highly injurious to the honour of the peerage." This motion was supported by the earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair; the lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret. These were opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earls Cholmondeley and Paulet, lord Hervey (now called up by writ to the house of peers as baron Hervey of Ickworth) and by the lord-chancellor Talbot. Unexceptionable, and perfectly constitutional and absolutely necessary as a law of this kind appeared to be to every candid and impartial person; yet as it carried with it too close a restriction on ministerial operations, the motion was rejected upon a previous question (for the main question would not have borne a debate) by a majority of seventy-three against forty three peers present, and of twenty-six against seventeen proxies. A protest however was entered in favour of the motion, signed by thirty-two peers.

The other debates and protests of the peers this session turned upon the king's message, demanding a power to augment the forces during the recess of parliament; as also against a bill for enabling his majesty to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds out of the Sinking Fund for the service of the current year. The house also took under consideration the state of our American colonies, and the encouraging those manufactures thereof that could no way interfere with the trade of Great Britain, or which may be of use to the mother-country.

Pursuant to an order of their lordships while deliberating on these matters, the lords commissioners of trade and plantations laid before the house

the following representation, exhibiting an exact and curious state of the trade, people, and strength of our sugar-colonies in the West Indies, which I shall here insert, together with the judicious remarks of that accurate commercial writer Mr. Anderson.

I. "JAMAICA, though having nineteen parishes, had but seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four white people on it, even although its militia consisted of three thousand men, horse and foot, dispersed all over the uninhabited part of the island. They had six forts, and of late had no fewer than eight independent companies of the king's forces, each consisting of one hundred men."

Here Mr. Anderson observed, that the diminution of the white people of Jamaica was owing to the great decay of their private or illicit trade to the Spanish main, that trade having drawn thither many white people, who made handsome fortunes in a few years, and returned therewith to the mother-country; and thus the Spanish money they got in Jamaica did at length center in England. From Jamaica our people privately carried all sorts of our manufactures, &c. to New Spain, which it is well known can only be legally carried thither by the flota and flotilla from Old Spain. They also carried thither great numbers of negroes.

"Our exports to Jamaica, at a medium of four years, from Christmas 1728 to Christmas 1732, were to the value of one hundred and forty-seven thousand six hundred and seventy-five pounds two shillings and three-pence halfpenny; and our imports were five hundred and thirty-nine thousand four hundred and ninety-nine pounds eighteen shillings and three-pence halfpenny: the annual excess of our imports from Jamaica is three hundred and ninety-one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four pounds fifteen shillings and eleven-pence three farthings.

II. "BARBADOES had eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five white people. Its militia consisted of one troop and two regiments of horse, and of seven regiments of foot; in all, four thousand eight hundred and twelve men. In this island are no fewer than twenty-one forts and twenty-six batteries, mounted with four hundred and sixty-three cannon."

All our sugar isles together, according to Mr. Anderson, are thought annually to produce eighty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar, each hogshead containing one thousand two hundred weight, or in all one million two hundred thousand cwr. of which Great Britain was thought to consume annually seventy thousand hogsheads, or ninety-four millions eighty thousand pounds of sugar. It is computed that three hundred sail of ships go annually from Great Britain to the sugar-islands (besides those which go thither from our continent-colonies) and about four thousand five hundred seamen are employed in navigating them; and there is annually exported thither the value of two hundred and forty thousand pounds in British manufactures.

III. In all the British Leeward Islands, viz. St. Christopher's, Antigua, Nevis, and Montserrat, (with their dependencies, Barbuda, Anguilla, Spanish-town, Tortosa, and the rest of the Virgin Isles) there are ten thousand two hundred and

sixty-two white people, and their militia consists of three thousand two hundred and eighty-four men."

But the before mentioned writer adds, that by an account of these Leeward Islands in the year 1736, their strength was as follows :

In Antigua	1500 men	2 forts	7 batteries.
St. Christophers	1340 men	3 forts	6 batteries.
Montserrat	360 men	1 fort	1 battery.
Nevis	300 men	1 fort	1 battery.

In all 3,500 men

And in Anguilla	80 men
Spanish Town	72 men
Tortosa	120 men

3,772 white men in all the Lee-

ward Islands.

IV. "The islands called the Bahamas are the next in those seas of any importance to Great Britain, where Providence is the only island as yet of any consideration to us, or that is peopled in any degree; and here they have five hundred white people, out of whom they have formed six companies of militia, beside one independent company in his majesty's pay. On this island are two forts.

V. "In the Bermudas there were, a few years since, five thousand white people, out of which there are one thousand white men (besides officers) for their militia. They have one fort and six batteries."

Nothing is said of Newfoundland in this report, which indeed is properly no colony, it having scarcely any soil capable of cultivation; and the forts and people there are chiefly, if not solely, for the protection and accommodation of our important cod-fishery on the adjacent shoals called "The Banks of Newfoundland." These garrisons are also requisite for preventing any other European nation from getting possession of that island; which possession would render our fishery there extremely precarious on a rupture with any such nation, as it would also our communication with our northern colonies on the continent. Newfoundland therefore, on these accounts, is of very great importance to us *.

When the lords had gone through the whole course of their enquiries relative to the commercial interests of our colonies respecting Great Britain, it was resolved to make no alteration in the disposition of their manufactures, from an apprehension that it might interfere with the trade of some of our allies on the continent, and our connections with them †.

The public business being now dispatched, his majesty went to the house of peers on the sixteenth day of April, 1734; and having given his assent to such bills as were ready, among which was a bill for naturalizing the prince of Orange, took leave of this parliament with the warmest acknowledgements of their zeal, duty, and affection. The parliament was then prorogued, afterwards dissolv-

ed, and another convoked by the same proclamation.

On the fourteenth of March this year the nuptials of his serene highness the prince of Orange with the princess-royal were celebrated with great magnificence, which occasioned great rejoicings both in town and country, and addresses of congratulation from all parts to their majesties and the prince and princess, it being a match very agreeable to the nation in general. On the twenty-second of April the prince and princess embarked in one of his majesty's yachts for Holland, and soon after their arrival his serene highness set out to make the campaign under prince Eugene on the Rhine; and during his absence the princess came to her father's court, and resided here till the prince her consort returned from the Imperial army, when she went to meet him.

The war in 1734 was carried on by the confederates with great success against the emperor. Two most bloody battles at Parma and Guastalla were fought with doubtful success. Don Carlos took possession of Naples, and was declared king thereof and of Sicily; which last was soon reduced also. Upon the Rhine the French took Philippsburgh, before which their general, the duke of Berwick, natural son of king James II. lost his life in the trenches. Dantzick was reduced to the obedience of Augustus III. after a grievous siege by the Russian army; and that prince was universally acknowledged king of Poland, while his rival and competitor Stanislaus escaped with great difficulty, in the disguise of a peasant, into the territories of the king of Prussia.

In the mean time, nothing was omitted by the ministry towards putting the nation in a posture of defence, to which they were principally induced by the doubtful behaviour of some of the allies. The court of Spain suffered the eldest son of the pretender to serve in the army of Don Carlos, by whom he was treated with distinguished marks of respect: nay, that prince made no scruple publicly to declare that, whenever the situation of his affairs would permit, he would support with all his power the interests of the abdicated family.

The conduct of the French also at this juncture was such as bespoke no very friendly sentiments in respect to Great Britain, they having published about this time a severe edict, compelling all British subjects either to quit France or enlist in their armies; and the persons of many Englishmen were actually seized and held in durance. This produced a spirited memorial on the part of our court, which lord Waldegrave, our minister at Paris, was ordered to deliver to the French council, who, when they saw us earnest upon the affair, thought proper to excuse themselves, by alleging, they only meant to execute their edict against British and Irish vagabonds, and such as had no visible means of subsistence.

In June this year the lord Forbes waited upon his majesty at Kensington from Russia, with the copy of a treaty of commerce he had concluded with the czarina, greatly to the advantage of the British nation, as will appear from the following abstract:

* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 350, 351.

† Journal of the House of Lords. Historical Register, &c.

"The fourth article of this treaty stipulates, that the subjects of Great Britain may carry to Russia all sorts of merchandize, and may transport them from thence by land to Persia, on paying a duty of three per cent. and may likewise bring back from Persia, through Russia, all sorts of merchandize, on again paying the said duty, without being obliged to open their bales.

"The seventh article declares, that in case of shipwreck, all manner of assistance shall be given, without offering the least violence to the ship's company or effects.

"By the ninth article, the British merchants in Russia are exempted from being obliged to show their books to any one whatsoever, except it be to prove something in dispute. And for the greater ease and encouragement of the British commerce, it is agreed, that for the future the English manufactures shall pay no greater duty on importation than is specified.

"This treaty to be in force for fifteen years from the year 1734."

On the nineteenth of September this year a treaty was also concluded with the king of Denmark. The ministers employed in negotiating it were, on the part of his Britannic majesty, the duke of Newcastle and the lord Harrington (who then were the two secretaries of state) and sir Robert Walpole; and on the part of Denmark, the sieur de Johnn, the Danish resident.

"The first and second articles of this treaty are general professions of friendship, and renewals of all former treaties between the two nations.

"By the third article, his Danish majesty, at the desire of our king, engages to hold in readiness one thousand horse and five thousand foot for three years, to be transported over to England in case his Britannic majesty's dominions should be threatened with an invasion.

"By the fourth article, his Britannic majesty engages to pay to the king of Denmark, for every horseman eighty crowns, and for every foot soldier thirty crowns; one half to be paid on signing the treaty, and the other half when the troops shall be delivered; over and above which, king George engages to pay to the king of Denmark an annual subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns during the time the treaty subsists: but if the troops should pass into the pay of the king of Great Britain, then his Danish majesty is to receive a yearly subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns while they are in his Britannic majesty's service.

"By the sixth article, these troops are not to be sent to Italy, nor obliged to serve on board a fleet, nor to be transported beyond sea, but to be employed for the defence of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; in which event they have the same pay that English troops have.

"The seventh article stipulates, that the said troops shall be immediately sent back to Denmark, with a month's pay, in case the king of Denmark's dominions are attacked; and his Britannic majesty engages, in such event, to give his Danish majesty all the assistance the case shall require by sea and land: the king of Denmark also binds

himself in the like engagement of assistance towards the king of Great Britain.

"The eighth article determines in what case such assistance, may be demanded and is to be given; namely, if either of the parties be actually attacked by force of arms, without that party having before used open force against him who attacks.

This treaty to be void at the end of three years, unless renewed *."

Nothing material passed in England during the course of this year, if we except the contest for electing members to sit in the approaching parliament, which turned entirely in favour of the minister, whose influence at this period seemed to be all-powerful.

On the fourteenth of January 1735, the new parliament met, when the commons again made choice of Mr. Onslow for their speaker. After some days spent in the usual formalities of qualifying the members, &c. his majesty on the twenty-third opened the session with a most gracious speech from the throne, in which he told the two houses, That having undertaken, in concert with the States-general, to mediate between the powers at war, he had met with so good success, that a plan would speedily be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negotiation of peace. He also acquainted them that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark; a matter, he conceived, of great importance in the present conjuncture; and which, being attended with some expence, he would order it to be submitted to the consideration of the commons. At the same time he put them in mind, that while a war was raging in Europe, it would be proper in all events (though it might be attended with some expence) for Great Britain to keep herself in a posture of defence.

The address of thanks occasioned a dispute, as usual, which ended, as may be readily conceived, in favour of the court; and the address was voted and presented.

The next subject of debate was concerning a motion made in a committee of the whole house on supplies, February the seventh, for encreasing the number of seamen to thirty thousand effective men, for the service of the current year. The minority affirmed, that twenty thousand, the number employed last year, were fully sufficient: that the unnecessary naval armaments of Great Britain during last summer had occasioned the ruin of Dantzick, inasmuch as they prevented the French from sailing in time to relieve it: that the Spaniards, from the apprehension that the English fleet was designed to act against them in the Mediterranean, had obliged the French ministry to keep their ships at Brest, instead of sending them to Dantzick, until they could discover the destination of the English squadron.

The ministry replied, that gentlemen were greatly mistaken if they imagined the French to have been ever serious in their design either to relieve Dantzic, or to assist Stanislaus in mounting the

throne of Poland: that it was true they had last year equipped a fleet, under pretext of relieving Dantzick, and had circulated a report that this was their real intention: that nevertheless, it was certain that the French fleet was not only detained at Brest all summer, but orders were given by the courts of Versailles and Madrid to fit out, in all their ports, all the ships that could possibly be got ready: that his majesty having come to the knowledge of these orders, had judged it indispensibly necessary to increase his sea forces with the additional number of seven thousand men; an expedient which, in all probability, had defeated the designs which the French and Spaniards had formed against these kingdoms: that both these powers, far from relaxing their preparations, were at this very time strengthening their marine with the utmost industry; so that the addition of seven thousand men to the naval force of Great Britain must be thought by all impartial persons a reasonable augmentation; and that this measure would appear the more necessary when it was considered, that in a free country like ours, where there was no register for seamen, by which the fleet might be instantly supplied with men, the government was obliged, on any sudden emergency, to have recourse to pressing; a most disagreeable expedient in a country of liberty. After this and a great deal more had passed to the same purpose, the question being put, was carried in the affirmative for thirty thousand seamen, the office of ordnance being included.

On the twenty fourth of February sir W. Wyndham moved, that the estimates of the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee. He was seconded by Mr. Sandys, and supported by sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney; but after some debate the motion was carried in the negative.

On the twenty-eighth, the treaty concluded last year with Denmark came under consideration in a grand committee, when Mr. H. Walpole moved, "that the sum of fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds should be granted to his majesty, as a subsidy to the king of Denmark, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year." This demand was vehemently opposed by the gentlemen in the country interest, as both unreasonable and unnecessary, at a time when Denmark had rather greater reason than England for maintaining the balance of power in Europe. They said, the money would be much more properly applied in gaining over the elector of Bavaria, in detaching the king of Sardinia from his engagements with France, or in enabling the Poles to chuse such a king as might have prevented the breaking out of the war; and in short, that the subsidy was no more than a bribe given by England to induce a foreign prince to follow his own interest. The debate having had its free course, the question was put, and the motion approved by the majority.

A bill was afterwards brought in for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons; but on the second reading was rejected, after a

learned debate; in the course of which the opposition was strengthened by the coming over of lord Polwarth, eldest son to the earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of clear, keen, and elegant elocution.

In the course of this session the mutiny-bill received a material alteration. By this act, any justice of the peace had it formerly in his power to throw a poor fellow into gaol, if, after receiving the inlisting money (while perhaps he was drunk) he refused to take the oaths, even though he offered to return the money: but now a clause was inserted, importing, that every officer who should hereafter enlist any man to serve in any regiment, should, within a certain number of days, carry the person enlisted before one of the next justices of the peace, where the man should be at liberty to declare his dissent to such an act, and his having repented of what he had done; and upon his so doing, and returning the officer the inlisting money, and the expences incurred in the progress of the affair; such justice should forthwith discharge him: and that an officer guilty of any failure or neglect in this particular should be liable to the same penalties which were inflicted on those chargeable with false musters. At the same time, to prevent any abuse of this indulgence, another clause was added, ordaining, that if any person should receive inlisting money (knowing it to be such) and should afterwards abscond or refuse to go before a magistrate, to declare his assent or dissent to the enlisting, such person should be deemed to be enlisted to all intents and purposes †.

An affair of a very serious nature was at this time depending before the house of commons. The magistrates of the royal burgh of Haddington had been seized and imprisoned in a distant gaol, without being admitted to bail, by a warrant from one of the Scots judges; but another judge had ventured to take their bail, and set them at liberty. The injured parties presented a petition to the house of commons; and the case appeared so flagrant, that a motion was made to refer it to the consideration of a committee of the whole house. This was opposed by the minister and his friends, from what motive is hard to say, unless we may suppose that the unjust judge had such an interest in the country, as to make it necessary to screen him at all events. However, the motion was thrown out by the majority, which did the minister no service. The minority, though often baffled, seized every opportunity of renewing the struggle, and on the fourteenth of March moved, that part of an act of the parliament of Scotland, made in 1701, entitled, "An act for preventing wrongous imprisonments, and against delays in trials," might be read, which was accordingly done, and a bill afterwards brought in by Mr. Dundas, lord Polwarth, and Mr. Sandys, for explaining and amending the above act. This act was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas Corpus act, though, as we have seen, it did not screen them from oppression; yet when the bill, after passing the commons, was sent up to the lords, it was thrown out there, through the opposition made to it by the earl of Ilay, who undertook to prove,

* Parliamentary Debates. Historical Register, &c.

† See Stat. 9 Geo. II.

that the Scots were on a footing with their neighbours in England in this respect.

On the tenth of April a petition of the then late general assembly of the church of Scotland was presented to the house and read, praying the house "to pass a bill for repealing an act of parliament passed in the tenth year of queen Anne, restoring the right of patronage in Scotland, so far as it concerns the power of patrons to present ministers to vacant churches, in order to restore the church of Scotland to the rights and privileges she was possessed of at the union of the two kingdoms." A bill was ordered in upon this petition, and went through a first reading; but when it came to be read a second time, it was opposed chiefly by the desire of the Scotch members themselves, who, being most of them patrons, thought the bill was an invasion upon their rights. In fine, the bill was postponed for a month, which was the same as dropping it.

This session the commons endeavoured to rectify the laws relating to the poor of England, which they found in some respects to be defective, and attended with difficulty and charge in the execution. Upon mature consideration, therefore, they came to the following resolutions on this subject; "That in each county a number of proper persons should form themselves into a body-politic for erecting and governing hospitals and work-houses, for the maintenance and encouragement of the poor, for the reception of foundlings and other infants, and for the punishment of vagrants and other disorderly persons; and that all the laws relating to the poor should be reduced to one act of parliament." But it being late in the session before this report was made to the house, nothing was done in this important matter*.

But the attention of the public was chiefly engaged by an affair of a very delicate and interesting nature, which came before the upper house in the course of this session. This was a petition subscribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, by the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing, that undue influence had been used in carrying on the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland.

This petition was delivered by the duke of Bedford on the fifteenth of February, who at the same time proposed a day for taking it into consideration; which proposal was readily agreed to. Nevertheless, the affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the house seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The duke of Newcastle observed, and certainly with great justice, that it was doubtful whether the house had even a power of receiving such a petition, nothing in the articles of union, he said, giving a British house of lords a right to interfere in the election of the Scottish peers; nor indeed had they otherwise any such right, unless some particular charge was stated and offered to be proved. On the other hand, the friends of the petition urged that it was general, and the facts contained in the allegations were of a very bad complexion, and such as ought to be punished if they were proved. However, as it

seemed to be uncertain what was the scope and design of the petition, a motion was made and assented to, that it should be adjourned to a short day, before which the petitioners should be ordered to declare, "whether they intended to controvert the election of the sixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them."

This order being communicated by the lord-chancellor to the petitioners, they in a few days delivered in a declaration, importing, "That they did not intend to thwart the election or return of the sixteen peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution, and might in future elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy."

This declaration being read in the house, the court-party objected to it as unsatisfactory. Its meaning, they said, was equally vague and undetermined with that of the petition; and therefore the duke of Devonshire made a motion, "That the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the house in writing, instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty." This motion was warmly opposed by the earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Stratford, and the lords Bathurst and Carteret. Lord Chesterfield concluded a speech he made on this occasion, with the following expressions: "Supposing, my lords, we should get information that several barrels of gun-powder had been placed under this house, in order to blow us up, would it not be very foolish to delay going to search for and remove the gun-powder, till we should be informed by what means, at what time, and by whom the powder was placed there? The case before us is the very same; there is a sort of metaphorical gun-powder placed under this house, which will in time blow us up, if it be not removed; and in such a case are we to trifle away our time in enquiries after the names of the persons who placed it there, and the methods by which it was conveyed?" Beautiful as this comparison was, it had no effect, any more than the reasoning of the other friends of the petition, with the majority of the house, who voted the declaration unsatisfactory; that the consideration of the matter should be delayed for eight days longer; and that the petitioners should be ordered to lay before the house in writing, &c. as expressed in the above motion.

On the day appointed the petitioning lords presented a remonstrance to the house, in which they observed, "that as they had no intention to state themselves accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordships, upon their taking the proper examination: that, nevertheless, they begged leave to acquaint their lordships, that the petition was laid before them, upon information that the list of the sixteen peers for Scotland had been framed, previous to

* Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Hist. Reg. Tindal.

the election, by persons in high trust under the crown: that this list was shewn to peers as a list approved by the crown; and was called the king's list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they should conform to measures: that peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty to make any alteration: that endeavours were used to engage peers to vote for this list, by promise of pensions and offices, civil and military, to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums of money were actually given for this purpose: that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown, were granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: that, on the day of election, a battalion of his majesty's troops was drawn up in the Abbey-court, contrary to custom, and without any other apparent cause than that of overawing the electors: that these instances of undue practices would, they hoped, be abundantly sufficient to satisfy their lordships, that they had just cause to pray the house to take this matter into their serious consideration, and to provide such remedy as might be effectual for preserving the right and freedom of elections; such right of electing being the only right that now remained with the peers of Scotland, in lieu of a constant and hereditary seat in parliament."

This remonstrance gave rise to another violent dispute. The lords in the opposition endeavoured to make the most of a particular fact mentioned therein, which was the holding under arms a battalion of soldiers during the time of the election, which they represented to be a most scandalous, arbitrary, and flagrant infringement of the rights and liberties of the subject, and of that independency which is ever to be preserved in all elections. The court lords, who made no scruple to acknowledge the fact, alleged in defence of such a step, that it was both legal and prudent: that the soldiers were drawn out by the authority of the civil magistrate, as a preventative against riots and tumults among the populace, who had been inflamed by the opposite party to a pitch of resentment that threatened the most fatal consequences, if not timely checked. In fine, the remonstrance was voted unsatisfactory, the petition dismissed, and the whole affair entirely suppressed †.

Notwithstanding this discouragement, the minority renewed their attacks on every fresh occasion; but all their motions were successively rejected by the invincible power of a majority.

The public business being at length finished, and the supplies granted (which this year amounted to upwards of three millions) the session was closed on the fifteenth of May, 1735, by a speech from the throne; in which the king was pleased to acknowledge, that the plan of pacification which he had formed with the States-general had not yet proved effectual; but added, that he was still determined to persist in the same pacific measures, and to use his utmost endeavours for composing the troubles of Europe. He thanked the parliament for the power they had given him to augment his forces by sea and land; acquainted them with his intention to visit his German dominions;

and told them, that he should constitute the queen regent of the realm during his absence. Immediately after the prorogation, his majesty embarked for Holland in his way to Hanover, from whence he did not return till the twenty-sixth of October following.

A committee of inspection into the state of the South-sea company's commerce to the Spanish West Indies having been appointed by their general court out of the stock-holders, it appeared by the accounts which that committee published about this time, that the entire balance of that trade from the beginning (or of their ten years American or Asiento trade) amounted to no more than thirty-two thousand two hundred and sixty pounds eighteen shillings profit to the company. This was, by the proprietors of the stock, thought (and indeed it was) a very inconsiderable profit, being but three thousand two hundred and twenty-six pounds for each year of that trade. This made the stock-holders very earnest to accept of an equivalent formerly offered by the court of Spain: but those proprietors or stock-holders considered only their own private advantage by that equivalent: for as the king and his ministers must have been consulted before the company could be permitted to accept of such equivalent, there was a more important and extensive consideration to be duly weighed, viz. whether by the illicit and very profitable trade carried on by that company's supercargoes, factors, captains, and other servants employed by them in the Spanish West Indies, and also under their wings from Jamaica, &c. the nation was not a greater gainer, upon the whole, than they could be by the proposed equivalent, and the carrying back the trade to the channel of Cadiz, where, without doubt, our merchants had also a great interest in that trade? But I shall have occasion to consider this subject hereafter.

Great complaints came over from Nova Scotia at this time, and particularly from the British settlement at Canis, a place of great consequence to our fishing-trade in those parts; that although the late king had sent thither four companies of soldiers, yet there had been no money laid out in fortifying that place: that they were particularly apprehensive of the French encroachments in their neighbourhood, who always pay great attention to their own fortifications; and that by our shameful neglect of Nova Scotia, our fishery there was almost dwindled to nothing. Notwithstanding these remonstrances and representations, our ministry seemed quite to disregard, or rather to be quite ignorant of, the great importance of that province.

At this period the affairs of Europe were in a very delicate and critical situation. The emperor complained loudly of the tame and pacific conduct of our court, which, from the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and the empire, he expected would have espoused his cause. His Britannic majesty, however, gave the world an instance about this time, that it was from no personal pique to the emperor that he took no part in his affairs, relative to the war now carrying on; for having received certain advice that the French had formed a strong party at the Ottoman Porte, who were

† Proceedings of the House of Lords. Hist. Regist. Parliamentary Debates.

labouring to bring the Divan to declare war against his Imperial majesty, king George, conjunctly with the States-general, sent orders to their respective ministers at that court to use their utmost endeavours to counteract the French in their scheme; which these ministers did so effectually, that the grand seignior was brought to lay aside all thoughts of attacking the emperor, who, sensible of the friendly office done him, sent his Britannic majesty his hearty thanks upon the occasion.

Nor was it in this instance only that our court acted the part of mediator, with a view to the maintenance of the balance of power, which at this time seemed to be in danger of being ruined. A misunderstanding had lately arisen between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, occasioned by affronts mutually offered to their ambassadors at each court. The affair could not be amicably compromised, and the king of Spain began to make preparations for a war with Portugal, which so alarmed his most Faithful majesty, that he instantly made the most earnest application to the British government for protection from the designs of his enemies. Agreeable to the plan we had framed of universal pacification, we readily promised our assistance, and resolved, by a timely and powerful relief, to overcome the Spanish court, and frustrate their designs. Accordingly, in the month of May this year, sir John Norris was dispatched with a fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line to the river Tagus, where he was received by the king of Portugal and the inhabitants of Lisbon as their guardian and deliverer. The Spanish court inveighed in the most haughty and acrimonious terms against this interposition of the English, and threatened to pour a numerous army into Portugal over land; but when the first transports of their resentment were subsided, they thought it most adviseable, for their own interest, to lay aside their hostile preparations.

Mean while, the powers at variance upon the continent began to grow heartily tired of the war, though neither cared to own their sentiments. Conferences for peace had for some time been carried on at the Hague, under the auspices of his Britannic majesty and the States-general, though at the same time the latter had renewed, for another year, their treaty of neutrality with France. Couriers were continually passing between London and Versailles; and although the king of Great Britain could not claim the merit of having absolutely compleated the desired work of peace, yet he undoubtedly smoothed the way to it by the plans he proposed: but as the two courts of Versailles and Vienna had already been disgusted by certain proceedings of the congress who were to consider of these plans, the two belligerent powers fell upon a more simple and effectual means of terminating their differences. An armistice was proposed by the emperor, and agreed to by the court of France, which soon after terminated in the conclusion of certain preliminary articles, by which France engaged to restore to the empire all the places she had taken from it in the course of the late war. It was also stipulated that the emperor should possess the Mantuan, Parma, Pla-

centia, and the Milanese. Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; John Francis, duke of Lorraine, who afterwards married Maria-Theresa, eldest archduchess of Austria, was assigned the duchy of Tuscany after the death of the reigning duke, when Lorraine was to be annexed to the crown of France.

King Stanislaus renounced the kingdom of Poland, which he had twice obtained, and which his allies were unable to secure to him. He was, however, still to retain the title of king; but he was to be further indemnified, more upon the account of France than of himself. Cardinal de Fleury, the French minister, was at first satisfied with the district of Bar, which the duke of Lorraine was to give to Stanislaus, with a reversion thereof to the crown of France: and Lorraine was not to be ceded till its duke should be in full possession of Tuscany. This was making the cession of Tuscany depend greatly upon chance, and it was making very little use of the great successes, and the most favourable conjuncture that had ever offered in favour of France: the old cardinal therefore resolved to make a bold push: he demanded Lorraine upon the same conditions with the district of Bar, and obtained it, at the expence only of three millions five hundred thousand livres (or about sixteen thousand pounds sterling) granted to duke Francis till he should be possessed of Tuscany.

Thus was Lorraine for ever annexed to the crown of France, after having been many times attempted without success; a king of Poland was transplanted to Lorraine; the second son of the king of Spain was removed to Naples; but the duke of Lorraine was the chief gainer by this arrangement, since he afterwards became grand duke of Tuscany, and son-in-law to the emperor, whose eldest daughter, Maria-Teresa, he espoused; an alliance to which he was indebted for the imperial diadem to which he afterwards succeeded. By this plan of pacification Leghorn was to be declared a free port; France was to guaranty the pragmatic sanction; and England, Holland, Portugal, and Vienna, were to be solicited to guaranty the present treaty, to which the kings of Spain and Sardinia were to be invited to accede; the latter of these monarchs was to enjoy Vigevanasco, Novara, and all its dependencies.

Such was the issue of this short but bloody war, which at its first breaking out threatened all Europe with the most fatal consequences, but which at last was happily terminated by the timely interposition of his Britannic majesty, and the utter inability of the emperor to support a burthen so far above his strength*.

In the month of October king George returned from Hanover, and on the fifteenth day of January, 1736, opened the parliament with a speech, in which he acquainted them, that the plan of pacification formed by the French and Imperialists was in substance the same with that which had been concerted between him and the States-general, tho' they had thought proper to communicate it as a new project; that he had agreed to this plan, which had been imparted to the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who, it was hoped, would likewise be per-

suaded to accede to it. He told them, that he had already given orders for a reduction of his forces, both by sea and land; but said, he flattered himself they would think it reasonable to continue some extraordinary expences till the peace of Europe should be more fully established.

When his majesty was retired, a motion was made in the upper house for an address of thanks to the speech, importing, that the house beheld with pleasure, in their present situation, the happy effects of the extraordinary supplies granted of late years by parliament, together with their congratulations on the plan of pacification. But the earl of Strafford opposed this address, as he said, in his opinion, the peace was a very bad one for Europe, seeing it would leave France in possession of Lorraine, by which means she could at any time find an easy accession into the very heart of Europe. After some altercation, however, the address was voted, drawn up, presented, and most graciously received. The example of the lords was followed by the commons, who met with the like favourable reception.

The lower house having determined some controverted elections, proceeded to take into consideration the supplies for the year; and sir Charles Wager moving that fifteen thousand men should be employed for the service of the ensuing year, the proposal was approved without a division.

The drinking of geneva, and other distilled spirituous liquors, had for some years past encreased to a surprising degree, especially among the people of inferior rank, insomuch, that not only thousands had already perished through this abominable practice, and great numbers been rendered wholly unfit for labour or service; but their morals had likewise been so debauched, that a general dissoluteness prevailed amongst them. These pernicious liquors, of which gin was that principally drank, were not only sold by distillers, but retailed in the smallest quantities by every petty chandler-shop or coal-cellar in the metropolis; by which means journeymen, apprentices, and servants, were drawn in to intoxicate themselves with this bewitching drug. In a word, there was the greatest reason to apprehend that the public welfare and safety, as well as the trade of the nation, would be greatly affected by this practice, which was so dangerous to the health, strength, peace, and morals, and even threatened the extinction of the English species among the common people. Induced by these melancholy considerations, the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex presented a petition to the house of commons, setting forth the above evils, and praying that the house would take the matter into their serious consideration, and apply such remedy as to them in their wisdom should seem most proper.

This affair being carefully examined by the house, a motion was made for resolving, that a duty of two shillings per gallon should be imposed upon all spirituous liquors; and that fifty shillings should be paid to his majesty for a licence, to be taken out yearly by every person who should vend, barter, or utter, any such spirituous liquors.

The gentlemen in the opposition adduced many weighty objections to the high duties proposed to be laid by this motion. Mr. Pulteney in particular observed, that they amounted to a prohibition;

and as this extended to rum, he was apprehensive it might prove of fatal consequence to the British sugar islands, which were already in a declining condition: that many thousands depended for their livelihood upon the British distillery; and that it was absurd to argue against the use of a thing from the abuse of it.

In answer to this, the promoters of the motion urged, that nothing but the extreme danger of the nation, from the excessive use of spirituous liquors, could have induced them to desire such a bill to be brought in: they were fully sensible, they said, of the difficulties to which great numbers of his majesty's subjects would be reduced by the duties proposed to be laid on such liquors; but the interest of individuals ought to give way to the general interest; and where the preservation of the community was visibly and so essentially concerned, the hardships of some few particular persons must be overlooked: that with respect to rum and brandy, it was very certain those liquors had often been drank to a very great excess, notwithstanding the high duties laid upon them, and were as pernicious both to the health and morals of the people as any home-made spirit: that if any sorts of spirits should be exempted from the duties now proposed, the retailer would sell the most pernicious stuff under that denomination; and the distiller would compound them in such a manner, that it would be impossible to detect the imposition. After these and some other speeches on each side of the question, the resolutions were approved by the majority, and a bill was brought in, for imposing the above-mentioned duty. While this bill was depending, great numbers of petitions were received from the traders of the sugar-colonies and the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, representing the hardships to which they would be exposed, by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from molasses. In consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted in favour of the composition known by the name of punch; and distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment. When sir Joseph Jekyll, according to order, presented the bill to the house, sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his majesty's command, that as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all spirituous liquors might in a great degree affect some part of the civil list revenues, his majesty, for the sake of remedying so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties.

The usual essays, with the usual success, were made this session for a pension-bill, and other constitutional acts for securing the independency of parliaments. The king was empowered to borrow six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable on the Sinking Fund, for the service of the ensuing year; and the sum of seventy thousand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil list by the gin act.

Mr. Walter Plumer, a very sensible member of the opposition, in a speech which did him much credit, moved for the repeal of some clauses in the test act, which he represented as a species of persecution, in which the protestant dissenters were

confounded with the Roman catholics and professed enemies to the establishment. Lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote spoke strenuously in favour of this motion; but sir Robert Walpole as strongly opposed it, as being dangerous to the established church. In this opinion he was joined by Mr. Shippen; and the question being put, was carried in the negative. A petition being preferred by the body of people called quakers, desiring to be relieved from the severe prosecutions they were liable to in the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, for the non-payment of tithes, church-rates, and other ecclesiastical dues, which, from a principle of conscience, they could not pay; a bill was prepared for their relief, which, after several debates and alterations, at length passed the house, and was sent up to the lords, where it was thrown out on a division.

While these matters were deliberating in the great assembly of the nation, the public attention was engaged by an event which has proved of the utmost happiness and advantage to Great Britain; I mean the marriage of his late royal highness Frederick prince of Wales to the princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, from which union is sprung our present illustrious and beloved sovereign George III. The ceremonials preparative to these nuptials being passed, the lord Delawar was sent in the beginning of March to fetch the princess over, who arrived at Greenwich on the twenty-fifth of April, and two days after the marriage was celebrated*. This match proved highly pleasing to the nation in general; accordingly, the two houses of parliament, the city of London, and almost every county town and borough throughout England, expressed their satisfaction in addresses to their majesties and the princely pair. It was on this occasion that Mr. Pitt, then a young member in the house of commons, gave the first proofs of that eloquence, and those superior abilities, by the help of which he has since made so conspicuous a figure in the British annals: he seized the opportunity of the motion for an address to their majesties on the nuptials of the prince of Wales, to pronounce a most elegant panegyric on their royal highnesses, in which he was seconded by sir George Lyttleton, who likewise displayed himself as an orator to great advantage.

The spirit of bequeathing lands, &c. to pious and charitable uses, had lately been carried to a dangerous height, even to the exclusion or disinheriting of the lawful heirs and poor relations. Gifts, or alienations of lands, tenements, &c. in mortmain, or into dead hands, are prohibited and restrained by Magna Charta, and by divers other wholesome laws, as prejudicial to the common utility. Nevertheless, this public mischief had of late so greatly increased, that it was thought necessary to put a check to it by some farther regulations. For this purpose a bill was brought into the house of commons by sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the Rolls, to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. As this bill, which afterwards passed into an act, may in some manner concern several of our readers, we

shall here subjoin a short abstract thereof, for the information of those who may not have the collection of statutes at hand to refer to.

It is then hereby enacted, "That no manors, lands, tenements, rents, advowsons, or other hereditaments corporeal or incorporeal whatsoever, nor any sum or sums of money, or any other personal estate whatsoever, to be laid out or disposed of in the purchase of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, shall be given, granted, or assigned, or any way whatsoever conveyed or settled to or upon any person or persons, body-politic or corporate, or otherwise, for any estate or interest whatsoever, or in trust, or for the benefit of any charitable uses whatsoever, unless such gift, conveyance, appointment, or settlement of any such lands, tenements, &c. (other than stocks in the public funds) be made by deed, signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence of two or more creditable witnesses, twelve calendar months at least before the death of such donor or testator, and to be inrolled in Chancery six calendar months next after the execution thereof."

The two universities were greatly alarmed when they heard that a bill of this nature was depending in the house: they presented petitions against it, as did also the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations. An exempting clause was accordingly inserted in favour of the two universities and the colleges above mentioned; but the petitions of the hospitals, and other charitable societies, were rejected.

The subjects of debate in the upper house were exactly the same with those in the lower. On the twentieth day of May, 1736, the king closed the session with a speech, in which he told both houses, "That a farther convention, concerning the execution of the preliminaries, had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and his most Christian majesty; and that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle a general pacification. He expressed great concern at seeing such seeds of dissension sown among his people: he declared it was his desire, and should ever be his care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state, as by law established: he recommended a spirit of harmony and concord among all the protestants of the nation, as the chief support of that happy establishment; and acquainted them with his intention to visit his German dominions." Agreeable to this declaration, the parliament was no sooner prorogued than the king set out for Hanover.

Among the acts passed this session was one for naturalizing her royal highness the princess of Wales, and another "for building a bridge cross the river Thames from the New Palace-yard, or the Wool-staple, in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surry." This noble structure, hitherto the most beautiful and uniform of its kind in all Europe, its vast magnitude considered, by the parliament's bounty in granting several lotteries, and at different times

* Tindal says that this expedition was owing to the deficiency of the laws of precedency in England, which had not settled the rank of the princess before she became princess of Wales. Contin. Rap. vol. viii. p. 300.

several sums of money for it, was at length completed, much to the honour of the nation, the conveniency of inland commerce, and the accommodation of all ranks of people. The several statutes made concerning it did also provide for the removing of many old and decayed houses, and the erecting of those noble and spacious new streets named Bridge-street, George-street, and Parliament-street, beside the adorning of both the Palace-yards, greatly to the ornament of the ancient city of Westminster, which, instead of its former dirty and narrow streets, now lifts up its head with grandeur and majesty on every side.

For two years past the general courts of the South-sea company had fruitless debates concerning an equivalent proposed by Don Geraldino, the agent from the Spanish court, to that company, in lieu of their annual ship, which seemed rather calculated to amuse the company than to give them any due satisfaction; wherefore that company's court, held on the eleventh of August this year, 1736, took that matter again into consideration, as also the company's farming their introduction of negroes into particular parts of the West Indies, and the several demands made by Geraldino before the Spanish court would grant its cedula or permission for their sending out their annual ship; when it was finally resolved, that the several matters above should be referred to the court of directors, to do therein as they should think to be most for the interest of the company.

So exceedingly remiss was the administration in the due execution of the laws, and in their attention to the proper regulations of civil government, that Licentiousness roved bare-faced and uncontrouled throughout the kingdom, and the public peace was daily disturbed by the most audacious riots and tumults. In the month of July there was a desperate rising of the weavers in Spital-fields, on account of several artists in that branch of commerce who had come over from Ireland; and by living more frugally, and being less addicted to the abominable practice of drinking spirituous liquors, to the destruction of their healths and substance, were enabled to underwork the English considerably. This tumult could not be suppressed without the interposition of the civil power, assisted by parties of the horse and foot guards and trained bands, and the effusion of some blood. This riotous disposition of the populace filled the government with great apprehension of the consequences of the gin act taking place on the twenty-ninth of September: on that day therefore a double guard mounted at Kensington; the guards at St. James's and Whitehall were reinforced; a guard was placed at the Rolls (sir Joseph Jekyll, then master of the Rolls, having been the principal promoter of the bill); a detachment of life-guards and horse-grenadiers paraded in Covent Garden; and every other imaginable method was taken to suppress any tumult that might happen on the occasion: but, contrary to expectation, every thing remained very quiet and tranquil.

A most daring insult, however, was committed whilst the courts of justice were sitting in Westminster-hall. The gin act, mortmain act, Westminster bridge act, and the act for borrowing six hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund, inclosed in a brown paper parcel, were blown up with gun-powder in the great hall, and partly

burnt; for which fact one Nixon, a non-juring clergyman, was apprehended, and being fully convicted thereof, was sentenced to pay two hundred marks, to be imprisoned for five years, and to give security for his good behaviour for five years afterwards, and to be brought up to the several courts then sitting, with a label on his breast denoting his crime.

But the most extraordinary affair this year, and which drew very serious consequences after it, was that of captain Porteous, commander of the city guard of Edinburgh, which was as follows: One Willson, a smuggler, a fellow of a bold and resolute spirit, had been tried and condemned by the lords of session in Scotland, for robbing one of the officers of the revenue, and having afterwards been guilty of one of the most daring actions that ever was attempted, that of rescuing out of the hands of justice his brother-convict, in the time of divine service, and in the midst of his guards. The magistrates of Edinburgh redoubled their usual precautions for executing the sentence against this desperate criminal. When the executioner was cutting him down from the gallows, he was pelted (as is customary in that country) with stones and dirt, by the boys and rabble. Some of the stones happening to strike Porteous, who attended the execution with the city-guards, he being a hot-headed brutal man, ordered his soldiers to fire among the populace, which they did; and several persons were thereby killed, and others wounded; and all this without the orders of the magistrates then attending. Hereupon Porteous was committed to prison, tried for murder, convicted upon full evidence, and received sentence to be hanged, which was to be put in execution on the eighth of September; but upon his petition to the queen, then regent, and as the smugglers were at this time remarkably numerous, and seemed to set both civil and military power at defiance, her majesty thought proper to indulge him with a respite for six weeks; which respite arrived at Edinburgh on the second of September. This occasioned a most tragical catastrophe: the common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shewn to a criminal who was the object of their detestation, which they looked upon as an encouragement to oppression; and being stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered, they formed a resolution to execute themselves the sentence which the law had denounced against the murder, and that on the very day the judges had fixed for that purpose. Accordingly, on the seventh of September, a well-conducted party of men entered the city of Edinburgh about ten at night, and by surprize seized all the fire-arms, &c. belonging to the city-guard, locked up the city gates, beat an alarm, burnt the door of the prison where Porteous was confined, after endeavouring in vain to force it open, dragged him from his apartments, and hanged him upon a dyer's pole near the Grass-market. From the boldness, secrecy, and success of this extraordinary enterprize, it was universally believed that persons of more than vulgar rank were concerned in it, especially as, after the execution was over, they left the arms and drums on the spot, and quietly departed, having offered not the least violence to any other person.

In the beginning of this year the British nation sustained an unspeakable loss in the death of lord-chancellor

chancellor Talbot, who had for several years executed that high office with admired ability and irreproachable integrity. He died universally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two, and was succeeded by lord Hardwick.

On the sixteenth of the same month there was the highest spring tide in the river Thames that had been known in the memory of man; the judges, counsellors, and other persons, were carried out of Westminster-hall in boats, which plied both there and in the Palace-yards. All the cellars in Westminster were filled with water; the privy-garden and parade in St. James's park were overflowed, as was in several places Tower-wharf; and the cellars and offices both above and below bridge, upon the banks of the river, were full of water.

I shall close this account of domestic events (which indeed are very few, and little interesting) with observing, that his majesty, in compliance with the common practice of courts abroad, erected this year a new military post of honour, under the title of Field-marshal of the armies of Great Britain. The two first officers who were invested with that high office were, the duke of Argyll and the earl of Orkney, as being the two eldest generals upon the establishment.

Let us now take a view of foreign events during the course of this year.

On the first day of February was celebrated the marriage between Francis of Lorraine and Maria-Theresa, the eldest daughter of the emperor Charles VI. now empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia; and, to compleat the public tranquillity, the interposition of the British fleet under sir John Norris, in favour of the crown of Portugal, brought the king of Spain into terms with his Portuguese majesty.

Prince Eugene, who had acted as the imperial plenipotentiary in settling the preliminaries of peace between the emperor and France, did not live to see the fruits of his negociation come to perfect maturity, he dying at Vienna in the month of April, at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero, an accomplished general, and a consummate politician.

About this period a very extraordinary personage started up in Europe, and for some time created great speculation and discourse. The republic of Genoa held the sovereignty of the island and kingdom of Corsica, but had exercised their authority with so much tyranny, that the inhabitants had thrown off their yoke, and taking up arms, had defeated several parties of troops their quondam masters had sent to reduce them. In this conjuncture Theodore Baron Stein, a man of a bold and enterprising genius, assisted by some persons in England, landed in the island of Corsica in an English ship, where he was received with open arms by the insurgents, who were prepossessed in favour of his appearance, which was very commanding and respectable; and in a little time he prevailed so far with the Corsicans, that having engaged all the credit he had or could procure for arms and ammunition, which were landed in Corsica, the inhabitants proceeded to elect him their sovereign; and he was regularly crowned king of Corsica in an open plain, by the name of Theodore the First, king of Corsica; and some small pieces of money with that inscription were actually coin-

ed: but all these promising appearances were soon after blasted. He had been extremely lavish of his succours both of men and money. Month after month elapsed, and no such succours appeared. His new subjects began to suspect him of having imposed upon their too ready belief. Some of the principal of them took the liberty to expostulate with him upon this head. Incensed at their presumption, Theodore ordered them to be tried and executed by the sentence of a court-martial of his own appointing. This proved the sentence of his own degradation: he soon found the affection of his new subjects began to cool towards him. The Corsicans are noted for never forgetting or forgiving an injury. Theodore, troubled for the consequences of their resentment, prudently chose to leave the island; but this was not to be done without the safeguard of some plausible pretext: he therefore feigned an invitation from some foreign powers with whom he was to hold a conference, and promising to return with large supplies of arms and money, which, he said, his presence was necessary to procure, he abandoned his kingdom, and never set foot in it again; but, after a variety of romantic adventures, ended his days a prisoner for debt in the King's-Bench prison in England.

On the first of February, 1737, the British parliament assembled, when the session was opened by commission, his majesty being indisposed, in consequence of the fatigue he had suffered in a tempestuous passage from Holland. The lord-chancellor, as one of the peers authorised by this committee, made a speech in his majesty's name to both houses. He acquainted them, "That with regard to foreign affairs, the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced; but his majesty was of opinion, that great attention ought to be paid to the final conclusion of the new settlement, which was to dispose of such considerable parts of Europe: that though there was the most promising appearance of a general lasting tranquillity; yet common prudence called upon the British nation to avoid an indolent security, and too great a disregard to future events: that, in a word, she ought to be provided against all attempts that might be made against her peace by any of her enemies: that his majesty had, as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit, made such a reduction of the public expences as was consistent with the quiet and safety of his kingdoms, the security of commerce, and the honour and interest of the nation: that he could not, without surprise and concern, observe the many designs and contrivances carried on, in various shapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom: that these disturbers of the public repose, conscious that the interests of his majesty and his people were the same, and sensible of the harmony that subsisted between him and his parliaments, had levelled their sedition against both, and, in their late outrages, had either directly opposed, or at least endeavoured to render ineffectual, some acts of the whole legislature: that the consideration of the height to which these

these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole community."

This speech was answered by very loyal addresses from both houses, expressing their abhorrence of the outrages complained of, and their resolution to support his majesty in all his endeavours to re-establish the general tranquillity. After this, the commons having heard council on the controverted elections, proceeded to take the supply into consideration. They voted ten thousand men for the sea-service; they continued seventeen thousand and upwards for the land-service. The money was raised by the land and malt taxes, and one million was granted out of the sinking fund.

The subject which occasioned debates of the most consequence in the lower house was a motion made by Mr. Pulteney for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds per annum upon his royal highness the prince of Wales. Such a provision, he said, was conformable to the practice of antient times; it had been enjoyed by his present majesty in the life-time of his father, and was a settlement both reasonable and necessary to ascertain the independency of the apparent heir to the crown. This motion was seconded by sir John Barnard, and supported by a variety of instances from the English history, to shew the expediency and rectitude of such a measure.

The motion was certainly a very popular one: his royal highness and his amiable consort had endeared themselves to the whole nation by their many virtues. The members of the opposition were sensible of this, and endeavoured to strengthen their own interest by uniting it with that of the princely power. At the same time, they hoped that the minister, by opposing this measure (which they well knew he would) would compleat the measure of his unpopularity. His royal highness, on the other hand, could not but entertain a grateful sense of the generous services intended him, and thought himself obliged in honour to stand by his friends who had so warmly espoused his interest. The minister was apprehensive of the consequences that might ensue from thus separating the dependence of the son upon the father, and giving to the party adverse to his administration so respectable and popular a head: he therefore used his utmost endeavours to prevent his royal highness from consenting to the motion being made, but to no purpose.

However, when it came before the house, sir Robert opposed it with great firmness, though with a becoming decency to the illustrious object. He represented it as an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, as an officious intermeddling in the affairs of the royal family, and as an insidious attempt to set the king and prince at variance; and indeed it should seem, that his majesty had already received intimation of, and had highly resented, this step of the prince and his friends; for sir Robert in the midst of his harangue told the house, by his majesty's command, that on the preceding day the king had sent a message to the prince by several noblemen of the first quality, to the following purport: "That upon his royal highness's

marriage he had immediately taken into his royal consideration the settling a proper jointure upon the princess of Wales; but that his majesty's sudden going abroad, and his late indisposition since his return, had hitherto prevented the execution of those his gracious intentions: that from this short delay, however, his majesty did not conceive that any inconvenience could arise, especially as no application had been made to him upon that subject by his royal highness: that his majesty had now given orders for settling a proper jointure upon the princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in proper time order to be laid before the parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that although his royal highness had not thought fit to desire his majesty that his annual allowance of fifty thousand pounds, which was now paid him monthly, rather than quarterly, according to his royal highness's own request, might be rendered less precarious; the king, to prevent the bad consequences which, he apprehended, might follow from the undutiful courses which, his majesty was informed, the prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his royal highness, for his majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil revenues, over and above the prince's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expence which did and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for the whole royal family." To this message the prince returned a verbal answer, desiring their lordships to lay him with all humility at his majesty's feet; to assure him that he did, and ever should, retain the utmost duty for his royal person: that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty's goodness to him or to the princess, and particularly for his majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure upon her royal highness; but that as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it: that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty, adding, "Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands; I am sorry for it;" or words to that effect.

Sir Robert then proceeded to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue from rendering the heir-apparent independent of the reigning sovereign: he particularly insisted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales: he allowed, indeed, that the parliament had addressed or petitioned the king upon the death of Edward the Black Prince, that his son, afterwards Richard II. might be created prince of Wales; but that measure, he said, was in all probability directed by the king himself.

These objections did not pass unanswered. Mr. Pulteney observed, that in regard to the latter instance, there was great reason to believe that Edward III. would not have been so forward to create his grandson Richard prince of Wales, had he not been in a manner compelled to it by his parliament, since it was notorious that Edward, in the decline of life, had fallen into a sort of love-dotage, and

and was entirely governed by his mistress Alice Pierce, and his second son the duke of Lancaster, with whose respective views such a preferment evidently clashed. The supporters of the motion also observed, that the sum of fifty thousand pounds was not equal to the prince's unavoidable annual expence, exclusive of those acts of charity and munificence ever expected from persons in such exalted stations; not to mention that the several deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced that fifty thousand to forty thousand, or a very little more. As to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, they demonstrated, that they did not exceed ten thousand pounds per annum, in all making about fifty-two thousand pounds a year; whereas, by his majesty's own regulation, the expence of the prince's household amounted to sixty-three thousand pounds yearly. They asserted that the produce of the civil list exceeded nine hundred thousand pounds, which was more by one hundred thousand pounds a year than his late majesty had enjoyed: they shewed, that in the first year of the late king, his whole household expence, and that of the civil government, was very little more than four hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. The parliament, they said, had added one hundred and forty thousand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of secret service-money, and allowed one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of the prince of Wales.

His majesty's message, as reported by sir Robert Walpole, made various impressions on the house. Some considered it as a wicked attempt of the minister to divide the royal family, while others were induced to think that his royal highness had suffered himself to be too easily led away by the insinuations of some self-interested persons in the opposition. The debate was vehement and long; the best speakers on both sides exerted all their abilities in supporting their respective opinions; but the question being at last put, the motion was rejected, by a majority of thirty voices (two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and four.)

The house having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the national debt, a state thereof was delivered in on the eighteenth of March, when it was found to amount to forty-seven millions eight hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and forty-eight pounds three shillings and three pence halfpenny. Several of the members thinking that the interest paid for this debt was too high, sir John Barnard moved, "That his majesty should be enabled to raise money either by sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming old South-sea annuities; and that such of the annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others."

Evidently calculated as this motion was for public utility, as later experience has happily proved, the ministry and their friends raised a powerful opposition to it; but the excellent patriot who proposed it enforced his plan with such strong and unanswerable arguments, that they were obliged for the present to yield to the motion; and accordingly, on the thirteenth of March, sir Charles Tur-

ner reported from the committee, "That it was their opinion, that all the public funds redeemable by law, which carried an interest of four per cent. should be reduced according to the respective provisos or clauses of redemption contained in the acts of parliament for that purpose, or, with consent of the proprietors, should be converted into an interest or annuity not exceeding three per cent. nor redeemable till after fourteen years; and that his majesty should be enabled to borrow from individuals, or public bodies, any sum of money, at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards reducing the national debt." Several resolutions were founded on this report, and a bill was immediately prepared, and read a first and second time; but a motion being made for having it committed, this was over-borne by ministerial influence, and the bill miscarried.

The next remarkable contest in the lower house was occasioned by a bill sent down from the lords for punishing the magistrates of the city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of captain John Porteous, of which we have already given a narrative.

When his majesty's speech at the opening of the session was under consideration in the house of peers, that part of it which related to riots and tumults was formally taken notice of by lord Carteret, who observed, that notwithstanding the power with which the civil magistrate was invested, the military force had been employed in suppressing the late disturbances; none of which, he said, had proceeded from any disaffection to the government, but from very different causes. He represented the murder which had been committed by the populace at Edinburgh, as of the most atrocious nature; and said, that the conspiracy by which it had been effected was the more alarming, as it had not been attended with any of those disorders so common to a rising of a headstrong and riotous populace, which afforded the greatest reason to believe that it had been framed and conducted by persons of rank and consequence. Upon the whole, his lordship was of opinion, that the house ought to make the most diligent inquiry into this affair, in order to discover the delinquents, and bring them to condign punishment; and even to punish the city of Edinburgh, if it should appear that the inhabitants and magistrates had not exerted their utmost endeavours to suppress the insurrection. His lordship then moved, "That the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, in the year 1736; that the person commanding the city-guard at the time of the riot in which captain Porteous was murdered; that the commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Scotland at the time of the said riot; should all of them be ordered to attend the house on a day appointed; and that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, desiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be submitted to their inspection."

These documents being accordingly produced and examined, and all the witnesses arrived, including three Scottish judges*; and the house having procured all the intelligence that could possibly

* A debate arose about the manner in which these last should be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the
150 5 E wool-

possibly be obtained, a bill was brought in to disable Alexander Wilson, esq. lord provost of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magistracy in Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain; for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson; for abolishing the city-guard; and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow port, so as to open a communication between the city and the suburbs in which the king's troops were quartered.

This bill was strenuously opposed by the duke of Argyll, and the other Scottish lords, as a proceeding harsh, unprecedented, and unjustifiable: nevertheless it was passed, and sent down to the commons, where it produced a long and violent debate; and the opposition made to it in the committee of that house was so vigorous, that the whole of it was saved only by the casting vote of colonel Bladon, the chairman. At length it was reduced to a simple act, "disabling Alexander Wilson, the lord-provost, from enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain; and for imposing a fine of two thousand pounds upon the city for the benefit of Porteous's widow." Thus altered, the bill was returned to the lords, by whom it was approved, and soon after received the royal assent. Another bill was also brought in and passed, appointing rewards for the discovery of any of the parties concerned in the murder of Porteous, and punishing those who should knowingly conceal them. Notwithstanding all which, and though many thousands were concerned in that affair, and several actually tried for the same, yet nothing transpired that could serve to elucidate the grand object of enquiry, the murder of Porteous.

To the account of the proceedings of this session it may not be improper to subjoin a view of the play-house bill, which was now passed into a law. It seems the minister and his friends had been highly provoked at the unreserved manner in which they had been satirised upon the stage; and sir Robert Walpole having gotten into his hands a manuscript comedy, which was fraught with the bitterest sarcasms upon the administration, he produced it to his friends, who immediately joined with him in a design to suppress, for the future, all personified satire on men in power. For this purpose a bill was brought in for limiting the number of play-houses, and for subjecting all dramatic performances exhibited on the stage to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain of his majesty's household, without a licence from whom they should not be suffered to be acted.

This measure, however, was violently opposed by all the anti-courtiers, who represented it as a direct violation of the liberty of the press, and the subjecting true genius to shackles, which in all human probability it would never be able to shake off. Their arguments were of little avail; for, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the bill passed by a considerable majority.

While this bill was depending in the house of lords, a speech was made against it by the earl of Chesterfield, in which all the powers of

eloquence were displayed to the utmost advantage, both in composition and delivery. This speech gives a true idea of the nature of a restraint of the kind proposed, and will prove an entertaining relief to the reader from the dull repetition of parliamentary transactions, with which this period of our history is unavoidably loaded.

After speaking of the precipitancy with which the bill had passed the house of commons, and of its being pushed into an almost empty house of lords at the end of a session, his lordship proceeds: "I have gathered from common talk, while this bill was moving in the lower house, that a play was offered to the theatre in order to be exhibited, which, if my account be right, was truly of a most scandalous and flagitious nature. What was the effect? Why, the manager to whom it was offered not only refused to act it, but carried it to a certain person in the administration, as a sure method to have it suppressed. Could this be the occasion of the bill? Surely no. The caution of the players could never occasion a law to restrain them: it is an argument in their favour, and a material one, in my opinion, against the bill. It is to me a proof that the laws are not only sufficient to deter them from acting what they know would offend, but also to punish them in case they should do it.

"My lords, I must own I have observed of late a remarkable licentiousness on the stage. There were two plays acted last winter (his lordship meant *Pasquin*, and *king Charles I.*) that one would have thought should have given the greatest offence; and yet they were suffered without any censure whatever. In one of these plays the author thought fit to represent religion, physic, and the law, as inconsistent with common sense. The other was founded on a story very unfit for theatrical entertainment at this time of day; a story so recent in the minds of Englishmen, and of so solemn a nature, that it ought to be touched upon only in the pulpit. The stage may want regulation; the stage may have it; and yet be kept within bounds, without a new law for that purpose. I cannot think but great men are generally more solicitous to guard their own characters from public contempt than to maintain the principles of public virtue, decency, and order.

"One of the greatest goods we can enjoy is liberty; the best things have their alloy. Liberty has its alloy: licentiousness is the alloy of liberty; it is the natural excrescence, the ebullition of vigorous liberty. When I touch the one, it is with a fearful, with a trembling hand, lest I should unwarily do a violence to the other. Is a play a libel upon any one? The law is sufficient to punish the offender, and the injured person in this case has a very singular advantage; he can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publisher of it. The player himself is the publisher, and there can be no want of evidence to convict him.

"When we complain of the licentiousness of the stage, I fear we have more reason to complain of bad measures in our polity, and a general decay of

woolpacks. Some Scottish lords maintained, that they had a right to sit next to the judges of England; but after a long debate this motion was rejected, and the judges of Scotland

appeared at the bar in their robes. *Journal of the House of Lords.*

An
ACCURATE MAP
of
HUNGARY
and
TRANSILVANIA:
Drawn from the best
Authorities.



virtue and good morals amongst us. Ridicule and satire have their use; in such a circumstance they have a direct tendency to correct the guilty, while the innocent have nothing to fear from them. Just conduct exempts every person from the consequences of satire; for satire unjustly cast, reverts upon the censurer, and ridicule ill applied, makes the person who uses it ridiculous.

"My lords, if it were necessary a bill of this kind should pass, I am of opinion, the method proposed in this, to restrain the licentiousness complained of, will not answer the purpose; for if it does not extend to the restraint of printing (which I hope it never will), it cannot produce the desired effect. When my lord chamberlain has marked a play with his refusal, may it not be printed? will it not be printed with double the advantage, when it shall be insinuated that it was refused for having some strokes of wit or satire in it, that were not suffered to come on the stage; and will not the printer set the refusal in his title, as a mark of value? Is it not natural to be fond of any thing that is forbidden? and will it not be more likely to have its effect among the people by this means, when the printed play may cost but a shilling, and the seeing it acted will cost three or four? Does not the satire remain in print to be read and considered, when the offence in acting is over and forgot? I do not doubt but there are people, who would sit down and write a play on purpose to have it refused, and that will be the only merit belonging to it; for I must observe to your lordships, that although it is very difficult to write one that is fit to be acted, yet it is easy enough to write one that is fit to be refused.

"When this is the case, will it not be said, Shall we suffer a play to be printed after it has been forbid to be acted? shall we prevent the administration from being abused in Drury-lane, and allow it to be abused all over the nation? What can be said in answer to this? I own, I think one restraint as reasonable as the other. When this point is once gained, another step will undoubtedly follow; it will be said, Shall we prohibit the printing of a libel in the form of a play, and permit a libel not in the form of a play to be published? This restraint, which appears to me as reasonable as the two former, puts an end to the liberty of the press, which we all seem to think of such vast importance; and therefore I cannot but be against the first step, which must lead us to the last.

"Besides, my lords, we ought in all points to be tender of property. Wit is the property of those who are possessed of it, and very often the only property they have. Thank God, my lords, this is not our case; we are otherwise provided for. I must own, I am not for laying any restraint upon wit; but by this bill wit is to be delivered out to the public by retail; it is to be excised, my lords, and there is to be a remarkable distinction in this excise from all others, that the lord-chamberlain is to have all the several offices vested singly in himself; he is to be the gauger, surveyor, judge, and jury, without allowing any recourse to those important officers, the commissioners of appeal!"

After saying more concerning the hardships of this act to authors, and paying an elegant compliment to the then lord chamberlain, in whose impartiality

and judgment his lordship declares he has the greatest confidence, he concludes thus: "My lords, from laws of this nature I suspect very ill consequences, nor can I frame to myself any one good argument, or reason, for this bill. It is an arrow that does but glance upon the stage; but it will give its fatal wound to the liberty of the press. No country ever lost its liberty at once: it is by degrees that work is to be done; by such degrees as creep insensibly upon you, till it is too late to stop the mischief; like different shades of the same colour, in which it is impossible to remark the several gradations*."

Every one remembers how right his lordship's opinion was, as to the printing of plays that were refused by the licenser, and even as to the writing of plays on purpose to have them refused, that they might be printed only. Whether the noble orator was equally right in what he predicted concerning the press, or whether his apprehensions for that part of liberty carried him a little too far, may perhaps admit of a doubt: thus much, however, is certain, that too much caution and vigilance cannot be used in a point that so nearly concerns the very being of our constitution, and which, it may reasonably be apprehended, every bad minister would take the first opportunity to carry against us.

On the twenty-first of June, 1737, his majesty put an end to the session with a speech, in which he complained greatly of the licentiousness of the times, which, under the colour and disguise of liberty, shewed a defiance of all authority, a contempt of magistracy, and even a resistance of the laws, to the prejudice of the prerogative of the crown and the true liberties of the people; and then, after recommending the vigorous exertion of the laws, as the only means to remedy this abuse, his majesty expresses himself in these words: "I have made the laws of the land the constant rule of my actions; and I do with reason expect in return, all that submission to my government and authority, which the same laws have made the duty, and shall always be the interest, of my subjects."

The attempt made by the leaders of the opposition, with the tacit consent at least of the prince of Wales, to obtain an addition to his royal highness's income, had disgusted the king, and occasioned a visible coolness between them; but an affair, of a very interesting and delicate nature, happened soon after the close of that session, which increased the former misunderstanding to an open breach between his majesty and the prince, and in its consequences proved more than a mere family difference.

The princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy, without being thought to be so near her time as she really was: being with their majesties, and the rest of the royal family, at Hampton Court, without any midwife attending her, she was, on the thirty-first of July, seized with the pains of child-birth, which increased so violently, that the prince, who was with her, was obliged to hurry her to London, where she was that night delivered of a daughter, the princess Augusta, now hereditary princess of Brunswick.

His majesty, on being acquainted with this unlooked-for event, sent a message, by the earl of Essex, to the prince, congratulating him upon the

birth of the princess; but at the same time expressing his displeasure at his royal highness's conduct in carrying away the princess from Hampton Court under the immediate pains of child birth, without acquainting his majesty or the queen with the circumstances the princess was in, or giving them the least notice of his departure; a conduct which his majesty looked upon as a deliberate indignity offered to himself and the queen, and which he resented to the highest degree. The prince deprecated his majesty's anger in several submissive letters, in which he laboured to excuse the step he had taken, by alleging, that it had happened thro' the uncertainty of the physician and midwife, as to the time of the delivery of the princess; his highness also implored his royal mother's mediation in his behalf. The princess joined her intercessions to those of her consort, but his majesty was too deeply incensed to be moved by their humility or supplication; and on the tenth of September following, the duke of Grafton was sent by his majesty to the prince, with a very severe message, in the close of which he gave the prince to understand, that it was his royal pleasure, that his highness should quit St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess; and that his majesty should, for the present, leave to the princess the care of his grand-daughter, until a proper time called upon him to consider of her education.

In obedience to this message the prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his majesty's favour, which, however, he could not regain. Nevertheless he sent lord Baltimore, one of his household, to the lord Grantham, the queen's chamberlain, intreating to know whether she would receive a letter from him, in mitigation of his conduct. Her majesty refused her consent. The princess then wrote an humble and submissive letter to the king, who returned an answer full of affection and civility to her highness, though it plainly appeared by some expressions therein, that his displeasure at the prince was rather increased than abated.

In the mean time the guards were taken off from their attendance on the prince and his consort; and all persons who paid their court to the prince and princess were not suffered to come into his majesty's presence, or any of his palaces. The letters which passed between the royal family on this occasion, were published by authority, and made various impressions on the minds of the people. All the prince's servants soon after joined the opposition to the ministry.

Upon the whole, I think it must appear to every candid and impartial person but too probable, that both the king and the prince were imposed upon, by those who found their account in creating a difference between them. If the prince's conduct, however, was in some respects reprehensible, the punishment seems to have been more than severe, and even to approach towards cruelty; for he was denied admission into the presence of the queen his mother in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her dying benediction.

In October, this year, a deputation of the merchants of London waited on his majesty at Hampton Court, with a petition, in behalf of themselves and others trading to, and interested in, the British colonies in America, setting forth, that the fair and lawful trade to the British plantations in America,

had been greatly interrupted for many years past, not only by their ships being frequently stopped, and arbitrarily seized on, in the high seas, by Spanish ships, fitted out to cruize under the plausible pretext of guarding their own coasts; but that the commanders thereof, with their crews, had been inhumanly treated, and their ships carried into some of the Spanish ports, and there condemned, with their cargoes, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, &c. and praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to procure them speedy and ample satisfaction for the losses they have sustained, &c. To this petition his majesty returned a most gracious answer, and his secretary of state sent fresh orders to Mr. Keene, to repeat his instances at the court of Madrid for their relief. In the mean while a committee of the privy-council sat at Whitehall, to receive proofs of the losses which the merchants had suffered by the Spaniards.

And here it will not be improper to observe, that whereas by the treaty of 1670, subsisting between us and Spain, our ships are not to resort nor trade to the coasts of New Spain and its adjoining provinces (unless driven thither by distress of weather) their sailing near to those shores rendered them liable to be suspected of carrying on a contraband trade with those provinces of Spanish America, the trade to which is absolutely and most strictly confined to Spaniards solely; and there is scarce any doubt to be made that our sloops and coasting vessels from Jamaica, and other British colonies, did sometimes run the hazard for the sake of gain, and therefore ought to submit to the consequences. So, on the other hand, it is notorious, that the Spanish guarda-costas did frequently exceed their powers or commissions, by searching, plundering, and often seizing on our British ships sailing on the American seas, even though not so near their shores as to give just ground of suspicion of any clandestine trade, and though not laden with the produce of the Spanish American provinces; but only perhaps having, by mere chance, a few Spanish pieces of eight found in the ship, or perhaps a small parcel of logwood; the first being the only coin in our island of Jamaica, and the last the produce of that island.

In short, these mutual complaints did, in a few years after, bring on the war between Great Britain and Spain; and although the peace of Aix la Chapelle (in 1748) seemed to terminate that affair, yet did it barely *seem* to do it; and a new and more distinct or explicit treaty appears still to be wanting for that point, and also for the logwood trade of our British subjects in the bay of Campeachy.

About this time also the French gave us no small umbrage by their eagerly pushing into an universal commerce, as the surer, though slower, way of compassing their old favourite scheme of universal dominion. And although, by our late amazing success against the French colonies in America, matters are since greatly changed, yet the steps taken by that crafty nation are well worth tracing, as mementos for futurity.

In Africa they had monopolized the gum trade near the river Senegal: they had also encroached on the English settlement at the river Gambia, and had greatly extended their slave trade on that coast, for the encouragement of their West India sugar islands,

islands, where they had at this time gained so much ground on ours as to be the great exporters of sugar, and also of indico, cotton, and ginger, to many parts of Europe. They had also erected a considerable settlement on the coast of Guinea, near Surinam in South America, encroaching both on the Dutch and Spaniards there.

On the north continent of America they assiduously pursued the plan of Lewis XIV. for forming a chain of forts and settlements from the mouth of the great river Mississippi, up to their province of Canada, with a view thereby to cut off our continent settlements from any commerce with the vast Indian countries westward, and in time to get possession of them all. For that end they had strongly fortified the island of Cape Breton, near the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, which served as well to command that entrance as to protect a great cod-fishery which they have of late amazingly increased in the neighbouring seas.

From Quebec, their capital of Canada, they had opened and fortified a communication with the lakes lying behind, and properly as much belonging to our province of New York as any other part of that province can be said to be; and had also taken possession of the fertile lands round those lakes, much of which they had already cleared, and in part cultivated. Westward they were said to have already extended their communication as far as the Spanish province of New Mexico, with a view, no doubt, to the rich silver mines there. Eastward from the Mississippi they had, by this time, settled so far up as to have forts within twenty days march of Charles-town, our capital of South Carolina. Of all which vast improvements and encroachments on the territories of other nations, and more especially of our own, authentic accounts were laid before our government and our board of trade, yet no effectual regard was shewn thereto. In the East Indies also France had, by this time, increased her trade almost beyond belief, without receiving any interruption from us or other states concerned, who might in the beginning easily have defeated this and most of the above encroachments, had vigorous measures been taken in due time.

These particulars I have judged necessary to lay together before my readers at one summary view, for serving the better to illustrate and explain what may hereafter fall in my way, in respect to the all-grasping designs of the French nation.

While I am upon commercial affairs, I must not omit to take notice, that in the course of this year Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Georgia, with an account of the promising state of that infant colony, where the Indians had submitted to his majesty's authority. The Spanish governor of Florida, and the council of war residing at St. Augustine and Darien, had signed a treaty with the colony; and besides the town of Savannah, which was then in a flourishing state, three other towns, Frederica, Augusta, and Darien, were founded; and a new town, called Ebenezer, had been built by the Saltburghers, who had been obliged to leave their country by the persecution of the German government on religious and civil accounts.

The doge and senate of Venice having thought proper to pay even royal honours to the pretender's son, who made a visit to their city in the

summer of this year, our court so highly resented their proceedings, that the resident from that republic here had notice given him to leave London in three days, and the kingdom in a week, for the insult offered by his master to his majesty's crown and dignity.

On November 20, at seven o'clock in the evening, died, to the inexpressible grief of his majesty, the royal family, and the whole nation, Wilhelmina-Carolina-Dorothea, of the house of Brandenburg-Anspach, queen-consort of Great Britain, aged fifty-four years, eight months, and twenty days. Her majesty had been for some days disordered, and was treated by her physicians as for the gout in her stomach; but the distemper proved to be a concealed rupture. No princefs ever lived more in the love and esteem of all who knew her than she did. His majesty was for some time inconsolable for his loss; and it must be confessed that no sorrow was ever more justifiable. She was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection; and by the virtues of her heart, her uncommon penetration, her lively yet solid wit, and her extensive generosity, she had rendered herself equally the delight of her royal consort, her own family, and the whole nation. In her the poor lost a noble benefactress, the learned a powerful and munificent patroness. In a word, all degrees of people were affected with her death, as every one considered as personal the loss the public sustained by her death. She had by close study so improved her natural sagacity and talents, that she became an umpire in one of the most abstruse points of metaphysics that ever was agitated, the doctrine of free will and fatality, as disputed between Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clark.

Although the foreign events of this year were very little interesting to Great Britain, yet I shall, for the information of my readers, give a summary account of them.

During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black Sea, and overran the greatest part of Crim-Tartary. The czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers; and when she complained of those disorders to the vizir, she had received no satisfaction. Besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces in despite of the empress, and committed horrid havock in their route. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive which he had many years before concluded with the Russian crown. Before he declared himself, however, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the sultan, who was very well disposed to peace; but the czarina insisted upon retaining Asoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as dishonourable to the Ottoman empire, no accommodation could be effected, and the troops of the belligerent powers were therefore distributed into winter-quarters. The duke of Lorraine had now succeeded to the duchy of Tuscany, on the death of the last of the Medicis family; and the French were by this event relieved from the burthen of a great annuity, which they had obliged themselves to pay him till he should succeed to Tuscany. The king

of Spain's troops evacuated that duchy, and the provinces in Italy now yielded to the house of Austria.

In this situation were the affairs of Europe, when his Britannic majesty opened the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1738. His speech was remarkably short, and concluded with recommending the dispatch of public business with prudence and unanimity. Each house presented a warm address of condolence upon the queen's death, with which the king seemed to be deeply affected.

Mutual complaints and remonstrances still continued between our merchants and the court of Spain, with whom the nation now seemed exasperated beyond all farther sufferance. His majesty, as we have already observed, had referred the examination of the complaints of our merchants to a committee of the privy-council, who endeavoured to make good their allegations. Their cause was specious and popular; the public warmly espoused their quarrel; they were strongly supported by the anti-courtiers in both houses, who were bent upon a war with Spain. A petition, similar to that which had been presented to his majesty, was now laid before the house of commons, and reinforced by others of the like nature from most of the trading towns in the kingdom; all which had such an influence upon the house, that a motion was made to address his majesty for copies of all the representations sent by the English ministry to that of Spain, from the first day of November last, and of such answers as had been returned to those remonstrances. This brought on a long debate, in which the cruelties of the Spaniards, and the tameness of the English ministry, were displayed in the strongest colouring. Every speaker of note on each side exerted himself on this occasion; but the minister, who had a settled aversion to engaging the nation in a war, adhered firmly to his pacific plan, insisting that every method ought to be tried to bring Spain to terms, if possible, before we proceeded to forcible measures. He approved of the former part of the motion, but thought it would be dangerous to comply with the latter; and he made a long speech in defence of his opinion: in fine, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority, as was also a bill brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's subjects to America. The intention of this act was, to give the property of all prizes taken from the Spaniards after the declaration of war, to the officers and sailors present in the action; to allow to the sailors the sum of five pounds, by way of head-money, for every Spaniard taken at sea; and to vest in the captors, by his majesty's patent, the property of all the places conquered from the Spaniards.

This bill passed through the first reading without opposition; but when it was moved to recommit it for a second reading, sir Robert Walpole, who seems thoroughly to have studied the question, opposed it in a speech, to the following effect:

He said, that with regard to the first article, as the bill then stood, if hostilities were immediately to commence against Spain, and a squadron of English ships of war was to take the whole Plate fleet of the Spaniards, with all their register ships, every shilling of the money must become the property of

the English seamen, though it was notorious that not one fifth part of that treasure belonged to the Spaniards, but was the property of the French, the Dutch, and other trading nations of Europe; and as it was not to be supposed that the sailors would willingly part with what was once declared to be their due, the government would find itself under the very disagreeable necessity, either to violate the present act, in order to make them refund the effects of the neutral nations, or the parliament must load the people with new taxes, in order to make good that money; or, in case of failure of these expedients, Great Britain must be inevitably involved in a war with all the different nations whose property she had thus invaded: that with respect to the granting head-money for every Spaniard taken at sea, he thought it a very wise and proper measure, and therefore he would agree to it as soon as war should be declared: that as to the third article, he thought it of a most dangerous nature; and that if it passed into an act, it must effectually prevent all possibility of concluding any safe or honourable peace, because in all negotiations some places on both sides were usually given up, in order to facilitate the treaty; a method which could not be pursued if his majesty, by letters-patent, should bestow the property on others. He insisted, that such an act would be attended with the absolute ruin of the British commerce all over Europe: he desired the house to consider what must be the case of the British merchants then residing in Spain, their persons, their ships, and their properties, all which the Spaniards would undoubtedly sequester. What, he asked, must the Dutch think of such a bill? or what power in Europe could be our hearty friend, should such a bill be enacted into a law? He then acknowledged the justness of the general complaint; promised that the most effectual means should be employed for redress during the summer; and on its being insinuated that those promises would prove as little effectual as his former efforts of the same kind, he asked, how he should be able to shew his face again in that house, if he did not procure full reparation for the honour of the nation, as well as the loss of our merchants? As to the insinuations, he said, which had been thrown out by those who opposed his measures, merely from a spirit of opposition, that he was afraid of a war, because peace was his only safety, he did not understand upon what they could be grounded: for his part, he declared he never could see any cause, either from reason or from his own experience, to imagine that a minister was not as safe in time of war as in time of peace: nay, were one to judge by reason alone, it was the interest of a minister, conscious of any mismanagement, to engage his country in a war, as the only means to divert the eyes of the public from examining too closely into his conduct; nor was he accountable for the bad success of a war, as he was for that of an administration.

These arguments, with those advanced by other members, were deemed so satisfactory, that the bill was rejected by a considerable majority; the country party, however, determined to dispute every inch of ground. At last Mr. Pulteney brought into the house a set of resolutions, importing, that it was our undoubted and natural right to sail with our ships on any part of the seas of America; and that the freedom of our navigation and commerce

merce had been greatly interrupted by the Spaniards, under pretences altogether groundless and unwarrantable. These, after having undergone some amendments, were unanimously approved, and presented to his majesty. There was an endeavour to propose some other questions, which were thought necessary, because they would more fully and plainly have asserted our rights; but they were overruled: yet this, with the address that followed, was more than sufficient to convince the minister, that the opposition, who had the majority of the people on their side, were determined to bring on a war between us and Spain.

Mean while the lords were no less eager than the commons in enquiring into the subject of the Spanish depredations, and in their resolutions upon this important affair went still farther than the other house; for they not only asserted our undoubted right to navigate in the American seas, "but also to carry all sorts of goods, merchandize, or effects, from one part of his majesty's dominions to any other part thereof; and that no goods being so carried, are, by any treaty subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited goods; and that the searching such ships on the open seas, under pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns." And in the address which accompanied these resolutions, their lordships gave his majesty the strongest and most sincere assurances, that in case his friendly and powerful instances for procuring restitution and reparation to his injured subjects, and for establishing the future security of their trade and navigation, should fail of having their due effect on the court of Spain, they would zealously and cheerfully concur in all such measures as should become most necessary for the support of his majesty's honour, the preservation of the British navigation and commerce, and the common good of these kingdoms.

To this address his majesty was pleased most graciously to reply, that he was sensibly touched with the many hardships and injuries sustained by his trading subjects in America, from the cruelties and unjust depredations of the Spaniards; that they might be assured of his care to procure satisfaction for the injuries they had already suffered, to secure the freedom of navigation for the future, and to maintain his subjects in the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations; and that he doubted not but he should have their assistance in the support of such measures as might be necessary for this purpose.

Thus ended an enquiry, which had, from the first meeting of the parliament, engrossed the attention of the public to the exclusion of every other object. Two millions were granted to his majesty for the service of the current year, and for enabling him to pay to the company of the Bank of England the sum of one million, in order to redeem an annuity of forty thousand pounds, to which they were entitled; and some farther regulations were made for preventing the abuse of spirituous liquors.

On the twentieth of May, 1738, his majesty put an end to the session with a speech, in which he observed, "that, agreeable to what had appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both houses of

parliament, he had given orders to repeat, in the strongest and most pressing manner, his instances at the court of Spain for obtaining satisfaction for the many injuries and losses sustained by his trading subjects in America, and for effectually securing their rights for the future; and he hoped, from the justice and equity of the Catholic king, to procure and establish a free and uninterrupted exercise of trade between the subjects of the two crowns, agreeable to treaties and the law of nations."

The minister now saw himself obliged to give way to the current; accordingly, when the parliament was risen, we put almost our whole navy into commission; and so strongly persuaded was the public, that we should then really attempt to procure ourselves justice by our arms, that even those who still questioned the sincerity of these military preparations, scarcely dared avow their scruples, especially when they saw admiral Haddock, a brave and experienced officer, sent up the Mediterranean with a fleet of fifteen ships of the line. But it soon appeared how very averse the ministry was to engage in a war; for towards the latter end of the summer our hostile measures were suspended, and the nation was told, that Spain, terrified with the apprehensions of a war, had granted us all we could reasonably desire, and had submitted to whatever we could have hoped for even at the end of the most successful war. This, had it been true, was a very fortunate event; as in such a case that court must necessarily have formally disavowed her pretended dominion in the seas of America, and her practice of searching our ships: but how great was the surprize of the public, when, some months after our military preparations had been laid aside, it was confessed by the minister, that nothing had been yet agreed upon! What likewise augmented the general uneasiness, was a discovery said to be made in that interval, that our fleets, sent out during the summer to the West Indies and to the Mediterranean, carried with them no orders to act offensively, or to make any reprisal, though they departed from home long before the pretended submission of Spain, and at a time when the minister made the strongest protestations of his resolute intentions. Probably he imagined he could be able to manage matters so as to prevent a war, which he thought would amply compensate for the sufferings of the merchants, and that the public would be brought to give the preference to a peace, which promised so many advantages to trade and commerce. But he was mistaken: the horrid accounts published in the news papers, and enforced in the antiministerial writings, of the Spanish barbarities, had exasperated all ranks of men beyond any probability of reconciliation with pacific measures. The case which made the greatest noise, was that of one Jenkins, master of an English ship, who had his ear, or part of his ear, cut off by the crew of a guarda-costa, with circumstances of the utmost insolence against the person of his majesty and his subjects. It was now publicly said, that our boasted preparations were never designed against our enemies, but only to amuse the people at home, till Spain was prevailed upon by our intreaties to condescend to treat with us upon any terms, in order that something, bearing the appearance of an agreement, might be produced before the meeting of the parliament, which, however insufficient, might at least serve as an annual expedient of delay, if

if it could not be imposed upon the nation as satisfactory and honourable.

But the insolence of Spain was so much inflated by these measures, that no agreement could be procured from that court till after the usual time of convoking the parliament, which was prorogued in expectation of it, and afterwards adjourned, in order to get the articles ratified: however, during the prorogation and adjournment the long-expected convention arrived, and was soon after published to the nation.

Four days after the conclusion of the session (viz. on the twenty-fourth of May, since the alteration of style the fourth of June) the princess of Wales was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of George, and is our present most august sovereign. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings; addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by the two universities, and almost all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. But the prince of Wales still laboured under the displeasure of his majesty, who ordered the lord chamberlain to signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited the prince, should be admitted into his majesty's presence.

A spirit of riot and misrule discovered itself amongst the lower class of people, in different parts of the kingdom, during the course of this year, chiefly owing, as was supposed, to the intemperate use of that pernicious compound, gin. The most dangerous tumults were in the western counties of England, where a number of journeymen weavers rose in a riotous manner, and committed the most terrible outrages against the persons and properties of several masters in that branch of trade, by whom they imagined themselves ill used. The affair at length grew so serious, that the government was obliged to quarter bodies of troops in several of the borough and market-towns, to prevent the sedition spreading farther. The metropolis itself was also far from being free from tumults and disorders; in particular, a most dangerous insult was committed upon justice, by a party of sailors at Wapping, who cut down from the gibbet, and brought to life, one Buchanan, who had been condemned to be hanged for murder; and notwithstanding the atrociousness of the crime, and the danger of the example, so much were the offenders favoured by the public, that not one of them could ever be discovered.

About the middle of October the prince and princess of Wales went to Bath, and staid there near six weeks, in which time they paid a visit to the city of Bristol, where they were entertained with great magnificence and signs of the most cordial affection. In this year a charter passed the great-seal for establishing an hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children, commonly called the Foundling Hospital; an institution which had been brought to bear by the indefatigable care and pains of one captain Coram, who had spent great part of his life in North America, and who ruined his private fortune by his application for its success, which he afterwards brought to bear at a time when, by the course of nature, he could have but a very few years to enjoy the accomplishment of his noble design. About the same time a most noble general hospital was founded at Bath, as was another at Edinburgh, upon voluntary subscriptions; and another was projected at York. It is

the province of history to record acts of this nature, which do honour to humanity.

The first session of parliament of the year 1739 was opened on February 1, when his majesty acquainted both houses in a speech, that, supported by the concurrent advice of both houses of parliament, he had lost no time in making preparations to do himself and his people justice, if the conduct of the court of Spain had laid him under that necessity: that he had at the same time, in the strongest terms, repeated his instances for obtaining such reparation for the many injuries and losses already sustained, and such effectual security for the future, as might prevent the consequences of an open rupture: that he had now the satisfaction to acquaint them, that the measures he had pursued had been so successful, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, by which, upon a strict examination of the demands on both sides, that prince had obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects, by the payment of a certain stipulated sum: that plenipotentiaries were likewise named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted the British commerce and navigation in the American seas; and for settling all matters in dispute in such a manner as might, for the future, prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint, by a strict observance of our mutual treaties, and a just regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each nation: and, finally, that he would order the convention to be laid before them.

The chief point with the ministry now was to make the convention (of which a copy had by some means been procured and published) pass the two houses of parliament, by procuring an address of thanks to his majesty for the communicating it to them, which at the same time would be esteemed an approbation of the measures. The motion met with great opposition, but was at last carried in the affirmative in both houses, in the commons by a majority of twenty-eight.

By this convention it was agreed, in substance as follows:

" I. That immediately after the signing thereof, two plenipotentiaries on each side should meet at Madrid, within six weeks after the day of exchanging the ratifications, there to confer and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns.

" II. Until the limits of Florida and Carolina can be adjusted, things shall remain there in their present situation.

" III. His Catholic majesty shall cause to be paid to his Britannic majesty the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, as a ballance admitted to be due to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demand of the crown and subjects of Spain, to the end that the above-mentioned sum, together with the account of what has been acknowledged on the part of Great Britain to be due to Spain, on her demands, may be employed by his Britannic majesty for the satisfaction and payment of the demand of his subjects upon the crown of Spain. But this reciprocal discharge shall not relate nor extend to the differences subsisting between the crown of Spain and the South Sea company,

company, nor to any particular nor private contract between either of the two crowns or their ministers with the subjects of the other, or between the subjects of the one crown with those of the other.

“IV. If it should happen that, in consequence of orders dispatched by the court of Spain, any part of the value of certain (named) ships taken from the English, and included in the ninety-five thousand pounds, be already paid, the same shall be deducted therefrom.”

There were, besides, two separate articles, the first, importing, that the above-mentioned sum of ninety-five thousand pounds was to be paid at London, within four months after the exchange of the ratification.

By the second separate article it was stipulated, that the third article of the above convention shall not extend to ships taken since the tenth of December, 1737; in which cases justice shall be done, according to the treaties, as if the convention had not been made. It being however understood that this relates only to the indemnification and satisfaction to be made for the effects seized, or prizes taken; but that the decision of the cases which may happen, in order to remove all pretext for dispute, is to be referred to the plenipotentiaries, to be determined according to the treaties.

This is the substance of a convention which made so much noise in Europe, and had almost ruined the internal tranquillity of England. What gave the greatest disgust of all here was, the king of Spain's following declaration and protest, which he insisted on as a preliminary condition of his ratifying the above convention, viz. “That he reserves to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the *Asiento* for negroes, and of dispatching the necessary orders for the execution thereof, in case the South-sea company doth not subject itself to pay, within a short term, the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling, which it has confessed to be owing on the duty for negroes, according to the regulation of fifty-two pence per dollar, and on the profits of the ship *Royal Caroline*. And farther declares, That under the validity and force of this protest the signing of the said convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner.”

The injustice of this previous demand on the company was so apparent, that soon after the said company's general court, on the first of March, resolved not to pay the same without the king of Spain's coming to a just account with them for all the seizures and captures of their ships and merchandize, which he had engaged to refund to them.

The country party seeing every thing thus carried before the minister; and that writing, speaking, and voting was no longer effectual, they determined to try some other means to quicken the sense of the nation. This produced the *SECESSION* (as it was called) by which a considerable number of members retired into the country, and gave no more attendance during the whole session; and about forty lords entered their protests upon the address to his majesty receiving the approbation of their house. The secession seems to have been suggested by sir William Wyndham, who made no secret during the debate, that should the convention be approved, they were determined never

again to come into the house. The question therefore was no sooner decided than sir William Wyndham stood up, and expressed himself in the following terms:

“This address (to congratulate his majesty on the success of his royal endeavours in concluding a convention with the king of Spain) is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and honourable treaty: but if a majority of thirty members in such a full house, should fail of that success; if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this house, What will be the consequence? Will not the parliament lose its authority? Will it not be thought, that, even in parliament, we are governed by a faction? And what the consequence of this may be, I leave to those gentlemen to consider, who have given now their vote for this address. For my own part, I will trouble you no more; but, with these my last words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously continue his protection over them, by preserving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within.”

Sir William then left the house, and with him upwards of sixty members, who chose to withdraw after they had given their testimony against this measure of the minister, lest even their attendance and fruitless opposition might seem to justify and give a sanction to what they could not approve. The friends of the minister were so exasperated against sir William, on account of this speech, that they were actually going to move to send him to the Tower; but sir Robert, who possessed an admirable fortitude and coolness in all critical events, restrained them; but afterwards he himself, in a long and eloquent speech, painted the opposition in terms more severe than he had ever before been known to make use of: he likened their conduct to that of the Jacobites, who absented themselves from parliament at the time when the bishop of Rochester was tried and condemned.

Mean while the convention was no less strenuously opposed in the upper house. Lord Carteret, who took the lead in the arguments against it, observed, that possibly one of the contracting parties had presented a protest or declaration, importing, that he acceded to such or such a measure, only upon condition, that the terms of that protest or declaration should be made good, “therefore (continued he) until my mind can be free from the most distant suspicion that such a protest may excite in the present case, I cannot form a just opinion of the transaction itself, nor communicate to your lordships any light that may be necessary for that purpose.”

His lordship, in this part of his speech, alluded to a protest that had been actually made by the marquis de la Quadra, the king of Spain's minister, previous to his master's ratifying the convention, in terms already mentioned. This protest had been delivered to Mr. Keene, the British ambassador, at Madrid, who had promised, that if the South Sea company really owed the sum insisted upon in this declaration (a circumstance of which he declared himself at that time entirely ignorant), he would engage it should be paid with the utmost punctuality. This conduct of Mr. Keene was greatly

greatly censured by all the members in the opposition, who insisted, that he ought not to have so far forgot his character as to have accepted the protest: nay, they did not spare to say, that the whole transaction had been carried on by our minister at home, who was ready to give up the honour and advantage of his sovereign and the nation, rather than enter into a war with Spain. These suggestions were replied to, and the character of the minister at home, and our plenipotentiary abroad, strongly vindicated by the lord Hervey, and other peers of the court party. After some debate a motion was made, "That a day should be appointed for examining the directors of the South Sea company touching the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds, mentioned in the declaration given to the British minister, and claimed by his Catholic majesty, as a debt due to him by the said company, and that the directors of that company be ordered to attend at the bar of the house for that purpose."

This motion was opposed by lord Hervey and the earl of Ilay, who said, that the South Sea company was a trading body, and as such, had undoubtedly secrets in trade, which it would be very unjust, as well as impolitic, to oblige them to reveal at the bar of the house; besides, they thought, that in any event, a protest signed but by one minister, and that too relating to a mercantile transaction, ought not to be considered as affecting the validity of a public treaty, nor ought it to come under the cognizance of that house, but the whole matter ought to be (as they doubted not it easily would be) settled by the South Sea company and the Spanish minister at London, without the intervention of any other power; and that therefore the motion ought not to be approved if it could be avoided.

The duke of Argyll, on the other hand, strongly defended the motion: he declared himself to be of a very different opinion from the noble lord who had spoken on the other side of the question; and that, so far from considering this as the affair of only one set of men in the kingdom, he looked upon it as an affair that nearly concerned the honour of the crown, since the Spanish minister by his declaration allowed no strength, no validity to the convention, any farther than the terms of his demands were complied with. As to Mr. Keene's conduct, however other people might affect to defend it, he would venture to assert that it could by no means be justified. His grace then proceeded to tell the house, upon the best information, that the declaration was made in due form, before the convention was either signed or ratified; so that if the South-sea company should refuse to pay the sixty-eight thousand pounds, he was certain that the Spanish court would insist upon a nullity of all that had been done. They would tell us, that this declaration was of the same force with any article of the convention: that they had given us fair warning of it before the treaty was signed; and that, if we had not been pleased with the terms, we were under no obligation to sign the convention, since it was not their fault if we were not sufficiently apprised of the consequences. His grace owned, indeed, that the king of Spain had a right to demand from the South-sea company the performance of engagements entered into by them: he said, he could not conceive that his Ca-

tholic majesty had any right to tell them, that if they would not pay whatever arbitrary demand he was pleased to make, he would revoke the contract. Upon the whole, his grace declared, he was for complying with the motion, that the house might have the opportunity of strengthening his majesty's hands, the better to enable him to obtain justice for the company, as well as the rest of his subjects. Notwithstanding these, and many other sensible and cogent arguments in favour of the motion, it was thrown out on a division, by a majority of forty-nine against forty-two.

A message having been delivered to the upper house from his majesty, importing, that he had settled thirty-nine thousand pounds per annum on the younger children of his family, and desiring their lordships would bring in a bill to enable him to make that provision good; after some debate the house complied with his majesty's request, and a bill was ordered to be prepared for the purpose.

On the tenth of May the duke of Newcastle produced a subsidy-treaty, by which his majesty obliged himself to pay to the king of Denmark seventy thousand pounds per annum, on condition of that prince's furnishing his Britannic majesty a body of six thousand men when demanded. At the same time his grace delivered a message from the king, desiring the house would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and also to raise what money and troops the exigency of affairs might require during the approaching recess of the parliament.

This demand was violently opposed by the anti-ministerial lords, at the head of whom was lord Carteret, and as vigorously supported by the other side. In the end, it was approved by the majority, and an address was presented, assuring his majesty that the house would support him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making such further augmentation of his forces by sea and land as he should think necessary for the honour, interest, and safety of his kingdoms.

The same message being communicated to the commons, they voted seventy-five thousand five hundred and eighty-three pounds for the subsidy to Denmark, and five hundred thousand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great Britain stood engaged by the convention to pay to the crown of Spain the sum of sixty thousand pounds, in consideration of the ships taken and destroyed by sir George Byng, in the year 1718; which sum was to be applied to the relief of the British merchants who had suffered by the Spanish depredations, the commons inserted in the bill a clause, providing for this sum to be paid by parliament.

In the course of this session a very salutary law passed for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture, and two bills in behalf of the sugar colonies; one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper restrictions; the other, making more effectual provisions for securing the duties laid upon the importation of foreign sugars, rum, and molasses, into Great Britain, and his majesty's plantations in America.

The public business being entirely finished, the king came to the house of peers on the fourteenth day of June, and put an end to the session with a short

short speech, in which he recommended unanimity amongst ourselves, as the only sure means of disappointing the expectations of our enemies.

And now the rumour of a war with Spain began to revive, notwithstanding the parliamentary sanction the convention had received: for the king of Spain did not only suffer the four months to elapse, within which time he was to pay the before-mentioned ninety-five thousand pounds, on pretext of the South Sea company's failure of paying his demand of the sixty-eight thousand pounds; but instead of fulfilling the terms of the convention, he ordered seizures to be made of the ships and goods of his majesty's subjects wherever they could be found, in his dominions or otherwise: and also ordered all the British subjects in his dominions to depart in a shorter time than allowed by treaties. This proceeding put an end to the conferences which we had still carried on with that crown; and Mr. Keene presented a thundering declaration to the court of Madrid, which was followed by an order of council at home (dated July 10, this year, 1739) for granting letters of marque and reprisal to our merchants. The preamble to this order breathes a true spirit of resentment, and had the honour to be signed by the two archbishops, and some other privy counsellors, in the absence of the minister, who had retired into the country. In the mean while, the land forces were augmented; many ships were put into commission; and there was a very hot press for seamen to man them; for which purpose an embargo was laid on all merchant-ships; and several other steps were taken that seemed to give countenance to the earnest hopes and expectations of the nation.

The orders for reprisals had been very prudently dispatched, above a month before their publication in London, to commodore Brown, who then commanded a squadron at Jamaica, in order to give him an opportunity of making the best use of them before the Spaniards could have notice of their designs, and consequently be prepared against them. A resolution was also formed of endeavouring to preclude the Spaniards from the resources of their wealth in the West Indies and the South Seas.

With this view two squadrons were immediately ordered to be got ready with all expedition; the one to be put under the command of George Anson, esq. who was then captain of his majesty's ship the *Centurion*; and the other, under that of captain Cornwall. The squadron under Mr. Anson was to take a regiment of foot on board, with three independent companies, to be commanded by colonel Bland, to set sail with all possible expedition, and not to call at any place till they reached Java Head in the East Indies, and there stay no longer than to take in water, and afterwards proceed to Manila in Luconia, one of the Philippine islands belonging to the Spaniards. Captain Cornwall's squadron was to be of equal strength with the former, and to pass round Cape Horn, directly into the South Seas; and after cruising along that coast, and attempting the Spanish settlements there, if practicable, was in its return to rendezvous at Manila; and after its junction with captain Anson, the squadrons were to act in concert for the execution of some considerable projects, for which they were to receive farther orders. This scheme was in general so well

liked by the nation, that about the beginning of September orders were sent by a small vessel to captain Anson, to return with his ships directly to Portsmouth.

The great view of the nation being now to distress the Spaniards, in order to promote it the more effectually, another squadron was ordered to be fitted out for the West Indies; and the command of it given to Edward Vernon, esq. then just made vice-admiral of the blue, who, on account of the eminent services he had formerly done his country in that part of the world, was looked on by all as the most proper person to be entrusted with so important an enterprize. Though the conduct, fidelity, and diligence of this brave sea commander, added to a thorough knowledge of the American seas, had been already sufficiently shewn, to the entire satisfaction of the nation, yet his services had been hitherto disregarded, at least unrewarded, by the government. But though his rank among the flag officers had been so long overlooked and neglected; and though he had withdrawn from any public employment, and on several accounts had been disgusted at the conduct of the ministry; yet upon application made to him to undertake the command of a squadron for the service of his country, he immediately laid aside all private animosity, and sacrificing every other consideration to the welfare of the public, very cheerfully obeyed the summons, desiring only a few days to settle his family affairs. The squadron being got ready, the admiral was, under his majesty's sign-manual, appointed commander in chief of all his ships in the West Indies. Soon after, arriving at Portsmouth, he took under his command nine ships of the line, besides lesser vessels, and soon after sailed on his expedition.

In the beginning of September don Geraldino, the king of Spain's envoy-extraordinary, and Terry, his agent at London for the Affiento contract, both left this kingdom, and returned home; and Mr. Keene, the British minister, left Madrid about the same time. On the nineteenth of October his majesty signed a declaration of war against Spain, which was proclaimed on the twenty-third in the usual manner, and at the accustomed places, amidst innumerable crowds of people, who testified their satisfaction thereat. In his declaration, his majesty charges the king of Spain with breaking the convention lately concluded, by not paying the stipulated sum, admitted to be due to the subjects of Great Britain, in the time appointed; and alleges, that his declaring war against the said king is for the maintaining the honour of his crown and kingdom, and for the obtaining redress for the much-injured merchants and traders who, from all parts of the kingdom, made earnest petition for relief. It was indeed high time for our government to take this step (though done with more than seeming reluctance) for the violence and insolence of the Spaniards in America were become absolutely intolerable, principally owing to our own shamefully pusillanimous temporizing at any rate, rather than resolutely doing ourselves justice by force of arms.

In some little time after the declaration of war, an account came from admiral Haddock of his having taken two rich Caracca ships; but this good news was in some measure allayed by the escape of the *Affogue* ships, the intercepting of which

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was the chief object of our government. These ships, instead of coming from La Vera Cruz, by the Madeira or Canary Islands, as usual, sailed by the Bahamas, north about, and then westward, till within sight of Ireland, and so by the Land's-End of England, made Ushant (the point of France) whence creeping along shore, they at last crossed the Bay of Biscay. A squadron of the English fleet was then cruising off Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, and another off Cape Finisterre; but the Spanish admiral, by some means or other, seems to have had notice of all their stations, and took care not to come within eighty or one hundred leagues of them.

We heard of nothing for some time but places sacked, ships taken, and all advantages gained on our side. The Spaniards were in the utmost consternation, and seemed neither to have power nor inclination to oppose our progress.

Mean while, the conduct of the French court and the States-general gave occasion to various surmises. It was strongly apprehended that the former, notwithstanding their professions to the contrary, would declare in favour of the Spaniards, while the latter appeared disposed to observe a strict neutrality. Mr. Horace Walpole, the minister's brother, had been sent to the Hague, in order, if possible, to persuade the States-general to espouse our cause; but all he could obtain from their High Mightinesses was a vague promise, that they would still continue to cultivate the friendship of the English; and would not fail, in case of necessity, to furnish us with the succours stipulated by treaty.

The events of war still proved very unfavourable to the emperor: he had bestowed the command of his army upon veldt-marshal count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and advanced towards Crotzka, where he was attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in which he lost above six thousand men. The Turks were afterwards routed at Jaboutra: nevertheless, their grand army invested Belgrade on the side of Servia, and carried on the operations of the siege with extraordinary vigour. The emperor dreading the loss of the place, seeing his finances exhausted, and his army considerably diminished, consented to a negotiation for peace, which was finally concluded in the month of November. By this treaty the house of Austria ceded to the grand seignior, Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Austrian Wallachia, the isle and fortrefs of Orseva, with the fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave should serve as boundaries to the two empires.

The Russian general, count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Ottoman forces at Cholzun in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place; but the czarina finding herself abandoned by the emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Turkish empire, took the first opportunity of putting an end to the war, upon honourable terms. After a short negotiation the conferences ended in a treaty, by which the czarina was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits were re-established between the two empires.

The vast trade which England enjoyed at the beginning of this war proved of the greatest detriment to herself, and advantage to her enemies, as it presented them with the more frequent opportunities of making captures at sea. The French lent them both ships and seamen, who sailed under Spanish colours; and their success in privateering at first was so great, that the commercial part of the nation exclaimed vehemently, and not without some shew of reason, at the negligence of the admiralty in providing proper convoys for our merchant ships. The city of London, as the greatest sufferer on this occasion, was inflamed to a degree of distraction against the minister, whom they accused of turning against his country a war, into which, it was well known, he had been forced against his will, and which he was wont contemptuously to stile "the merchants war." Thanks were ordered to the city members for their having opposed the convention; and at the same time a paper of instructions to them was drawn up, replete with the most stinging reflections on the minister and his measures, and requiring the members to make the passing a place and pension-bill the previous step to the passing of any money-bill whatever. The example of London was followed by other great cities and corporations all over England. This proceeding was represented, by the friends of the ministry, as utterly unconstitutional, and tending to deprive the representatives of that very liberty which their constituents seemed so earnestly to contend for. But here I would beg leave to ask, what other way those constituents could possibly find of making known their real sentiments to their representatives, whose duty it most undoubtedly is to deliver to the great assembly of the nation the sense of that part of it which they have the honour to represent? The Londoners gave still more remarkable instances of their resentment against those who voted for the convention, by setting aside sir George Champion, member for Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, the next alderman in rotation to the chair, from being lord-mayor this year, which office he was never after suffered to possess, because he gave his vote to that measure. For several years this innovation caused great feuds in the city at the annual election of a mayor.

This year was distinguished by the rise of a new religious sect, called Methodists, the disciples of one Whitefield, a clergyman of a warm and enthusiastic turn, and of two brothers named Wesley, who have since found so many votaries amongst the common people, as greatly to alarm the friends of rational religion and true piety.

The British parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of November, his majesty in his speech informed both houses, that he had augmented his forces both by sea and land; but expressed his apprehension that the court of Spain had been encouraged to that conduct which had made it necessary for him to have recourse to arms, by the heats and animosities which had been raised here at home. Affectionate addresses were presented by both houses, after a faint opposition made by the ministry.

In the course of the debate on this subject in the lower house, sir John Barnard took occasion to complain of the little care that had been taken, since the commencement of hostilities, to protect the traders of Great Britain, who, he affirmed, had been

been much greater sufferers by captures than the Spaniards. In answer to this insinuation sir Charles Wager, then at the head of the admiralty-board, observed, that as to the English having been greater sufferers by captures than the Spaniards, he believed it was true, and there was a sufficient, perhaps an invincible, reason for it; namely, that the former had a great deal more to lose than the latter: that the sea was covered with English ships, and the extent of their trade gave the Spaniards an opportunity of making frequent captures: that the Spaniards had but very little foreign commerce in Europe, and the little they had was carried on in neutral bottoms, so that the flags of other nations protected their property; but that, in his opinion, the war in all other respects had been duly prosecuted. He then proceeded to shew, that the government had no fewer than thirty-four ships of war employed in its service in the West Indies; a greater number than had ever been employed in those parts in any former period.

The seceding members had now resumed their seats in the lower house; and Mr. Pulteney, in an eloquent speech, thought proper to vindicate their conduct in the extraordinary step they had taken. He was answered by sir Robert Walpole, who was pretty severe upon the late secession, which he treated with a good deal of contempt and indignation. He asserted, that it was chiefly owing to their absence that so many useful and popular bills were passed towards the end of the last session; and if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he should not be at all sorry to see them secede again.

The minority, however, continued inflexible in their opposition to the ministry; and on the twenty-first of November sir W. Wyndham, at the end of a long speech, in which he inveighed with great acrimony against the conduct of the administration, moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, as a dutiful return to his gracious desire of the advice of his parliament at this critical and important juncture; and as a farther testimony of their firm resolution vigorously to support his majesty in the prosecution of the war against Spain, humbly to beseech his majesty never to agree to any treaty or negotiation for a peace with that crown, unless the acknowledgement of the natural and undoubted right which the English had to navigate in the American seas, to and from any part of his majesty's dominions, without being seized, searched, visited, or stopped, under any pretence whatsoever, shall have been first obtained as a preliminary article."

This motion was too reasonable and popular for the minister to venture to oppose. It accordingly passed without a contradictory voice, met with the concurrence of the lords, and on the twenty-third of November was presented by both houses to his majesty, who in his answer was pleased to tell them, that their unanimous and vigorous support, by enabling him to carry on the war, would be the best means for procuring a safe and honourable peace; and that they might depend upon his using his utmost endeavours to obtain effectual security for the just rights of navigation and commerce belonging to his subjects.

Mr. Pulteney soon after revived a bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of seamen, which, after a long dispute and eager opposition on the part of the ministry, passed both

houses, and obtained the royal assent. It is hereby enacted, that during the present war merchant ships may be navigated by any number of foreign seamen not exceeding three-fourths of the ship's company: and for the better encouragement of foreign seamen to serve on board British ships during this war, such foreign seamen serving (as well on board our merchant-men as ships of war) for two years, shall afterward be deemed, in all respects, natural-born subjects, but without capability of enjoying any posts or offices of trust, &c. under the government. This act also empowers the crown in any future war, by proclamation, *during such war and no longer*, to permit the like number of foreign seamen to serve in merchant ships, privateers, and men of war. This prudent law was followed by another very wise one, in sundry respects resembling it, viz. An act for naturalizing foreign protestants in the British American plantations. The more immediate object of this statute was in favour of some thousands of protestants persecuted and oppressed in Germany and elsewhere; all of whom were, before and about this time, settled in the different provinces of the British continent colonies of America, chiefly on the back parts thereof westward. As a further encouragement to seamen to enter into his majesty's service, a proclamation was soon after published, importing, "That his majesty would grant to his subjects separate or united charters or commissions, for the more effectual enabling them to attack or destroy the ships, goods, factories, and settlements of the Spaniards, and to secure to them and their heirs the full and undoubted right, property, and title, to what they should take or cause to be taken from the enemy."

The minority having, in their observations upon the management of the war, complained, amongst other things, of admiral Vernon having been sent out of Great Britain without a supply of land forces, the government, to remedy this inconvenience, had given orders for raising six regiments of marines, to consist in the whole of four thousand eight hundred and ninety men, at the expence of one hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and fourteen pounds to the public. When this estimate was laid before the house of commons, Mr. Sandys, or lord Polwarth (I am not clear which) moved for an address to the king, desiring that this body of forces should be composed of draughts from the old regiments: that as few officers should be appointed as the nature of the service would admit: and that the house would recommend this method to his majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burthened with many heavy and grievous taxes. Although this motion was calculated to answer the most just and salutary purposes, yet, as it tended to deprive the ministry of an opportunity of greatly extending its influence by new creations, they set all their force to oppose it; and it was finally rejected, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-seven against ninety-five.

The minority were not discouraged by this repulse, but renewed their attacks against the minister, in the form of several motions, for enquiring into the conduct of those who concluded the convention, &c. &c. But they were all over-ruled.

The pension-bill was again revived, and so powerfully supported by the eloquence of Mr. Pulteney,

for W. Wyndham, and Mr. Lyttleton, that it made its way through the lower to the upper house; but there it was again lost, upon a division, after a long and violent debate.

On February 12, after all the estimates for the service of the current year had been ordered in, sir Robert Walpole (as chancellor of the Exchequer) presented to the house a message from his majesty, importing, that having under his royal consideration certain measures which would be attended with some extraordinary expences, not comprehended in the estimates laid before the house, his majesty hoped they would enable him to carry on the same in the most effectual manner. This message was referred, without one contradictory voice, to the committee of supply, who, upon the fourteenth of the same month, resolved to grant his majesty two hundred thousand pounds to account for carrying on the war, and about nine thousand five hundred pounds for services that year, not provided for by parliament; which was agreed to by the house. A million was likewise granted out of the sinking fund, and about two hundred thousand pounds for the ordinary of the navy.

The government having found very great difficulty in manning their ships of war; and the practice of pressing for that purpose having been long a subject of complaint in England; sir Charles Wager presented a bill to the house for registering all seamen, watermen, fishermen, lightermen, keelmen, bargemen, and sea-faring men, capable of serving at sea throughout his majesty's dominions. The minority exclaimed against this practice as of French origin, and tending to reduce a British sailor to the most abject degree of slavery. In fine, by mere force of declamation of the anti-ministerial party, this measure was rendered so odious, that it was judged most prudent to drop it for the present. Here I cannot help observing, that the gentlemen in the opposition seemed to act more from a principle of animosity to the minister, than from a true attention to the good of their country; for sure we stand in great need of some such method of having always in readiness a competent number of seamen to man the royal navy, without having recourse to the barbarous and unconstitutional practice of pressing. The bill offered by sir Charles had in it perhaps some restrictions not strictly consistent with the freedom of Englishmen; but surely such amendments might have been made therein as would have rendered it a constitutional and wholesome law.

The king having by message communicated to the house his intention of disposing of his daughter the princess Mary in marriage to prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, and expressed his hope that the commons would enable him to give a suitable portion with his daughter, they unanimously agreed to grant forty thousand pounds for that purpose, and presented an address of thanks to his majesty for having communicated to the house this intended marriage.

The two first months of the year 1740 were distinguished by a most intense frost, which began on Christmas day 1739, and continued almost eight weeks. The Thames was entirely frozen up, and multitudes of people walked over that river upon the ice. Carriages of all kinds passed to and fro as on firm ground. Booths were erected, and a public fair kept upon it. The poor were very

great sufferers by this calamity, as the price of coals and other necessaries of life was very high, particularly towards the close of the frost. Let it however be recorded, to the honour of English humanity, that the charity and munificence of the great and opulent kept pace with the distresses of their wretched fellow-creatures. The benevolence of his majesty and the royal family set the example to the nobility, who were readily followed in so laudable a work, by all such who had the power of relieving the wants of those in less happy circumstances. Societies for the more equal distribution of private charities were every where formed, and some of the most distinguished personages in the kingdom made it their pride to become not only stewards, but even collectors for the poor.

Little more remains to add to the history of parliament this session, save the mention of some excellent laws of which it was productive. A bill for prohibiting commerce with Spain created some difference between the two houses, which occasioned several conferences; but the lords at last dropped their amendment, and it passed. The state of paper-money in the British colonies in America was taken into consideration, and found to be very deplorable, and prejudicial to trade; and several unanimous resolutions for addressing his majesty on that head were passed by the commons, particularly, that his majesty should require and command the respective governors of his colonies and plantations in America not to give assent to, or pass any act whereby bills of credit may be issued in lieu of money, without a clause to be inserted in such act, declaring that the same shall not take effect until the said act should be approved by his majesty. An excellent law was continued relating to the premiums upon the importation of all kinds of materials for ship-rigging, and for encouraging the Greenland fishery, by granting a farther bounty to all ships employed in the whale-fishery during the war, and for protecting their crews from being impressed.

On the twenty-ninth of April his majesty put an end to the session by a speech, in which he thanked the commons for the supplies they had so liberally granted, recommended unanimity and concord to both houses, and expressed his hopes that the preparations which he was making for carrying on the war, in the most vigorous and effectual manner, would be blessed with success, equal to the justice of his cause. The parliament was then prorogued to the third of June, and by various prorogations afterwards to the eighteenth of November following. In the beginning of May his majesty set out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency. In a few days after his departure the marriage of the princess Mary with the prince of Hesse was solemnized by proxy, the duke of Cumberland standing for that prince; and in June her highness sailed for the continent. Some little time before the session of parliament broke up, the duke of Argyll resigned all his posts under the government. So much for the common domestic occurrences of this period. I now come to consider events more interesting to the public, and such as for a time filled the nation with great satisfaction, and seemed to charm the voice of opposition into silence.

On the thirteenth of March, while the British parliament was yet sitting, captain Rentone arrived from

from vice-admiral Vernon, with the important advice that he had made himself master of the town and forts of Porto Bello, with six ships only.

PORTO BELLO stands on the north side of the Isthmus of Darien, which, running from east to west betwixt the North and South Seas, joins the two continents of North and South America. It is eighteen leagues from Panama, which lies on the north side of the Isthmus, has a convenient bay about a mile deep, with good anchorage and shelter for ships, and near half a mile broad at the mouth of the river. At the entrance of the north side of the bay, close by a steep rock, stood a strong castle, called the Iron Castle, mounting seventy-eight great guns, with a battery beneath, parallel with the water, of twenty-two guns. The castle and fort were defended by a garrison of three hundred men. On the opposite side of the bay, but about a mile farther up, on an eminence, stood La Gloria, another castle, consisting of two regular bastions toward the sea, mounting ninety guns, with a curtain between of twenty-two guns, besides a line of eight guns pointing to the mouth of the harbour; the whole defended by four hundred men. A little above this castle, near the other end of the town, on a point running into the bay, stood Fort St. Jeronymo, a sort of quadrangular redoubt, strongly built, well mounted with cannon, and properly manned. Under the cannon of Gloria Castle and Fort St. Jeronymo, all the enemy's ships in the harbour rode at anchor; and this defence, with the guns of the Iron Castle, rendered the entrance of the harbour extremely difficult. At the bottom of the harbour lies the town of Porto Bello, built along the shore in the form of a crescent. It is the market through which all the wealth of Peru, and the manufactures of Europe, circulate annually. It was taken by the Buccaneers in 1688; but afterwards, being refortified more strongly, it had for some time been reckoned impregnable; so that it was formally given out, that a squadron of ships, and at least eight thousand men, could not take it, when the British ships lay rotting, and our sailors dying away, at the Bastimentos, under the unfortunate Hosier. Admiral Vernon, however, had, some time before this expedition, given out that he would engage to take it with "only six ships of war." He proved the truth of his assertion, in the manner I shall now relate.

Admiral Vernon arrived at Port Royal at Jamaica on the twelfth of October, 1739, where he first took care to notify his arrival to Mr. Trelawney, the governor of that island; and at the same time desired his assistance and concurrence in the enterprise for which he had been ordered into those parts, assuring him of his own zeal to execute the same, and his endeavours to maintain the most cordial harmony with his excellency. The admiral was, soon after his arrival, joined by commodore Brown, with the Hampton Court only; and having obtained a full state of the Spanish shipping in those seas, and the places at which they were stationed, he from thence concluded that they had concerted to meet at Carthagena, in order to go and open the fair at Porto Bello, the money having been some time before carried from Panama: he therefore resolved to sail immediately, and get, if possible, to Porto Bello before them, that he might lose no time. Upon communicating his

instructions, and the proper signals, to his captains, and having taken in the necessary stores, on the third of November he ordered commodore Brown to hoist his distinguishing pendant on board the Hampton Court, and get ready to sail with the other captains, on the fifth, early in the morning. The admiral's whole squadron was to be employed on this service, consisting of six ships only, viz. the Burford, his own ship (with captain Watson under him) of seventy guns, and five hundred men; the Hampton Court, the commodore's ship (who had captain Dent under him) of seventy guns, and four hundred and ninety-five men; the Worcester, captain Perry Mayne, of sixty guns and four hundred men; the Stafford, captain Trevor, of sixty guns, and four hundred men; the Princess Louisa, captain Waterhouse, of sixty guns, and four hundred men; the Norwich, captain Herbert, of fifty guns, and three hundred men; the whole number of sailors on board this squadron being two thousand four hundred and ninety-five men, besides two hundred land forces, commanded by captain Newton.

On the fifth the admiral sailed from Port Royal, and steered for Porto Bello; but by reason of contrary winds, it was the evening of the twentieth before he could get sight of that harbour; and then, there being but little wind stirring, left his squadron should be driven to the eastward of the harbour, he made the signal for coming to an anchor, about six leagues off the shore. On the twenty-first in the morning, he plied in line of battle to windward; but the wind still continuing easterly, he was forced to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, close to which captain Rentone piloted the squadron.

Commodore Brown, in the Hampton Court, who led the attack with undaunted resolution, having fired upwards of four hundred shot in about twenty-five minutes at the Iron Fort, and being well seconded by captain Herbert in the Norwich, and captain Mayne in the Worcester, the admiral perceived that the Spaniards had quitted several parts of the fort; whereupon he made a signal for the boats, in which were about forty sailors, with a company of marines and their officers, to land with all imaginable expedition, whilst he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The admiral luffing up as near the fort as he conveniently could, was saluted with a whole volley, every shot of which almost took place, though but three men were killed, and five wounded. Our sailors, whose courage always increases with danger, returned their salute so effectually, that though the enemy discharged a few more shot, they did us afterwards no considerable damage; for the fire of the Burford's small arms scoured the lower batteries of the Spaniards, driving them from thence, where they could do most execution: and by this means also our men were secured in landing. As soon as they had set foot on shore, our seamen began scaling the walls, which they chiefly performed by one man setting himself close under an embrasure, whilst another climbed upon his shoulders; and thus they entered under the mouths of the great guns, which struck such a general panic into the Spaniards, that the officers and men at the lower batteries quitted them, and fled further up into the fort, after they had first hung out a white flag for capitulating; which the admiral answered with
another

another from his ship; but such was the eagerness of the men on board his ship and the *Stafford*, that it was some time before they could be made to desist from firing.

In the mean while, the seamen who had climbed up the walls of the lower battery having first struck the colours, afterwards drew up the soldiers; upon which the Spaniards, who had retreated into the castle, surrendered at discretion. Of these only five officers and thirty-five men remained out of three hundred, the rest having been killed, wounded, or made their escape.

The ships which had gone in before the admiral fell so far to leeward, that they were not within sight of *Gloria Castle*; but the admiral's own ship lying open to it, the Spaniards kept firing one of their largest guns at him till night, but did little or no execution.

Next morning, being the twenty-second, the admiral went on board the *Hampton Court*, commodore Brown, in order to call a council of war, and give the necessary directions for warping the ships up in the night, to attack *Gloria Castle*, as it would have been impracticable to have attempted it in the day time. But in this he was prevented, by the enemy's hoisting a white flag, and sending a boat with a flag of truce to the admiral, and the conditions signed on which they desired to capitulate; which were, "That the governor would deliver up all the fortifications, provided the garrison might be allowed to march out with the honours of war; have an indemnity for themselves, the town, and the inhabitants; and be permitted to keep all the ships in the harbour. This last article could not by any means be admitted, the admiral being resolved to have those ships which had done the English merchants all the damages they complained of on these coasts. Accordingly, he drew up the articles on which he was willing to treat, and sent them back to the governor, allowing him only a few hours to take his resolution: but within the time limited the conditions offered were accepted; in consequence of which the admiral sent captain Newton, who commanded the detachment of soldiers from Jamaica, with about one hundred and twenty men, to take possession of *Gloria Castle* and *Jeronymo Fort*, being the two fortresses which defended the harbour, the one above, the other below the town.

In the harbour were two Spanish men of war of twenty guns each, together with a snow; the crews of which, upon seeing the regular and bold attack made on the *Iron Fort*, and despairing of being able to defend themselves, fell to plundering the town in the night of the twenty-first, and committed shocking outrages on the inhabitants. Our admiral being now master of the place, proceeded to blow up the fortifications, spiked up above eighty iron cannon, and brought off, on board his own fleet, a great number of brass ordnance, and a great quantity of ammunition, leaving the harbour quite open and defenceless. Thus was this place totally destroyed; and tho' the admiral, for want of land forces, was not able to push his conquests further up the country, yet the national advantage arising from what he had already done was very considerable, particularly with regard to the traders of Jamaica, who had now a fair opportunity of opening an extensive commerce with the Spaniards,

who were fond of clandestinely conveying their money from Panama over the Isthmus.

Soon after the reduction of this place, the admiral was joined by captain Knowles, in the *Diamond*; by the *Windsor*, captain Berkely; by the *Anglesea*, captain Reddish; and by captain Stapleton, in the *Sheerness*; which ships he had detached from Jamaica on different cruizes.

Mr. Vernon, during his stay at *Porto Bello*, sent a letter to the president of Panama, demanding a releasement of the factors and servants belonging to the South Sea company, whom the Spaniards had confined in that place; together with the restitution of their own personal effects, as well as those of the aforesaid company. In consequence of this message, the president sent an officer, with Dr. Humphreys and Dr. Wright, factors; and also with the servants of the company, who were delivered to the admiral on board his own ship.

On the thirteenth of December the admiral sailed with his squadron from *Porto Bello*, on his return to Jamaica. In the passage the squadron met with hard gales, by which it was dispersed, and several of the ships received damage in their masts and rigging. Nevertheless, they at last all joined the admiral in *Port Royal*, where we shall leave him meditating future conquests, and return to England.

No sooner was the success of the British admiral made known to the people at home, than a profusion of rejoicings overspread the united kingdoms and Ireland. Bonfires blazed in every street, and the houses were illuminated: the shouts of "Vernon for ever!" were heard from every tongue: both houses of parliament, the city of London, and all the considerable corporations in the kingdom, addressed his majesty upon the occasion. The house of commons sent the admiral their thanks; the city voted him its freedom. In short, a Roman consul, after reducing a province, never received greater marks of public applause from his country than admiral Vernon did upon his demolition of *Porto Bello*.

Admiral Haddock was all this summer cruising in the Mediterranean, and had for some time actually blocked up the mouth of that part of Cadiz where the Spanish fleet was then laying. The Spaniards, in order to release their ships, made a feint with another squadron under admiral Pintado, to recover the island of Minorca. Admiral Haddock fell into the snare: he quitted his station to hasten to the relief of that island, when the Cadiz fleet embraced that opportunity to get out with nine men of war and two frigates, which escaped to Ferrol, and joined another squadron in that port. But the want of supplies of treasure from New Spain detained this united fleet in harbour till the French thought proper to pull off the mask, by sending a strong squadron from Brest and Toulon, under the command of the marquis d'Antin, to Martinico, one of their West India settlements, with secret orders not only to act offensively against the British subjects, either jointly with the Spaniards or separately, but even to concert measures with them for attacking Jamaica; and at the same time declaring, that France could no longer behold, with an eye of indifference, the enterprizes which the English nation had formed in America,

nor

nor suffer them to make any new establishments there.

The British ministry, who had little suspected any such behaviour from France, were thunder-struck at this proceeding, while the voice of the public called loudly for prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour, in order to convince that court that we were not to be intimidated by their insolent threats. It was therefore necessary to make a shew of some secret expedition, to amuse the nation, and smother their rising discontents. With this view, a powerful fleet was assembled at Portsmouth, when, on the twenty-fourth of June, sir John Norris, admiral of the red, hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, a first-rate, of one hundred and ten guns, having under him Philip Cavendish, esq. admiral, and sir Chaloner Ogle, rear-admiral of the blue. Some thoughts were at this time entertained of one day making his royal highness the duke of Cumberland lord high-admiral of Great Britain; for his highness suddenly quitting the camp, which had been formed at Hounslow in expectation of an invasion, arrived unexpectedly in a shallop at the Isle of Wight, where he reviewed a body of marines encamped there, and then went, by the same shallop, on board the *Victory* man of war, to serve as a volunteer in the intended expedition.

The destination of this fine fleet, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, and three fire-ships, was variously conjectured. The most received opinion was an attempt to be made on the Spanish squadrons in Ferrol: but whatever were the real motives, the project at last came to nothing; for, after the fleet had been detained about a week at St. Helen's by contrary winds, it sailed from thence on the fourteenth of July with the convoy and the merchant ships for Portugal and the Straights; but meeting with hard gales at south-west, in which the *Lion* man of war, of sixty guns, ran foul of the *Victory*, and carried away her bowsprit, and the *Lion* losing her fore-mast, the fleet returned to St. Helen's, and on the twenty-second sailed again, but was detained at Torbay for near a month; and at last, on the thirtieth of September (the season of action for such large ships being over) returned to Spithead, where his royal highness disembarked. Thus ingloriously ended a very expensive armament, which had engrossed the whole attention of the public, and drawn upon it the eyes of all Europe, without effecting any one purpose.

In the same month of September a small squadron was fitted out under the command of commodore Anson, which gave rise to that gentleman's memorable voyage round the globe. His orders were to sail to the South Seas, in order to attack the enemy's colonies, and co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the Isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well laid; and though it failed in its principal purpose, was afterwards productive of great glory to the commodore, and of much advantage to the nation. This squadron consisted of the following five ships of war; the *Centurion* (the commodore's own ship) of sixty guns, and four hundred men; the *Gloster* and *Severn*, of fifty guns and three hundred men each; the *Pearl*, of forty guns, and two hundred and fifty men; and the *Wager*, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and sixty men; besides the *Trial*

sloop, of eight guns and one hundred men, and two victualling ships.

Anson's ships did not arrive at Madeira before the twenty-fifth of October, where they watered and took in refreshments of several kinds. On the fourth of November the commodore issued orders to the captains, appointing their rendezvous, in case of separation, at the island of St. Catharine's, on the coast of Brazil in South America; and the same day the squadron weighing anchor from Madeira, steered their course for St. Catharine's, where they arrived on the twenty-first of December, having in the passage lost a great number of their men by the intemperance of the warm climates, while many others were confined to their hammocks in violent fevers, past all hopes of recovery, and some in a very languid condition, affected with fluxes, and other disorders consequent on a recovery from these fevers.

The commodore made all possible dispatch for Cape Horn, but was detained by unavoidable accidents till the eighteenth of January, when the squadron, after burying many of their men, and sickness still increasing, left the island, and sailed to Port St. Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, of which an account shall be given in the sequel.

Mean while the Ferrol squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line, from sixty to eighty guns, and three frigates, under the command of Don Roderigo de Torres, having found means to escape the look-out kept for them by admiral Haddock, sailed on the twentieth of July for America, with two thousand land forces on board. These unexpected events threw the government of England into some consternation. It was, however, resolved, to send such a fleet to attend them as should be sufficient to encounter all events; but before we give an account of the preparations made in consequence of these resolutions, it will be necessary to return to the gallant admiral Vernon, whom we left at Jamaica, equipping his squadron with the utmost expedition for another enterprize.

After having made all the necessary preparations the nature of the service required, the admiral sailed from Port Royal in the latter end of February this year, in the *Stafford*, accompanied by the *Princess Louisa*, *Windfor*, *Norwich*, *Falmouth*, and *Greenwich* men of war, and a proportionable number of fire-ships, bombs, and tenders, with a design to bombard Carthage, and afterwards to annoy the Spaniards in Fort Chagre, lying a little to the south-west of Porto Bello. After surmounting some difficulties, he anchored in the bay of Playa Grande, before Carthage, and immediately began a brisk bombardment against the town, which did abundance of damage to some of the principal edifices. But not having strength enough to make himself master of the place, he thought proper to return to Porto Bello to refit, from whence he detached cruizers from time to time to lye off Fort Chagre, and soon after put to sea to attack it in person, which he did on the twenty-third of March, and obliged the garrison to surrender. On this occasion the admiral gave equal proofs of his courage and humanity, by the terms of capitulation he granted the enemy.

Advice of this success arrived in England in the month of July; but at the same time the admiral in his letters bitterly complained against the delays

lays that had happened in not sending him further reinforcements of ships, men, stores, and provisions; and threw out likewise many severe reflections, as if the minister intended to sacrifice him to his private connections with France; an insinuation which, however, appears to have been rather owing to an over-heated imagination, or to misinformation, than to any real foundation. In truth, the contents of these letters were probably repeated in private epistles to his own friends, so that they became soon public, and the ministry found it behoved them to prosecute the war with greater vigour than they had hitherto done; and therefore, to avoid any further outcries against them, they determined to send the admiral a reinforcement of ships, and a sufficient number of troops, to enable him to look any enemy in the face.

Accordingly, Harrison's and Wentworth's regiments of foot, with six more of marines, besides draughts from other regiments, were ordered to embark for the West Indies, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the military art. A noble fleet was assembled at Portsmouth, under the command of sir Chaloner Ogle, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships, with about twelve thousand sailors on board, and the above-mentioned regiments, and other detachments of foot, of which lord Cathcart was appointed commander in chief. They were likewise furnished with hospital-ships, store-ships, all sorts of warlike implements, and every conveniency: in a word, never had the nation more reason to hope for success from any undertaking. This fleet, however, did not set sail till the latter end of October this year; and by these, and such-like unaccountable delays, by which our ships were detained in the harbour to so late a season of the year, they were incapable of getting through the Channel till the Spaniards had strengthened their settlements in the West Indies, and put themselves in a condition of making a vigorous resistance wherever they should be attacked in that quarter of the world.

This year was distinguished by three events, which made a remarkable change in the system of affairs in Europe: the first was, the death of the king of Prussia, a prince very little esteemed either in his public or private character. He was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son Frederic, the reigning king of that realm, who has so eminently distinguished himself both as a warrior and a legislator.

The second was, the death of Charles VI. emperor of Germany, the last prince of the house of Austria, who expired at Vienna on the ninth day of October, 1740, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter Maria-Theresa, married to the grand duke of Tuscany, who was proclaimed queen of Hungary, Bohemia, &c. &c. But notwithstanding the security of the famous pragmatic sanction, her title to many of her father's dominions was disputed by several princes of the empire, which produced a long war in Europe. The young king of Prussia was no sooner informed of the emperor's death than he entered Silesia at the head of twenty thousand men, seized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim, and published a manifesto, declaring that he had

no intention to contravene the pragmatic sanction. The electors of Bavaria and Saxony refused to acknowledge the arch-duchess as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alleging, that they themselves had pretensions to these countries, as descendants, the one of the emperor Ferdinand I. who was head of the German branch of the house of Austria; the other, as descendant of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of the deceased emperor Charles.

The third event was the death of the czarina Anne-Iwanowna, who by her will appointed prince Ivan (or John) son of duke Anthony-Ulric, of Brunswic-Lunenbourg-Bevern, and the princess Anne of Mecklenbourg, her successors. She by the same will appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were alive. The regent, however, was soon turned out, and the czar's mother succeeded him in that trust till her son was finally deposed, and the princess Elizabeth placed on the throne of the Russias.

His majesty being returned from his German dominions, assembled the parliament on the 18th of November, and opened the session by a speech, in which he observed, among other things, "That the court of Spain having already felt some effects of the resentment of the English, began to be sensible that they should be no longer able, by their own strength, to defend themselves against the efforts of the British nation: that if any other powers, agreeably to some late extraordinary proceedings, should interpose, and attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against his declared enemies, the honour and interest of his crown and kingdoms must call upon his parliament to lose no time in putting the nation in such a condition as might enable him to repel any insults, and frustrate any designs formed against him, in violation of the faith of treaties; and he hoped any such unprecedented steps, under what colour or pretence soever they might be taken, would inspire his allies with a true sense of the common danger, and would unite them in the support and defence of the common cause: that the great and unhappy event of the death of the late emperor opened a new scene in the state of affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers might be immediately or remotely concerned: that it was impossible to determine, with any degree of certainty, what course the policy, interest, or ambition of the several courts might lead them to pursue in this critical conjuncture; it should be his care strictly to observe and watch their motions; to adhere to the engagements which he had formerly contracted for maintaining the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; and, in concert with such powers as were under the same obligations, to act such a part as might best contribute to avert the danger that threatened the tranquillity of Europe."

When the peers returned to their house, the duke of Argyll made a motion for an address "to congratulate his majesty on his safe return to his regal dominions; to assure his majesty that this house will stand by him with their lives and fortunes in prosecution of the just and necessary war in which he was engaged: and as a farther proof of their duty and affection to his majesty's person, family, and government, to declare to him that they would exert themselves in their high capacity of

of hereditary great council of the crown, to which all other councils were subordinate and accountable, in such a manner as might tend to promote the true interest of his majesty and his kingdoms in this critical conjuncture."

His grace supported this motion by a speech replete with all the nervous eloquence for which he was justly distinguished. He arraigned in very severe terms the conduct of the ministry, in relation to the naval operations of this year, particularly the fruitless parade of the Spithead fleet under sir John Norris. He spared not to accuse the ministry, obliquely, of having given orders that no attempts should be made upon the Spanish coasts in Europe; and alleged, that the West India fleet would not have sailed yet, had it not been for his majesty's return from abroad. Even the royal speech (which he treated as the work of the minister's pen) did not escape his censure, for not naming the power that might presume to attempt limiting the operations of the war; and he concluded with declaring, that the motion now before the house had been drawn up entirely by himself, without the knowledge or privity of any other person.

In opposition to this proposal the earl of Holderness moved for a more explicit address, viz. to acknowledge his majesty's great wisdom, and his regard to the true interests of his kingdom, in resolving to carry on this just and necessary war in the most vigorous and effectual manner, and in not suffering himself to be diverted from those prudent and salutary measures; to assure his majesty, that if any power should attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war, such a step would not fail to inspire his parliament with a just indignation, and determine them to concur in all proper means for vindicating and defending his honour and dignity against any who should presume to offer him such an insult; to declare to his majesty, that this house will stand by and support him in fulfilling the engagements he had contracted for maintaining the balance and liberties of Europe, on the event of the late emperor's death, as well as in the prosecution of the present war; and, finally, to express their unshaken and unalterable fidelity and affection to his majesty's person and government, and their ardent wishes that all his enterprizes, for maintaining the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people, might be blessed with success.

I have exhibited these two motions at full length, because they contain the sentiments of the two great parties which then prevailed in parliament. The reader, from what has gone before, can easily figure to himself the facts and arguments adduced in the debates which followed upon these two motions, and which were managed on the court side by the lord-chancellor Hardwick, the lord Cholmondeley, and the lord Harvey; on that of the opposition, by the duke of Argyll, the lord Carteret, the earl of Chesterfield, and the lord Talbot (son to the deceased nobleman of that name); I shall therefore only observe, that on the question being put, the court motion was carried by a majority of twenty-eight voices.

The debates in the lower house upon the question of their address turned upon their declaring, that they would make a due examination into the application of the supplies given the last session of

parliament. But as this insinuated some diffidence of the ministry, it was over-voted, and an address presented, recapitulatory of the several paragraphs in the king's speech, with expressions of approbation, and of general concurrence with the measures of the ministry.

The like fate attended a motion made on the first of December in the upper house for an address to his majesty, humbly desiring he would give directions to the proper officers to lay before the house copies of the several orders and instructions sent to admiral Vernon, from the time of his sailing from England in 1739, to the twenty-fourth day of June in the current year.

The anti-courtiers, not discouraged by this defeat, proposed another address to his majesty, humbly entreating he would be pleased to give orders to lay before the house copies of all the letters written by vice-admiral Vernon to the commissioners of the admiralty, or to his majesty's secretaries of state, from the time of his leaving England to the twenty-fourth of June last inclusive; as also all the letters written by the said commissioners or the secretaries of state to the said admiral within the time above-mentioned. The minister, by a strange inattention to his own interests, suffered this motion to pass with some few amendments. The address was accordingly presented, and the papers laid before the house; the consequence of which proved very fatal to his authority; for the admiral in some of his letters complained bitterly of the stores which had been sent him; and in one particular passage he affirmed that they were not good enough even for a Spithead expedition.

This and other information, derived from the perusal of these papers, furnished the opposition with matter for another motion for an address to his majesty, to lay before the house the representations which admiral Vernon had made to the ministry or admiralty, touching the want of more ships or more men, &c. This motion was, however, rejected by a majority of seventy-one against forty-four; as was also another motion made by the duke of Argyll (in consequence of the house taking into its consideration the state of the army) for a resolution, "That the augmenting the army by raising regiments, as it is the most unnecessary and most expensive method of augmentation, is also the most dangerous to the liberties of the nation." This proposal, I say, was also over-ruled, but not without a nervous spirited protest being entered against it by the country lords.

The reader will easily perceive that the upper house was the great scene of political altercation during this session. The duke of Argyll, the lord Carteret, the lord Bathurst, the earl of Chesterfield, and lord Talbot, seemed to be animated with uncommon fervor; and several of their speeches would not have disgraced the most celebrated orators of the Roman senate, when that republic was in its most flourishing state. In these debates the young earls of Halifax and Sandwich acquired a considerable share of reputation, for the strength of argument and elocution they displayed against the measures of the ministry. The controversy was very unequally maintained on the side of the government; and their peremptory overruling every motion that was made against them, served only farther to increase the unpopularity of the

the minister, which now rose to such an height, that his name was scarce ever mentioned with common decency but by his own friends.

The minority thought this the most favourable juncture they could obtain to put in execution a design which they had long framed, of a personal attack on the minister; and after some consultation between the leading members of both houses of the country party, it was determined to begin this attack in the lower house. Accordingly, on the eleventh of February, Mr. Sandys went up to sir Robert Walpole, and informed him, that in two days time he should bring a charge against him in public. Sir Robert was no stranger to the intended motion, nor to the day on which it was proposed to be made: he therefore, with an appearance of great composure, thanked Mr. Sandys politely for this previous notice: he said, he desired no favour but fair play; adding, "As I am not conscious of any crime, I do not doubt of being able to make a proper defence."

On Friday the thirteenth of February, the day appointed for the accusation of the minister, Mr. Sandys, in a studied speech, entered into a long deduction of the minister's conduct, which he carried back as far as the year 1720, from whence he was supposed to date his present power. He insisted, that it was well known both within doors and without, that one single person in the administration was the chief, if not the sole, adviser and promoter of all the wrong measures which had been for many years pursued at home and abroad: "Therefore, added he, the discontents, the reproaches, and even the curses of the people, are all directed against that single person: they complain of present measures; they have suffered by past measures: they expect no redress; they expect no alteration nor amendment, whilst he has a share in directing or advising our future administration. These, sir (addressing himself to the speaker) are the sentiments of the people, in regard to that minister: those sentiments we are in honour and duty bound to represent to his majesty; and the proper method of doing this, as established by our constitution, is to address his majesty to remove him from his councils: I therefore move that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the right honourable sir Robert Walpole, knight of the most noble order of the garter, first commissioner of the Treasury, comptroller and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, from his majesty's presence and councils for ever."

This motion was seconded by the lord-viscount Limerick, sustained by Mr. Pulteney, sir John Hynde Cotton, sir John Barnard, Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Gibson, and other distinguished speakers in the opposition, who with great energy and accuracy pointed out and exposed all the material errors and malpractices of the administration. They charged the minister with having endeavoured to support his own interest by the most pernicious and barefaced acts of corruption; with having betrayed the interest and power of Great Britain in the late convention. It was likewise alleged, that he had deviated from the plan of policy which he himself, in his impeachment of the earl of Oxford, had laboured to establish: and in confirmation of

their opinion, the treaty of Hanover was urged; a treaty, it was said, which was plainly calculated to aggrandize the house of Bourbon, and depress that of Austria. They farther affirmed, that all the great expences which the nation had incurred, by augmenting the army, and paying subsidies to foreigners, were owing to that treaty; and that his majesty had been led into this dangerous mistake by the ignorance or perfidy of the minister, who had made him believe that the emperor had, in conjunction with Spain, formed a design to place the pretender upon the throne of Great Britain; a charge for which, from the subsequent events, there never appeared to have been the least foundation.

All these arguments were answered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuse all the measures which the others had condemned. In doing this he observed, that the treaty of Utrecht was very imperfect; that the quadruple alliance was therefore formed, in order to supply the deficiencies of that treaty, by strengthening the emperor in Italy, and transferring to him the kingdom of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, and at the same time giving an irretrievable blow to the marine of Spain, by the sea engagement of sir George Byng in 1718: that the king of Spain was forced by Great Britain to accede to the quadruple alliance, which brought on the congress of Cambray: during the dependence of which, the emperor and the king of Spain concluded the treaty of Vienna, a treaty that was extremely prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, and to which the treaty of Hanover was no more than a counterbalance: that as to the charge of an intention to set the pretender on the throne of England, it was a thing of which his majesty was fully convinced; and as it was a matter known personally to himself, and had never been disproved, he had a right to make use of it in his speech to the parliament. In a word, this gentleman in his harangue omitted nothing that could be expected from a warm friend and unshaken adherent.

Sir Robert Walpole observed an attentive silence during the course of the debate: at length, finding the whole artillery of opposition and defence nearly exhausted, he arose to speak in his own defence, which he did in a most masterly manner, delivering himself with the utmost coolness, deliberation, and decency, which was the more extolled, as it is certain his opponents had indulged themselves in the most gross and virulent personal invectives against his person and conduct. He began by recapitulating all the particulars of the general charge that had been brought against him, and endeavoured to elude their force. He sought not to conceal, on the contrary he frankly owned, that he was to be considered as the sole minister, and in such character answerable for any step taken by the government that was either disgraceful or disadvantageous to the nation. With respect to the article of bribery and corruption, he said, if one instance had been adduced, if it had been shewn that he ever offered a reward to any member of either house, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence such person in his vote as a member, there might have been some ground for this charge; but when it was so generally laid, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally

rally and as positively as it had been asserted. Such a declaration, however, made in the hearing of so many persons who owed their seats in that assembly purely to the force of his interest, who many of them subsisted only by the provisions he had obtained for them, in consideration of their constant attendance in parliament, and readiness on every occasion to throw their negative or assent into the ministerial balance; must surely have impressed every hearer, must impress every reader to whom it is related, with a very indifferent opinion of the modesty or veracity of this great man in a public capacity. The conclusion of his speech, however, shews such an intimate knowledge of mankind, and the first part of it is so highly picturesque of some events and changes, within the memory of every one who peruses these sheets, that I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it verbatim:

“Gentlemen (said he) have talked a great deal of patriotism: a venerable word, sir, when rightly understood. But I am sorry to say, that it has of late been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace: the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst purposes. A patriot, sir! why patriots spring up like mushrooms; I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty-hours. I have raised many of them, sir, in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots, sir; but I disdain and despise all they can do.—No man, I believe, who ever had the honour of serving the crown, ever had such an attack made upon him as the present motion; a motion which gentlemen have been so long meditating, so long threatening, and which they had so much desire to support: but, sir, has it been supported? has it been attempted to be supported with even the shadow of evidence?—Yes, sir, I have long heard of this motion, and let gentlemen contradict me if they can, when I say, I could have prevented it; by what means, I leave the house to judge. But I chose, sir, they should do their utmost; and I rejoice in this debate, let the issue of it be what it will, more than I ever did in any one thing that has happened to me in the course of my life.”

The debate continued till three o'clock in the morning, when above sixty of the country party being retired (who thereupon acquired the nickname of *sneakers* from their colleagues) the question was put, and received a negative from a majority of two hundred and ninety against one hundred and six.

The same motion was made in the upper house by lord Carteret, who ushered it in by a speech embellished with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with the noble spirit of British liberty and independence. The dukes of Argyll and Bedford, the earls of Westmoreland, Berkshire, Carlisle, Abingdon, and Halifax, the lords Bathurst and Haversham, supported the motion, while the minister was as warmly defended by the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the bishop of Salisbury, the earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyll, the lord Hervey, and the earl of Oxford.

This last nobleman was one of the Tory party, and had always distinguished himself by his opposition to the minister. Nevertheless, upon this oc-

casión, he spoke against the motion, not (as he declared) from any conviction which he had of the minister's innocence, but because he thought the principle upon which the motion was built, especially no legal evidence having been brought to support it, was cruel, unjust, and unconstitutional; and he was old enough, he added, to remember the hard measure which a minister of his own family, chiefly through the influence of the present minister, had received from general and unsupported charges. The whole house was charmed with this generous declaration. At length, the subject being entirely exhausted, the question was put, and the motion rejected by a majority of forty-nine.

The triumph of the minister, however, was dearly bought; it shook his character beyond a possibility of reparation, and his authority from this instant gave daily proofs of a decline. Immediately after carrying the question, the duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, “That any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof being brought of any crime or misdemeanor committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient established usage of parliament, and is an high infringement of the liberties of the subject.” This motion was seconded by the duke of Devonshire and the lord Lovel, and opposed by lord Gower, as an intended censure on the proceedings of the day; but notwithstanding his utmost efforts, and those of the rest of the friends of the minority, it was carried in the affirmative: thirty peers, however, entered a vigorous protest.

In the beginning of April the king went to the house of peers; and after passing certain acts that were prepared for the royal assent, he, in a speech to both houses, observed, “That the war which had lately broke out, and been carried on in part of the Austrian dominions, and the various and extensive claims which were publicly made on the late emperor's succession, were new events that required the utmost care and attention; the rather, as they might involve all Europe in a bloody war, and, in consequence, expose the dominions of such princes as should take part in support of the pragmatic sanction, to imminent and immediate danger: that the queen of Hungary had already made a requisition of the twelve thousand men expressly stipulated by treaty; and, in order to fulfil his engagements, he had demanded of the king of Denmark and of the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, their respective bodies of troops, consisting of six thousand men each, that so they might be in readiness to march forthwith to the assistance of her Hungarian majesty: that he was concerting such farther measures as might obviate and disappoint all the dangerous designs and attempts that might be formed or carried on in favour of any unjust pretensions to the prejudice of the house of Austria, in this complicated and uncertain state of things: that during the time when, by reason of the approaching conclusion of the present parliament, it might be impossible for him to have their advice and assistance, many incidents might arise which might render it necessary for him to incur still greater expences for maintaining the pragmatic sanction: and that therefore, in a conjuncture

junction so critical, he had thought it proper to lay these important considerations before them, and to desire the concurrence of his parliament, in enabling him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the queen of Hungary, the preventing, by all reasonable means, the subversion of the house of Austria, and the maintaining, upon a firm foundation, the liberties and balance of Europe."

The two houses joined in an affectionate address, promising effectually to support his majesty against all insults and attacks that might be made upon any of his territories, tho' not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute in the most effectual manner to the support of the queen of Hungary. The commons accordingly granted three hundred thousand pounds for this purpose; a million was deducted from the sinking fund towards the expence of the year; and the land-tax continued at four shillings in the pound, to which it had been raised the preceding year. The preparations for this war had already cost five millions. On the twenty-fifth day of April the king closed the session, the last of this parliament, with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction in its conduct. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three commoners of great property, who had signalized themselves in defence of the minister, were now ennobled and created barons, of Montfort, Ilchester, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colchester; and the king having settled the regency, set out in May for his German dominions.

Before I proceed to the military and other transactions of the year 1741, I must take notice, that about the end of the preceding year (1740) the anti-ministerial party sustained a great loss by the death of sir W. Wyndham, who was justly regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the strenuous and unvarying assertor of the liberties of his country, and one of the chief ornaments of the British nation.

In the course of the same year general Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, had, with some succours obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a small squadron of the king's ships, made an attempt upon Fort Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida, and actually reduced some small forts in the neighbourhood of that place; but the Carolinians withdrawing in disgust, dissensions prevailing among the sea-officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a reinforcement, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Georgia.

It is now time to attend the motions of the grand fleet that left England under sir Chaloner Ogle, and the progress of the war in 1741. This noble armament was overtaken by a violent storm in the Bay of Biscay, not long after its departure from the British coasts, by which the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Notwithstanding this misfortune, sir Chaloner prosecuted his voyage, and anchored in the neighbourhood of Dominica, with a view of providing himself with wood and water in that neutral island, where the intended expedition received a fatal check, by the death of the brave lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. By his death the command of the land forces devolved upon general Wentworth.

Sir Chaloner having furnished his fleet with the supplies they stood in need of, sailed from Dominica, in order to join admiral Vernon at Jamaica. As he was coasting by the island of Hispaniola, he descried four large ships; upon which he immediately dispatched lord Augustus Fitzroy with an equal number of his squadron to speak to them. Lord Augustus came up with and hailed them; they refused to answer; (they could not shew their colours, it being night): upon which his lordship spoke to them more plainly, from the mouths of his guns; and a smart engagement ensued, which lasted most part of the night. Upon the appearance of day, the four strange ships hoisted French colours, and were found to be part of the French squadron that had sailed from Europe under the marquis d'Antin, to support the Spanish admiral Torres, in case he should be attacked by the English. As war, however, was not as yet declared between our court and that of France, the two commanders made mutual apologies for the mistake that had happened, and parted as friends, though not without having a considerable number of men killed and wounded on each side. In the mean time, sir Chaloner Ogle continuing his route, arrived on the twenty-seventh of December at St. Christopher's, the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by the rest of the fleet, and all the transports and store-ships which had been separated from him. The fleet then proceeded for Jamaica, where it arrived on the ninth of January 1741.

This reanimated admiral Vernon with fresh spirits, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that had ever been seen in those seas, with full power to act as opportunity should offer. The conjoined squadrons consisted of twenty-nine ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions and warlike stores and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand; that of the land forces, including four regiments of American troops, and a body of negroes enlisted at Jamaica, fell very little short of twelve thousand. The joy of the admiral was indeed greatly allayed by the news of lord Cathcart's death, whose loss he heartily condoled as a most valuable officer; yet as his successor, general Wentworth, appeared sincerely disposed to supply that loss, Mr. Vernon promised himself that the service would be resolutely carried on, and with all possible harmony between the land and sea forces. The event, however, proved the reverse.

Admiral Vernon having received intelligence, from a Spanish lieutenant who had been taken prisoner in a small sloop, that the Brest and Toulon squadrons, under the command of the marquis d'Antin, were arrived at Port Louis, and that the French preparations in Martinico seemed to threaten some formidable enterprize against Jamaica, his whole attention had for some time been taken up in concerting such measures as might best prevent the designs of the enemy, and secure that valuable island. By later advices he had been informed, that the French fleet had sailed to Hispaniola. All which intelligence he laid before a general council of war, held at Spanish-town in Jamaica, on the eleventh of January, when it was unanimously resolved, that the whole fleet should beat

beat up to windward, to observe the motions of d'Antin. It happened, however, that on the arrival of our fleet off that island, we found that the French admiral had sailed for Europe to recruit himself with men and provisions, having, during his stay in those parts, lost upwards of three thousand men, and the rest that survived were reduced to three ounces of bread a day, and that half worms and dirt.

Vernon, disappointed in this quarter, called another grand council of war on the sixteenth of February, in which it was determined to proceed directly for Carthagena; which resolution was afterwards confirmed by a third general council of war, held the twenty-fourth by the four principal military and naval officers, when it was resolved vigorously to attack Carthagena both by sea and land. The fleet being supplied with wood and water at Hispaniola, set sail for the continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March, in the evening, anchored at Playa Grande, to the windward of the town of Carthagena. As it was well known that the Spaniards had omitted nothing to put it in a proper posture of defence. Admiral de Torres, and Don Blas de Lezo, a sea-officer of great experience and reputation, had already arrived with the Ferrol squadron, and reinforced the garrison, which now amounted to upwards of four thousand men. The following particulars relating to this place will enable the reader to form a judgment of the nature of the enterprize against it.

CARTHAGENA is the capital of a province of the same name, on the Terra Firma, in South America, in ten degrees and a half north latitude, and seventy-seven west longitude; three hundred and ten miles east of Porto Bello, and four hundred south of Port Royal in Jamaica. Though the sea washes the walls of Carthagena, the town is inaccessible on that side, by reason of the surf, the water shoaling near a league off, so that it can only be approached by the lake that forms the harbour; which last is bounded by a number of rocks: besides, the sea is seldom smooth; so that landing is at all times very difficult. The only entrance to the harbour is near a league to the westward of the city, between two narrow peninsulas, one called the Tierra Bomba, which is nearest the city; the other, called the Barradera. This passage, called Bocca Chica, or the little mouth, was defended on the Tierra Bomba by the castle St. Louis, a regular square fortification with four bastions, mounted with eighty-two guns and three mortars; but the glacis or counterscarp had not been finished. To this were added fort St. Philip, mounting seven guns; fort St. Iago, with fifteen guns; and a small fort of only four guns, called the Battery de Chamba, which served as redoubts to the castle of Bocca Chica. On the other side of the mouth of the harbour was a fascine battery of fifteen guns, called the Barradera; and in a small bay on the back of that, another battery of four guns; and facing the entrance of the harbour, on a small flat island, stood fort St. Joseph, of twenty-one guns. From this fort to Bocca Chica castle a boom of cables were fixed across, fastened by three large anchors at each end; and just within the boom four men of war were moored in a line, on board

of which was the Spanish admiral. These spread so far over the extent of the mouth of the harbour, that no ship could pass a-head or a-stern of them.

Beyond this passage lies the great lake or harbour of Carthagena, several leagues in circumference, and land-locked on all sides. About midway to the town it grows narrower, and within about a league of the town, two points of land jutting out form the lesser harbour. Near the nethermost of these was the strong fortress of Castillo Grande, about eight miles up the town, being a regular square with four bastions, defended to the land by a wet ditch and proper glacis, and one face towards the sea, with a raveline and double line of guns: the number of guns in the fort was fifty-nine. Opposite to this castle was a horse-shoe battery of twelve guns, called Mancinilla. In the middle, between the two forts, is a large shoal, with not above two or three feet water. In each of these were ships sunk, to prevent the British fleet from getting by.

Near three miles further up the harbour, on two flat sandy islands or keys, stands Carthagena, well fortified to the land, with lakes and morasses running round it, and defended with one hundred and sixty guns, and the suburbs, called Himani, with one hundred and forty. South of the city, about a mile from Himani-gate, on an eminence about fifty or sixty feet high, stands the castle of St. Lazaro, being a square of about fifty feet, with three demi-batteries, and two guns in each face, one in each flank, and three in each curtain: it overlooks all the town.

The admiral having received from captain Knowles (whom he had sent to reconnoitre the place) the above intelligence, with every other material point relative to its situation and strength, directed sir Chaloner Ogle to proceed with his whole division of ships, consisting of four of eighty, five of sixty, and one of fifty guns, besides frigates and bomb-vessels, to demolish the forts and batteries, and to scour all the country between them, so as to secure a descent for the forces. In the mean time general Wentworth, with some of the principal land officers, went on board the Lion, to reconnoitre the town, the neighbouring coast, and the several forts.

On the ninth of February the English forces were landed on Tierra Bomba island, near the mouth of Bocca Chica harbour. There they erected a battery, with which they made a breach in the principal fort; while the ships under sir Chaloner Ogle, assisted by those of commodore Lestock's division, divided the fire of the enemy, and co-operated with the endeavours of the army. The breach in Bocca Chica castle being now deemed practicable, general Wentworth resolved to assault it, which was accordingly done. On the twenty-fourth the forts and batteries were abandoned by the enemy: the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were taken or destroyed: the passage was opened; and admiral Vernon, with the whole fleet, got into the harbour, and then lay before Castillo Grande, which the enemy likewise abandoned, and which was taken possession of by captain Knowles, who acted as the admiral's engineer during the whole of this expedition. The forces and artillery that had been landed on Tierra Bomba were now reembarked,

and

and sailing up the great lake, were set on shore again within a mile of the city.

Thus far every thing had gone on more prosperously than either the admiral or general had apprehended. They were too much elated, however, with this good fortune; for they now dispatched captain Laws, commander of the Spence sloop of war, with letters to the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, promising no less than the absolute reduction of Carthagena: but they were fatally mistaken; for fort Lazaro remained yet to be taken before they could attack the main body of the place. Besides, by this time a misunderstanding had arisen between the admiral and general, which soon grew to such a height as to impede every operation for the advantage of the public: they maintained a reserve towards each other: they had their separate parties; and nothing was heard but mutual recriminations. The admiral upbraided the general for his inactivity, in giving the enemy time for completing the fortifications they had begun at the foot of the hill on which the fort stood. The general, on the other hand, accused the admiral of dilatoriness in landing the tents, stores, and artillery of the army, which had obliged the troops to lie three whole nights exposed to the noxious dews, so fatal in that climate, which greatly reduced their numbers.

The truth is, that great oversights were committed on both sides; and indeed each seemed more bent upon mortifying his rival than zealous for the honour and interest of the nation. Wentworth, however, resolving to do something, at least in appearance, prepared on the eighth of March to attack fort St. Lazaro; but instead of beginning the attack in the night, as he ought to have done, he waited till it was almost broad day. The guides who were to conduct the troops were also killed in the march; the troops mistook their way, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, which they could not have mounted, even though they had not had any enemy to oppose them. The bravery of the English on this occasion was such as almost to exceed belief: twelve hundred men, under general Guise, paraded on the strand, where they formed, and began the attack with amazing intrepidity, amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets from the artillery and small arms of the Spaniards. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the scaling ladders were found too short; the officers were perplexed for want of order and directions. Nevertheless, the soldiers maintained their ground for several hours with the most heroic resolution, till at length they were drawn off by the general's orders, with the loss of about six hundred of the flower of the army; that is, above half the number of those who marched to this ill-timed, ill-conducted attack. On this occasion the admiral inveighed in the severest terms against the general, for not acquainting him with his design, that he might have sent a body of seamen to assist in scaling the walls. Wentworth on his side insisted, that, if the admiral had sent ships near enough to have battered the walls of the castle and town, when the forces advanced to the attack of fort St. Lazaro, the place might have been taken.

Vernon, in order to disculpate himself of this charge, and to throw the whole blame of the miscarriage on the general and other land forces, sent

in the Galicia, one of the Spanish ships which he had taken at Bocca Chica, fitted up as a floating battery, with sixteen guns on a side, to batter the town. This vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, and commanded by captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day as near the walls of the town as possible. In this situation she kept up a regular fire, exposed to the artillery from three bastions, a half-moon, and a ravelin, from five in the morning till near twelve at noon, without ever flagging; but as the vice-admiral saw she could do no material service against stone walls at that distance, he sent orders to captain Hore to bring her off, to prevent her sinking at her anchors. From this experiment the admiral drew this inference, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the tower with any prospect of success, as the Galicia had been moored in as shoal water as the boats could float her anchors.

After the miscarriage of this attack, all hopes of possessing the town were entirely vanished: the troops sickened so surprizingly fast, that, according to the account of the general himself, no less than three thousand four hundred and forty-five men perished in the space of two days, amongst whom were many of the principal officers. This dreadful visitation determined the council of war to come to a resolution to return to Jamaica with the utmost expedition. Accordingly, after having entirely demolished all the fortifications, the fleet set sail in the beginning of May, and arrived in Port-Royal harbour on the nineteenth of the same month, after a quick and safe passage.

Thus ended, to the astonishment of all Europe, the disgrace of the British arms, and the no small exultation of the enemy, the greatest attempt that had ever been made in those parts of the world, whether we consider the strength of the armament, the expence of the undertaking, or the expectations of the public. Upon the news of the first successes arriving in England, the people were seized with a phrenzy of joy: it was in the midst of the general elections for the approaching new parliament. Not only London and Westminster, but many other places, vied with each other in having Mr. Vernon for their representative. His birth-day was celebrated with demonstrations of joy, like those which greet a monarch returning in triumph to his capital, after conquering an enemy that threatened his state with destruction. All Europe indeed considered itself as deeply interested in the issue of this expedition. Spain gave up her monarchy in America for lost; the French were filled with the most dreadful apprehensions, and gave their ambassador at the Hague orders to represent the progress of the English in America as the common cause of all Europe, which must be ruined, should they succeed. But I shall now proceed to close this account of the naval war in America during the year 1741, with the equally inglorious and fruitless expedition against Cuba.

On the return of the British fleet and forces to Jamaica from the siege of Carthagena, the remains of the army continued in a feeble and languid condition. The ships which came out with sir Chaloner Ogle were now generally feeble; all which afforded a melancholy scene to the survivors of the late fatal expedition. On this occasion Mr. Vernon,

to his great honour, acted as the father of the fleet; and it was chiefly owing to the care he had of the seamen's provisions, and of keeping them temperate, that it was not absolutely ruined. Seven of the eight eighty-gun ships being unsheathed, they would have been totally destroyed by remaining any longer on service in these climates; upon which the admiral very prudently sent them home, under commodore Lestock, with four other ships of war and several frigates, with all the sick land officers, and all the soldiers who had been rendered unfit for service, and the homeward-bound fleet of merchantmen.

Mr. Vernon having taken all the necessary steps towards refitting the remainder of his fleet, and putting it in a proper condition for returning to sea, in order, if possible, to re-establish by some more successful stroke, the degraded reputation of the British arms, called a general council of war for regulating the future proceedings of the sea and land forces. To this court he produced letters he had received from the administration at home, pressing him to attempt the reduction of St. Jago, the capital of the island of Cuba. His majesty, in his instructions to the admiral on his leaving England, had indeed mentioned the Havannah, La Vera Cruz, Mexico, Carthagena, and Panama; but by the miscarriage before Carthagena, the English were too much reduced to attempt any other place: besides, de Torres, the Spanish admiral, was then in the harbour of the Havannah, with a squadron more than equal to that which remained with Vernon. St. Jago de Cuba therefore was the only object our forces could proceed against; and the taking it would secure Jamaica and the British trade in those seas, and preserve a communication with Jamaica for supplies, and likewise cut off the correspondence between the Spaniards and Hispaniola. All these considerations determined the council of war to declare for this attempt; and the vice-admiral and general Wentworth accordingly gave the necessary orders for proceeding on the expedition with all possible dispatch. The people of Jamaica, who were particularly desirous of this conquest, considering the great diminution of the land forces, which were by this time reduced to less than three thousand men, put one thousand of the best disciplined blacks their island afforded on board the fleet, which set sail, to the number of nine ships of the line, besides transports and store-ships, on the twenty-eighth of June; and on the eighteenth of the following month got into Walthenham Bay, about twelve leagues to windward of St. Jago. Here they had the pleasure to find themselves in one of the most spacious and safe harbours in the world, perfectly pure and healthy, and secure against all hurricanes; the admiral immediately gave it the name of Cumberland Harbour, in honour of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

The island of Cuba is the largest, and far the most temperate and pleasant of all the Antilles, lying between nineteen and twenty-three degrees of north latitude, and from two hundred and ninety-three to three hundred and four degrees of longitude, being about two hundred and thirty leagues in length, and in the broadest part forty leagues wide, in the narrowest about twelve. It has Florida and the Lucayan isles on the north,

Hispaniola on the west, Jamaica and the southern continent on the south, and the gulph of Mexico on the east. It is a country abounding not only with the necessary conveniencies of life, but even with the more delicate blessings of nature. St. Jago de Cuba, lying at the eastern part of the country, is the most ancient in the island, and generally esteemed the capital, though now the governor resides at the Havannah, whose port is much superior to that of St. Jago in its situation for trade, though the former is much more commodious for privateers, as it commands the windward passage. This city is but very indifferently fortified, the harbour being so well secured by nature, as to give the Spaniards no reason to apprehend any attack from the seaward, which is rendered impracticable by the narrowness of the harbour's mouth, and the singular difficulty of ships getting into it, occasioned by the obstruction of the eddy-wind that comes down the two hills, on which stand the citadel, called the Moro Castle, and the Estrella, another fort, and which would infallibly drive them on the western shore, exposed to the batteries of the two castles.

Mr. Vernon having collected all the necessary intelligence relating to the situation and strength of the town, port, and citadel of St. Jago, fixed on Cumberland harbour, as the nearest and most commodious situation to disembark the troops for their proceeding to march and attack the town on the land-side, where, as they did not expect to be surprised, the Spaniards were at present entirely defenceless. The troops were accordingly landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles farther up the river. Mr. Vernon appeared to entertain very sanguine hopes of the success of this expedition, not doubting but that he should be able to secure such a footing in the island of Cuba as to render it impossible for all the power of Spain to drive us out while we remained masters of the sea; and in the warmest manner recommended to the general alacrity and dispatch in his operations by land. Wentworth, however, who seemed to make a point of differing in opinion from the admiral, in relation to every object of service, affected to treat the whole design as chimerical and impracticable; and having sent out parties to reconnoitre the country, he on their report (though they met not with the least opposition) in a letter to the admiral, absolutely declined the service, on account of the length of the road, and the insurmountable difficulty (as he was pleased to represent it) of bringing up cannon sufficient to act against the place with effect. As the admiral had no compulsive power over the land forces, he was obliged to give way to the opinion of a council of war of the land officers, who, notwithstanding the admiral gave them positive assurances of a speedy reinforcement of ships and troops from England, declared for an immediate reembarkation for Jamaica, which was effected on the twentieth of November: and thus was this second expedition abandoned, even before it met with resistance, infinitely more to the disgrace of the land forces than their late fatal repulse before Carthagena, where they had indeed done the enemy some mischief, by destroying six Spanish men of war, the like number of galleons, and all the other shipping in the harbour, besides demolishing all the fortifications.

The affairs of Europe next call for our attention, which were now involved in greater confusion than ever. The king of Prussia had demanded of the court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either absolute or annulled, and promised to assist the queen of Hungary with all his forces in case she would comply with his demand, as also to settle the imperial crown on her husband. It was easily foreseen, that if the queen refused these offers, Germany must be thrown into a total confusion; but that princess entertained too high a sense of her dignity to consent to dismember her patrimony. She was weak, but intrepid. Perhaps she was the more encouraged to this refusal by the little account in which Europe then held the king of Prussia, and the certain assurances she had received of being powerfully supported by the British court. The active and discerning Prussian, however, readily perceived, that the outward grandeur of the court of Vienna was no more than a name, and the state in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies. Accordingly, on the refusal of his offers, he marched his army into Silesia in the month of December of the preceding year, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity.

In the mean while, Maria-Theresa took possession of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and was crowned at Presburg on the twenty-fourth of June, 1741, N. S. She had gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability which her ancestors had disdained to practise; but more particularly by consenting to take the ancient coronation-oath of Andrew II. king of Hungary, made anno 1222, by which the sovereign promises to maintain inviolably the privileges of his subjects, on pain of being himself treated as a traitor. Her first care was to secure to her husband the grand duke a partnership of her crown, under the title of co-regent, to which the states of Austria readily consented. This princess flattered herself that these beginnings would have smoothed his way to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were greatly diminished, or dispersed in the different parts of her dominions; while Prussia, pushing his vast success, made his public entrance into Breslau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his generals surprised the town and fortress of Joblunka, on the confines of Hungary. Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the town by scalade, made the generals Wallis and Reyftic prisoners, and got possession of the military chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The queen of Hungary had appointed count Neuperg, one of the most experienced generals in Europe, to assume the command of her troops in Silesia, who after some time, and with no small difficulty, got together an army of about twenty-four thousand men, with which he flew to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Prussia found himself under the necessity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neiss. This battle, which was fought on Monday the tenth of April, was very obstinate and bloody, the two armies being nearly equal in point of

strength. The engagement lasted from two in the forenoon till half an hour past six in the evening. In the beginning the Austrians put the Prussian cavalry into great disorder, and at length entirely broke that body: they then fell in flank upon the first line of the infantry. The battle was thought to be lost, and the king of Prussia was in danger of being made prisoner; but his second line of infantry, by the noble stand they made, retrieved the fortune of the day; and in the end the Austrians were obliged to retire, which they did in good order, under the cannon of Neiss, leaving the field of battle to the Prussians. This victory, though by no means decisive, served greatly to raise the character of the Prussian troops, and the opinion of the military accomplishments of the young monarch. This battle was soon followed by the surrender of Neiss, which, though extremely well fortified, and fully provided for a vigorous defence, submitted after a few days siege.

In the mean time, the Austrian ministry entertained the most sanguine hopes from the resolutions of the British parliament, already related; as likewise from the arrival of the king of England in his German dominions. Nevertheless, they thought it necessary strongly to solicit the aid and assistance of the States-general, who, besides being bound by the most solemn engagements to support the pragmatic sanction, were under the strongest obligations to the house of Austria and to his Britannic majesty. The king of Prussia had, however, foreseen this application; and to counterbalance its effect had given the Dutch to understand, that if they intermeddled in the affair, he should instantly revive the old pretensions of his family on part of the estates of the principality of Orange. He likewise enforced this intimation by a body of six thousand men, which he placed on the Dutch frontiers. In this situation, the States thought it most prudent to confine themselves to the milder methods of intreaty and mediation; in which they were joined by his Britannic majesty, who ordered the earl of Hyndford, his ambassador at the court of Prussia, to concur with Ginckle, the Dutch minister, in presenting a remonstrance to the king of Prussia against continuing his troops any longer in the duchy of Silesia. To this memorial the count de Podewitz, by order of his Prussian majesty, returned an answer, in which he reduced his demands to the Lower Silesia, with the town of Breslau, being left to him either by mortgage or otherwise, in lieu of his pretensions to the several districts he had claimed as his right in that duchy; for which he would not only engage to assist the queen of Hungary with his whole force, for the preservation of the late emperor's succession, but also to give his vote and interest to the grand duke for procuring to him the imperial crown. At the same time, he persisted in his intention to maintain possession of the territories he had seized, which, he said, could not be considered as a violation of the pragmatic sanction.

The court of Vienna rejected all these proposals with disdain, adhering in their first resolution to enter into no accommodation, without the previous abandoning of Silesia by the Prussians, tho' at the same time they had the greatest reason to believe that France and Bavaria were soliciting the alliance of Prussia: and this refusal on the part of the queen of Hungary was, by most politicians at that

that time, thought the more impolitic, as Spain and Bavaria had openly avowed their ill intentions against the house of Austria. This, joined to the timidity and irresolution of the Dutch, should certainly have prevailed on the court of Vienna to have relaxed a little in its obstinacy, and have secured so powerful a confederate from France and Bavaria. To this however it may be replied, in defence of her Hungarian majesty, that her honour and dignity had been wounded in the tenderest part by the hostile proceedings of Prussia; that she and her ministry had been rendered still more presumptuous by the proffered friendship of Great Britain; and by hearing that the English parliament had resolved not only to pay the Danes and Hessians, but likewise to supply them with half a million of money for her defence. Nay, the queen had been actually encouraged by our court and by the Dutch to insist upon it as a preliminary in any agreement to be made between her and the king of Prussia, that the troops of the latter should withdraw from Silesia; and even promised her hopes of their assistance, if he refused to comply.

By some means or other his Prussian majesty had come to the knowledge of this promise, as also of a scheme that had been formed by the Austrian ministry for a general confederacy against him, and a partition of his dominions; in which the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, was allotted a considerable share: and as he had received no intimation of such a design from England, he immediately concluded that it had been approved by his Britannic majesty, and from that instant vowed an implacable enmity towards the house of Austria and the British nation: in consequence of which, he entered into close connections with the court of Versailles, the event of which will appear in the sequel.

France now beheld, with an eye of pleasure, the period that presented a favourable opportunity of humbling the house of Austria, and advancing a poor and powerless prince of her own nomination to the imperial throne. This prince was no other than Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, who had, while yet in his infancy, been made prisoner by the Austrians after the battle of Hochstet, and stripped even of his title of Bavaria. France found her account in setting up this prince: she thought it would be no difficult matter to procure for him, at one and the same time, the empire, and a part of the Austrian succession; by which means the Lorraine branch of Austria would be deprived of that superiority which the old one affected to have over the other princes of Europe, and the old rivalry subsisting between the dependents of Bourbon and Austria would be abolished.

Flattering as these prospects seemed, the French ministry hesitated for some time; nay, they even continued to give the queen of Hungary the strongest assurances of the good intentions of his most Christian majesty. Cardinal de Fleury, the prime minister of France, was then in his eighty-fifth year, and was fearful of staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. He also thought himself restrained by the pragmatic sanction, to which he had acceded, and authentically guaranteed. Though Fleury was not distinguished either by the genius of Richelieu or the abilities of Mazarine, yet, while suffered to

pursue his own plans, he was a more useful member than either to his country. On this occasion, however, he was forced to give way; for no sooner was it known at the court of Versailles that the house of Brandenburg had divided itself from that of Austria, than the whole French nation cried aloud for war. His most Christian majesty himself was brought over to the party of those who opposed the pacific schemes of the cardinal minister; and the latter, about the beginning of the year, was compelled to send instructions to the marshal count de Belleisle (afterwards duke) to prepare a plan for negotiating in Europe the means of carrying on a war, to fix the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne, and secure to him part of the Austrian succession.

Belleisle readily obeyed orders so agreeable to his own views, and of which he himself indeed had been the principal promoter: he drew up his scheme, and never did the execution of any project appear more certain. It imported, that before the month of June 1741, fifty thousand French troops should pass the Rhine towards the Danube; that an army of forty thousand should be formed on the side of Westphalia, in order to overawe the electorate of Hanover, while Saxony (who seemed inclined to join the confederacy) Prussia, and Bavaria, were to have been seconded by the army on the Rhine, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologne also attached himself to this interest, being that of his brother the intended emperor. The old elector-palatine also joined to set Bavaria on the imperial throne, in whose favour every thing seemed united. He was to be assisted in seizing upon Austria, Suabia, and Bohemia; for the imperial dignity alone would have been hardly worth acceptance. This alliance was moreover to join Spain, in order to put Don Philip, son of Philip V. and nearly related to Lewis XV. in possession of Parma and the Milanese.

This scheme was so well relished by the warlike party in the French court, that they proposed its being carried into immediate execution; to which they were the more particularly encouraged, by hearing of the miscarriage of the English attempts against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. The marshal count de Belleisle was dispatched to the court of Munich, where he had an interview with the elector of Bavaria at his palace of Nymphenburgh, and concluded a treaty there between the French king and the elector, whereby his most Christian majesty engaged "to get the elector acknowledged emperor, and to assist him, in case of opposition, with his whole force; and, in return, the elector stipulated, if he obtained the imperial dignity, that he would never attempt to recover any of the imperial towns or provinces conquered by France, unless the king should be inclined to restore them; and if so, the elector was to reimburse his majesty forty-five millions of livres for his expences in supporting the election. The elector also promised to renounce the barrier-treaty, and agreed, that whatever conquests France should make in the Netherlands, she should irrevocably keep."

The French having now received a large sum of money from Madrid, began to put their troops in motion; and his Christian majesty published a declaration towards the close of this summer, importing, "That the king of Great Britain having assembled

assembled an army in Germany (meaning about twenty-six thousand men which, as elector of Hanover, he had on foot in those parts of his dominions) he, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, was resolved, without prejudice to the pragmatic sanction, to send a body of forces to the Rhine, in order to secure the freedom of the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to assist those princes who might call upon him for the performance of his engagements."

Belleisle was now appointed to carry his own scheme into execution, under the double character of ambassador and general. He had an interview with his Prussian majesty in his camp at Franckfort. That monarch, from the motives we have already related, was ready to enter with the greatest cordiality into an alliance with France, and a treaty was concluded on the twenty-eighth of August, whereby it was agreed, "That the elector of Bavaria should be chosen emperor, and should be put in possession of Bohemia, the Upper Austria, and Tyrol: that the elector of Saxony, if he joined the confederacy, should enjoy the Upper Silesia and Moravia: and that the Lower Silesia, the town and territory of Neiss, and the town and country of Glatz, should remain to the king of Prussia." The marshal next repaired to the court of Dresden; and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, being informed of the advantageous terms that were stipulated for him, ordered his troops to join the allies even before he had signed the treaty.

Immediately on the conclusion of this treaty, the elector of Bavaria commenced his military operations by assembling his forces, consisting of thirty thousand men, in a camp near Scharding, where they were soon after joined by an army of forty thousand French, under the command of the marshals Broglie and Belleisle, who had passed the Rhine and entered Bavaria. At the same time the elector received a patent from the most Christian king, appointing him his lieutenant-general, with full power and authority to command the French auxiliary army in Germany, wherever there should be occasion.

The elector thus strengthened, declared war against the queen of Hungary, by the title of grand dukes of Tuscany, and easily penetrated into Austria; while that hapless princess was scarcely able to oppose the king of Prussia. Bavaria soon made himself master of Passau, a strong city situated at the confluence of the Danube, Inn, and Ilts, belonging to cardinal Lemberg, bishop of that see. This city was the key from Bavaria into Upper Austria. He afterwards took possession of Lintz, the capital of the lower territory; and from thence sent a summons to count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna, and spread consternation to the very gates of that metropolis.

Another body of French troops, to the number of thirty-five thousand men, commanded by marshal Maillebois, quitted their camp at Sedan, a town of Champagne in France, and marched so far into Westphalia as to appear on the frontiers of Hanover. The views of France in this manœuvre were to frighten the ministry of Hanover into a neutrality. The king of England was then in his electorate, and the whole of his forces composed a body of no more than twenty-six thousand men. These were too insufficient to oppose such

a numerous army; and the king of Prussia having another considerable body of troops upon the other side of the Hanoverian dominions, so conveniently posted, that the greatest part of the electorate might have been destroyed by it in less than twenty-four hours, his Britannic majesty in these circumstances was obliged to think of neutral measures for Hanover; and a convention for the neutrality of that electorate was signed there upon the sixteenth of September.

The news of this surprising event struck the whole court of Vienna with unspeakable consternation, to find itself abandoned at this melancholy juncture. Not one of the princes, either within the empire or without, at this time, supported that pragmatic sanction which so many of them had guaranteed. Vienna, poorly fortified on that side where it was threatened, could not have held out long; or indeed the taking of it seemed rather a certainty. The Dutch beheld unmoved the army under Mallebois parade it in Westphalia: the king of Great Britain, at the very instant he was ready to march to the assistance of the distressed queen, at the head of an army he had assembled for that purpose, was obliged to lay down his arms to secure the safety of his own electorate, and to swell the number of her foes: the queen of Spain, another Semiramis in ambition, who governed entirely the Spanish court, had caused it to publish a memorial, alleging the pretensions of that crown to all the dominions possessed by the late emperor.

Thus the queen of Hungary, almost before she had been invested with the regal purple, found herself surrounded by a troop of foes, rapacious and eager to devour the four possessions bequeathed to her by her ancestors. In this distressful situation, however, this princess gave proofs of a magnanimity equal to that of the most renowned heroes of antiquity, without the least alloy of that weakness liable to her sex. She quitted Vienna, and threw herself into the arms of the Hungarians. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presburg on the thirty-first of August, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, who was yet a cradle infant; and addressing them in Latin, a language in which she expressed herself perfectly well, spoke nearly in these words: "The perplexed situation, said she, to which, by the permission of Divine Providence, I find myself reduced, is attended with such dangerous circumstances, that I have no hopes of extricating myself from it without speedy and powerful succours. Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations, I have no other resource left but to stay in this kingdom, and commit my person, my children, my sceptre, my crown, to the care of my faithful subjects. I do not hesitate to intrust them with all: their loyalty and bravery leave me no room to doubt but they will exert all their strength, speedily and resolutely, to defend me and themselves in this melancholy conjuncture."

All the Palatines, at once softened and animated by this pathetic speech, drawing forth their sabres, exclaimed as one man, "Moriatur pro rege nostro Maria-Theresa! We will die for our king Maria-Theresa!" they always speaking of the sovereign in the masculine gender. Nor was this a sudden burst of affection only called forth by the present

present view of majesty in distress; their real actions corresponded with their words. Before they rose they passed a decree against the elector of Bavaria, which they made perpetual, for excluding that prince and his family for ever from the crown of Hungary. The whole nobility instantly armed themselves and their followers. Old count Palfy, whom the queen used always to stile affectionately her father Palfy, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thousand men; Khevenhuller had raised a body of twelve thousand; Neuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thousand; the grand duke, and his brother prince Charles of Lorraine, who was the delight of the Austrian soldiery, commanded another large army; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berenklaui, count Traun, with many other officers of distinction, exerted themselves strenuously in defence of their beloved queen, than whom no sovereign was ever better served by her subjects, and no one ever better deserved it. Several fortunate circumstances also concurred about this time to save her majesty from the ruin which threatened to overwhelm her.

Cardinal de Fleury, still desirous of peace, tho' hurried against his inclinations into a war, was very slow in furnishing Belleisle with the necessary supplies for effecting his extensive scheme. In particular, he furnished him only with ten thousand cavalry, though the marshal had always declared that he could not answer for success without double the number; and his allies could not furnish him with the other necessaries he stood in need of, without too much distressing themselves. The elector of Bavaria also was guilty of a most imprudent and impolitic measure; for instead of advancing to the attack of Vienna (which every one expected) while the inhabitants were in the depth of consternation, and would in all probability have made little or no resistance, after leaving twelve thousand men under count Segur, to guard the banks of the river Inn, and preserve his communication with Bavaria, towards the middle of October he turned off towards Bohemia, and allowed the Austrians to recover from their panic, and prepare themselves for a vigorous defence of Vienna.

The active Khevenhuller, who was universally esteemed the bravest of the Austrian generals, failed not to improve this incident to the advantage of his royal mistress, and marched at the head of a powerful army into Bohemia, with a view of covering Prague, or bringing the fate of Germany to the issue of a battle. In this however he failed; for the elector of Saxony, who had by this time declared against the queen of Hungary, tho' indebted to her father for his crown of Poland, had joined his troops, under count Rutowski, to those of the Bavarian and French, who, on the tenth of November, advanced to Prague, the capital of Bohemia, without any resistance; and being then upwards of sixty thousand strong, and the garrison consisting only of three thousand men, they took the place by scalade, and made general Ogilvy, who commanded therein, prisoner, together with his whole garrison.

The grand duke and count Khevenhuller were already within five leagues of Prague when it was taken; but being unable to prevent its fate, and finding subsistence fail in the quarters which they occupied, he retired to the southern part of the province. There they divided their army into

three bodies. The grand duke commanded one, prince Lobkowitz another, and Khevenhuller a third: the two first gained a great many advantages, which it would be tedious to enumerate; but the most important affair was conducted by Khevenhuller, who marched against M. Segur, whom the elector of Bavaria had left commander of the forces in Austria. Him Khevenhuller attacked and defeated; and encouraged by these successes, advanced to Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, which he invested. The place was defended by a garrison of ten thousand Bavarians and French; but the count being joined by the army under the grand duke, carried on his attacks with such impetuosity, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, on condition of not serving for one whole year against her Hungarian majesty.

In the mean time, the elector of Bavaria being in possession of Prague, the court of France now put in execution the plan of promoting him to the imperial dignity. The ministry of Versailles had previously interested the electoral powers in his favour; and he being crowned king of Bohemia at Prague on the sixteenth of December, whereby the vote of that kingdom was suppressed, there remained no obstacle to his advancement, and he was elected emperor by the majority of suffrages in the electoral college on the twelfth of February following, on which very day he received information of the misfortune he had sustained in the loss of Lintz.

France, however, thinking its work but half done while the queen of Hungary, its devoted victim, had a town left wherein to shelter her head from the storm that surrounded her, had employed its emissaries at Constantinople, to excite the Ottoman forces to augment the enemies of this wretched princess; in which case she must have inevitably been undone. In this alarming conjuncture, she wrote a letter with her own hand to the grand seignior, who, with a magnanimity that might do honour to the best of Christian princes, assured her in return, that, far from taking advantage of her distresses, he should seize all opportunities to convince her of his friendship. The pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy within her dominions, and even to use all the church plate, for the support of the war. The czarina having also expressed an inclination to assist this unfortunate princess, the French resolved to find her employment in another quarter, by persuading the Swedes to declare war against Russia, which they accordingly did, on the most frivolous pretences; and having assembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large squadron of ships, they commenced hostilities, by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia; but a large detachment of their army being defeated by the Russians near Wylmanstrandt, that fortress was immediately after taken from them by assault; and the revolution in Russia happening soon afterwards, by which the princess of Mecklenburgh and the infant czar were deposed, and the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the late Peter the Great, raised to the throne of Russia, a cessation of arms was agreed upon in December between the two powers.

Though deprived by this event of the succour which she had so much reason to expect from the friendship of the deposed princess; yet fortune on a sudden seemed to relax of her severity in favour of

Maria-

Maria-Theresa; for while marshal Khevenhuller was besieging Lintz, general Bernes seized the great magazine which the French and Bavarians had established at Cremsmunster; and general Berenklaui, in his march towards Bavaria, mastered the towns of Hallstadt and Ischel, making the garrison, consisting of four hundred men, prisoners; and prosecuting his successes, opened a way for the hussars to make incursions very far into the electoral dominions. Soon after he joined colonel Mentzel with a body of troops under his command; and they proceeding together, attacked the Bavarians at the village of Wittich, and obtained a complete victory, in which the enemy lost upwards of three thousand men, and their general, Preysing, was taken prisoner. By these and other unlooked-for successes, her Hungarian majesty recovered Austria, and procured winter-quarters for her troops in Bavaria.

As the campaign terminated with an auspicious prospect in favour of the queen of Hungary, against the confederate army, it will be now requisite to take a view of the situation of affairs in her Italian dominions.

The ministers of France and Spain had omitted no solicitations to engage the king of Sardinia in the alliance against her: but this prince, jealous of the Spaniards gaining any settlement in Italy, determined to espouse the cause of the house of Austria; and not only denied a passage through Piedmont for fifteen thousand French troops to join the Spaniards, but also formed two camps on his frontiers, to oppose the entrance of the Spaniards into his country, which compelled them to run the hazard of sending their troops by sea. The republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French interest: the pope, the Venetians, and the duchy of Tuscany, were neutral. The king of the Two Sicilies, awed by the British fleet, had hitherto professed a like neutrality; but being evidently attached to the Spanish interest, privately resolved to assist that court against the queen of Hungary.

I have already observed, that the queen of Spain had formed a plan for erecting the Austrian dominions in Italy into a monarchy for her second son Philip; and no sooner was the court of Spain ascertained of our king's having signed a neutrality for his Hanoverian dominions, than they embarked a body of fifteen thousand men under the duke de Montemar, captain-general of Spain, at Barcelona, which were transported to Orbittello, on the coast of Tuscany, under convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain, in the month of October. The British admiral Haddock was then lying at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar with a fleet of twelve ships of the line, who no sooner heard of the Spanish fleet passing the Streights than he put to sea after them. He fell in with them in a few days, but to his great mortification found that they had been joined by the French squadron at Toulon, and saw the ships of the two nations drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. Thus circumstanced, our admiral was obliged to decline the engagement, the force of the combined fleets being double that

of the English squadron, and to make the best of his way for Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation. But it was too late in the year for the Spaniards to commence any military designs; therefore they put their troops into winter quarters, waiting for a reinforcement from Spain and the return of spring, before they attempted any thing farther to disturb the repose of her Hungarian majesty's dominions in Italy.

Although king George, as elector of Hanover, had been obliged to desert the cause of this princess; yet he did not fail, as king of Great Britain, to espouse it to the utmost. He had the pleasure to see his opinion warmly espoused by all his subjects, who were universally warmed in her favour. The duchess of Marlborough, whose deceased husband had fought for Charles VI. assembled the principal ladies of distinction in London, whom she induced to advance for this cause one hundred thousand pounds, forty thousand of which she laid down herself. The queen of Hungary however nobly declined accepting the money, chusing rather to wait for such sums as might be granted to her by the nation in parliament assembled.

The king returned to England in the month of October, and on the first day of December the session was opened, Mr. Onslow being re-chosen speaker. Never had there been a more violent contest than that occasioned by the late elections for the new parliament. The minister, secure in his own influence, was unpardonably remiss in soliciting his friends on this occasion. The minority beheld with pleasure this oversight, which they converted to their own advantage, and exerted themselves with such diligence, that they obtained at least an equality of voices.

His majesty, in his speech to both houses, said, "That, agreeable to the advice of his parliament, by whose advice and concurrence he had undertaken the present war, he had ordered the chief operations to be carried on in the West Indies: that he needed not inform them of the powerful confederacy which had been formed against her Hungarian majesty; that was a matter too generally known to require any particular explanation: that had other powers, who lay under the like obligations with himself, been as punctual in fulfilling their engagements, the support of the common cause would have been attended with less difficulty: that he had, pursuant to the advice of his parliament, ever since the death of the late emperor, exerted himself in support of the house of Austria; he had endeavoured, by the most proper and early applications, to induce other powers who were equally engaged with him, and united by common interest, to concert such measures as so important and critical a conjuncture demanded; and where an accommodation seemed to him necessary, he had laboured to reconcile those princes, whose union would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischiefs which had happened, and to secure the interest and safety of the whole: that although his endeavours had not hitherto had the desired effect, he could not but still hope, that a just sense of the common and imminent danger would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations: that he hoped the parliament would think it expedient to put the nation in such a condition as might enable it to assist its friends, and

and defeat its enemies; and he flattered himself they would make it their study to proceed with unanimity, vigour, and dispatch, in all their deliberations."

After this speech had been reported to the commons by their speaker, Mr. Herbert (afterwards earl of Powis) moved for an address of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been prosecuted. This motion being seconded by Mr. Trevor, lord Noel Somerset, afterwards duke of Beaufort, stood up, and moved that it should be inserted in the address, "that his majesty should not engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions." He was seconded by Mr. Shippen, who had remarkably distinguished himself by his consistency of principles, through a long course of parliamentary attendance, and who on this occasion was an eminent proof of the acquisition liberty of speech in that house had made since himself was committed to the Tower for an expression which at this time would have passed unnoticed. Mr. Gibbon, an ancient member, who had been always in the opposition, observed, that it would be the highest absurdity to return thanks for the prosecution of a war which had been egregiously mismanaged. Sir Robert Walpole having made a short speech in defence of the first motion for an address, was answered by Mr. Pulteney, who, after entering into a long detail of the minister's conduct, which he censured in every point, suffered himself to be so far carried away by the heat of his imagination, and the acrimony of his animosity, as to charge sir Robert in direct terms with personal attachment and affection to the enemies of his country; an exaggeration which took greatly from the force of his other arguments, which were founded on real facts. After much debate, the minister agreed to leave out the paragraph approving of the manner in which the war had been prosecuted; and the address passed in the following terms: "We will, said they, grant such effectual supplies as shall enable your majesty not only to be in a readiness to support your friends and allies, at such time and in such manner as the exigency and circumstance of affairs shall require, but to oppose and defeat any attempts that shall be made against your majesty, your crown, and kingdom; or against those who, being equally engaged with your majesty, by the faith of treaties, or united by the common interest or common danger, shall be willing to concert such measures as shall be found necessary and expedient for maintaining the balance of power in Europe."

The coldness of this address tended greatly to the prejudice of the minister: his mercenary friends suspecting his power was upon the decline, began by degrees to forsake him; and those who followed him from principle, imagined that he had been too negligent in the interests of a master who had so highly favoured him. The minister also at this time committed another piece of misconduct which did him infinite prejudice: this was the setting up for chairman of the committee of elections, a person who was very little esteemed by either party*, against one whose interest was warmly espoused by

the adverse faction, and was in his own character unexceptionable†. This question being carried against the minister, gave a mortal damp to his interest, and was the prelude to still greater mortifications that awaited him; for the opposition in the house of commons finding their ascendancy, soon manifested the force of their superiority, which was seen in the debates on the controverted elections for Boscawen in Cornwall, the city of Westminster, the shire of Berwick, and Clapperton in Wiltshire, which were all decided in favour of the opposition.

At that for Westminster, a party of soldiers being called on pretence of a riot, the poll books were shut, and the two court candidates, lord Sundon and sir Charles Wager, returned by the high bailiff. The electors of Westminster hereupon presented a petition, which being taken into consideration, the election was declared void, the high bailiff committed to custody, the justices who sent for the soldiers reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the house, and a writ ordered for a new election, when lord Percival and Mr. Edwin were chosen. When the election was declared void, there were great rejoicings throughout the city of Westminster. The court lost this election by a majority of two only (viz. two hundred and twenty-two against two hundred and twenty.) This however served evidently to demonstrate the declension of the minister's interest, and the conclusion of his influence in the house of commons; and he himself was convinced it was high time to provide for his own safety, by retiring from a place where the majority of a single voice might at any time have sent him to the Tower. He had however the consolation of being certain to find the royal protection extend, as far as it constitutionally could, to secure his person from the rage and fury of the times. He therefore continued to give his attendance in the house till the second of February, and even during that time carried some points against the opposition; but the decision of the Chippenham election on that day being carried against him only by one vote, and he having been very roughly handled in the course of the debate, he came out of the house, and in the lobby declared he would never enter it more.

This declaration was not so soon expected either by his friends or his enemies, and seems chiefly to have been accelerated by the repulse sir Robert met with in an attempt which, if it had succeeded, would probably, by dividing the opposition, have secured him a longer political reign.

His royal highness the prince of Wales, who was justly the darling of the whole nation, esteeming sir Robert Walpole as a bar between the king and his people, between the king and foreign powers, and between the king and himself, stood in the front of the opposition, and had for some years lived at a distance from his royal father's presence. Sir Robert therefore, finding himself so closely hunted, was resolved to try, as the last expedient, to reconcile the king and prince, and thereby bring the latter off from the country party. With this view Dr. Secker, bishop of Oxford, and now archbishop of Canterbury, was sent

* Mr. Earl.

† Dr. Lee.

to the prince with a message, importing, that if his royal highness would write a submissive letter to his majesty, fifty thousand pounds should be added to his annual income, two hundred thousand pounds should be given him to pay his debts, he and his friends should be readmitted into the royal favour, and suitable provisions should be made for them all. To this message the prince replied with the strongest protestations of duty towards his majesty, but declared he could agree to no terms till he was removed. It was this answer that determined the minister to withdraw from power; but as it required some time to deliberate upon the first changes, it was requisite to adjourn the house. Accordingly, on the third of February his majesty came to the parliament, and adjourned both houses to the eighteenth. In this interim sir Robert Walpole was, on the eighth of February, created by his majesty, baron of Haughton, viscount Walpole, and earl of Orford; and on the eleventh he resigned all his employments.

As the first happy effect of the change in the ministry, his royal highness waited on his majesty at St. James's, attended by a great concourse of nobility and other persons of distinction; was received in a most gracious manner; and a guard was immediately ordered to attend his royal highness at Carleton-house. This happy reconciliation, with the change of the ministry, was celebrated with public rejoicings. It was now expected the national honour would be retrieved, and such measures pursued as would be most conducive to the restoring and maintaining the ancient constitution, and to concur in making the strictest enquiry into the cause of past mismanagements. It soon appeared, however, that the removal of sir Robert Walpole had wrought no material alteration in the measures of the ministry, though some changes in the higher departments of government were absolutely necessary: therefore, on the resignation of sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Sandys, who had long persevered in opposing him, and had led on the attack against him in parliament, now succeeded him in his place of chancellor of the Exchequer, and was likewise appointed a lord of the Treasury; and the earl of Wilmington succeeded him as first commissioner of that board. Lord Harrington, being dignified with the title of earl, was declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state, jointly with the duke of Newcastle, who continued in his place as the other secretary. The duke of Argyll was made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards, and field-mareschal and commander in chief of all the forces in South Britain; but soon after conceiving some disgust, he resigned all his employments with the utmost indignation. The marquis of Tweeddale was appointed secretary of state for Scotland; a post which had been long suppressed; Mr. Pulteney was re-admitted to his seat in the privy-council, but, agreeable to the promises which he had made to the party, declined accepting of any place; the earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the admiralty, in the room of sir Charles Wager; and, after the resignation of the duke of Argyll, the earl of Stair was appointed field-mareschal of his majesty's forces, and ambassador-extraordinary to the States-general.

As the Whigs who had confederated in the opposition never intended to continue an alliance with the Tories, any further than the removal of the minister, and an alteration in his system of politics; they endeavoured to keep that party from the lead in government, and to prevent them from engrossing any material charge in the administration. As the choice of those already preferred had fallen principally upon the Whigs, it administered matter of great jealousy to, and was considered as an ill omen by the Tories, who expected nothing less than to be admitted into a coalition of power; and though his majesty had already supplied the principal ministerial posts with persons who had long been most confided in by the people, the Tories had very just suspicions they were to be deserted by those gentlemen in power; and that none, or only a very few of the Tories, would be permitted to preside in the government. The duke of Argyll in particular was so disgusted at this proceeding, that he with the utmost resentment again threw up all his places, and was succeeded by the duke of Montagu in that of master of the ordnance.

The parliament met, pursuant to their adjournment, on the eighteenth of February, 1742, when petitions having been presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and many other trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the losses they had sustained by the bad conduct of the war; the house resolved itself into a committee to deliberate on these remonstrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city, and author of the well-known poem of Leonidas. Six days were spent in perusing papers and examining witnesses; then the same gentleman summed up the evidence, and pathetically and eloquently expatiated upon the hardships sustained by the British merchants, and the indifference, disregard, and haughtiness, shewn to them from the admiralty upon several applications, which he represented as the result of one uniform and continued design to make the merchants uneasy with the war. He concluded with observing, that the British trade in this its day of oppression, threw itself upon the protection of a British parliament, in full hopes of that wise and august assembly taking their case into consideration, and of providing for their future security by a law. The parliament paid a due regard to these petitions, and entered into vigorous resolutions for the better protection of the British trade and commerce for the future. Accordingly, a number of small men of war were appointed to cruize in the Channel and about the coasts, to secure the merchant ships from the insults of the Spanish privateers.

It was hoped, that in consequence of the late change in the ministry, the great assembly of the nation would have become again the seat of concord: but alas! these hopes were quickly blasted; and it appeared too plainly that those who had declaimed the loudest for the liberties of their country, had been actuated solely by the most sordid views of self-interest. The members of the long opposition were now divided: those who were in power, joined by some of the late ministerial friends, and promoting others of their own, obtained a visible ascendancy in the parliament; many of the leading Tories were neglected by the ministry;

party began again to kindle; and another opposition quickly disclosed itself. Whigs and Tories were blended in such confusion, some in and others out of employ, that there was hardly making any distinction.

The public voice was at this time unanimous for an enquiry into the administration of sir Robert Walpole. The crime they imputed to him was that of applying not only all the favours of the crown, but even the public money, towards gaining a corrupt influence at elections and in parliament; and in their frenzy of resentment, nothing less was expected as an atonement than the loss of his life, his honours, and the utter ruin of his family. The wiser and more moderate part of the senate, however, were disinclined to take such severe revenge on a mistaken man, who, though he might have trespassed upon the power in his hands, yet the laws might have been tortured more to have reached him capitally, than he had strained his power to maintain himself; and therefore at the same time they concurred in detecting and exposing the mismanagement of his administration, in order to gratify the wishes of the nation, they at the same time determined to protect him from the rage and violence of party fury.

On the ninth day of March the lord viscount Limerick moved the house of commons, that a committee might be appointed to enquire into the conduct of affairs at home and abroad for the last twenty years (the space of time the late minister had been at the helm.) He was seconded by sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. W. Pitt, and lord Percival, the new member for Westminster. The motion was opposed by sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox. Several of the members, who were otherwise inclined to have favoured the motion, opposed it also, because they apprehended it to be too extensive, both as to time and matter; and that an enquiry for so long time back was without a precedent, and if allowed would be such a precedent as might be of dangerous consequence in future times. In fine, the motion, after a long debate, was rejected by a majority of two. Not discouraged by this disappointment, the same nobleman, on March 23, made another motion, "That a committee be appointed to enquire into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford, during the last ten years of his being first commissioner of the Treasury, and chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's Exchequer," which was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seven; and the house resolved, "That a committee of secrecy, in number twenty-one, should be chosen by balloting;" and in the mean time presented an address to the king, assuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection.

The place and pension bills, and that for repealing septennial parliaments, had been regarded as the great criterions of the party during their late opposition, and it was now determined to put the sincerity of the present administration to those tests. The pension-bill went through the lower house, but was rejected in the upper, lord Carteret voting against that very measure which he had so lately endeavoured to promote. It was generally thought that the motion for repealing the septennial act would have been carried; but as it was made by sir Robert Godschall, and seconded by sir John Barnard, it was rejected by a majority

of twenty voices. Among those who spoke against it were Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys, who having, during the late opposition, been always the chief promoters of it, were thereby exposed to a great deal of censure. The people, enraged by the miscarriage of those their favourite schemes, exclaimed with great vehemence, that they had been deceived and betrayed; and that an infamous compromise had been made between the old and the new ministers, in order to elude the hopes and wishes of the nation: the cry for justice against the late minister was revived, and re-echoed from all parts of the kingdom, and something in decency must be done to silence it.

The committee of secrecy being chosen, they proceeded to business; and upon the thirteenth of April the lord Limerick reported to the house, that the committee met with great obstructions in their enquiry; for having ordered Nicholas Paxton, esquire, solicitor to the Treasury; Gwynn Vaughan, esquire; and Mr. Scroope, secretary to the Treasury, before them for an examination, they refused to answer the interrogations exhibited by the committee. It seems that the two first of these gentlemen alleged, that the laws of England did not compel a man to say any thing which might tend to accuse himself; and the latter, in whose name all the secret service-money was issued, amounting to above a million, refused to answer any question, pleading his majesty's injunction to the contrary; and that he was not permitted to reveal any thing on that subject.

Mr. Paxton had been committed to Newgate by the committee for his obstinacy: and upon this report to the house it was resolved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying such persons as should, upon examination, make discoveries touching the disposition of public money, and concerning the disposition of offices, or any payment or agreement in respect thereof, or concerning other matters relating to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford. This bill was drawn up, passed, and sent up to the lords, when a motion was made for its being committed; upon which a long debate ensued, in the course of which the lord Carteret spoke strenuously against it. This nobleman had been long remarkable for his opposition to the late minister, and had even made the motion in the house of peers for removing him from his majesty's presence and councils. On this occasion he appeared in the light of his advocate. His lordship affirmed, that the bill now proposed was contrary to justice, the laws of nature, and the fundamental maxims of the British constitution, and even without precedent: that against such a method as this, no innocence could be a protection; for informers would naturally expect a reward, if they could fix any crime upon a man thus set up as the object of public resentment: nay, that by this means a few of them would probably be induced to enter into a conspiracy for charging him with some heinous crime; and that conspiracy might be so cunningly formed, as to render it impossible for him to prove his innocence, or to avoid condemnation. After this and some other speeches, the question being at last put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of fifty-two; though no less than thirty-two lords, and amongst them the most eminent and best esteemed part of the nobility entered their protest against the re-

jecting this bill; because they conceived it might prove a dangerous precedent, of fatal consequence to the constitution, since, whenever the nation should be visited by a wicked minister, those who should have served him in defrauding or oppressing the public, and in corrupting individuals, would be furnished with an excuse for refusing their evidence; their danger would produce his security, and he might enjoy in safety the plunder of his country: nay, they even apprehended that the rejecting of this bill might be understood, by those who could make any discovery, as if that house designed to discourage any evidence whatsoever that could affect the person whose conduct the secret committee was appointed by the house of commons to enquire into.

Those members in the house of commons who were for prosecuting the enquiry, beheld with the utmost indignation the fate of their favourite bill. A committee was appointed to search the Journals of the Lords for precedents; and their report being read, lord Strange, son to the earl of Derby, moved for a resolution, "That the lords refusing to concur with the commons of Great Britain, in an indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the enquiry now depending in parliament, is an obstruction to justice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation." The motion, which was seconded by lord Quarendon, son of the earl of Litchfield, gave rise to a warm debate; and Mr. Sandys declaimed against it, as a step that would bring on an immediate dissolution of the present form of government.

Another motion was made in the course of this session, which greatly engaged the attention of the public. This was for leave to bring in a bill for taking, examining, and stating the public accounts of the kingdom. The motion was carried, and the bill prepared, importing, among other things, that the number of commissioners for carrying the bill into execution should be seven: that no person should be a commissioner who had any office of profit, or was accountable to his majesty: that the commissioners should be members of this house; and that they should be chose by ballot. This motion was in its nature extremely alarming to the earl of Orford's friends, who were indefatigable in exerting their interest to procure on their side a majority of the commissioners; and having, in spite of all the endeavours of the opposite party, succeeded in this point, the patrons of the bill became so indifferent about it, that it was dropped.

It was with unspeakable regret that the country party, and the bulk of the nation, beheld so many obstructions thrown in the way of an enquiry which they had so loudly demanded; and that they were likely to be disappointed in their ardent hopes of bringing the late minister to public justice. I have already hinted that the new administration only wanted to expose the misconduct of the earl of Orford; and when this was done, they intended to protect him from any dangers such a proceeding might naturally incur, and from the open and declared vengeance of an enraged and unthinking multitude. It was with this view that they had concurred with the other part of the late opposition, in promoting an enquiry into the conduct of the late minister, which they pushed so far as to make it evident that he had been concerned in many flagrant acts of fraud and corruption in in-

fluencing elections; and, by making use of the wealth, power, and places of the crown, to introduce a criminal dependency in parliament, and to sap the constitution at its very foundation. It was demonstrated, that during the last ten years of his administration, no less a sum than one million four hundred and fifty-three thousand four hundred pounds of the public money had gone through his hands for secret service; that above fifty thousand pounds of this sum had been paid to hireling writers; that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil list revenues for above thirty thousand pounds. In a word, it was clearly manifested, as far as the enquiry extended, that the late minister had made too free with his trust on the one hand, and the constitution on the other. The new ministry wanted no further or greater accusation: the public were made sensible of his errors and mismanagement. This was thought sufficient: and though the blind and outrageous populace called aloud for his blood; yet those at the helm, wisely and justly considering that it would be no less than murder to suffer the life of a man to be taken away, when no law of the land had subjected him to death, stepped in the breach, and saved him from destruction; and the committee proceeding to make a further progress in their scrutiny, and having almost prepared a third report, were interrupted, by the prorogation of the parliament on the fifteenth of July.

In the mean time, in hopes of lulling the resentments of the people, and, if possible, to conciliate their affections, the ministry assented to a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the house of commons. They passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture, another for regulating the trade of the plantations, and a third to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted forty thousand seamen, and sixty-two thousand five hundred land-men, for the service of the current year: they provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel: they granted the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, and voted to send sixteen thousand three hundred and thirty-four effective men to the assistance of the queen of Hungary. The grants for the year 1742 amounted to five millions seven hundred and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds, for which the committee of supplies provided by a land-tax at four shillings in the pound; the malt-tax; one million from the sinking fund; annuities granted upon it for eight hundred thousand pounds; and a loan of one million six hundred thousand pounds from the Bank. This produced in all six millions one hundred thousand pounds; so that there was a surplus of three hundred and seventy-six thousand four hundred and sixty-three pounds.

Some time before the prorogation of the parliament, John lord Gower was appointed keeper of his majesty's privy-seal; Allen lord Bathurst was made captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners; and, to the surprize of every one, that great champion in the opposition, Mr. Pulteney, accepted of a coronet, by the title of earl of Bath.

I shall now resume the history of the operations of war in the year 1742, which the money, the countenance, and the arms of this nation so greatly influenced.

Upon

Upon the duke of Argyll's throwing up all his places, the earl of Stair, who had been lately appointed ambassador to the States-general, was made commander in chief of the British forces designed for Flanders. His lordship had embarked early in the spring on his embassy for Holland, with orders to endeavour to concert, jointly with their High Mightinesses, the proper measures for preserving the liberty of Europe, and establishing a just balance of power.

The troops destined for the queen of Hungary's service, after passing in review before his majesty, were embarked the latter end of April for Flanders, where they were to be joined by fifteen thousand Hanoverians, and by the six thousand Hessians that were in British pay; and the earl of Stair, who had not been able with all his address, which was allowed to be very great, to prevail on the Dutch to come to a resolution of taking the field in conjunction with the English, was recalled from the Hague to take the command of the army; and the lord Carteret, principal secretary of state, was dispatched to Holland with fresh instructions.

Mean time, the change in the British administration had given a new aspect to the face of affairs on the continent. The news no sooner arrived in Holland than the States-general, tho' corrupted in great measure by the gold of France, shewed a more favourable disposition to renew the ancient good understanding with England, so necessary for checking the ambitious views of the general enemy. It was no sooner known in Germany than it infused new spirits into the councils, and gave fresh courage to the arms of her Hungarian majesty. The king of Sardinia, who foresaw his own ruin in that of the house of Austria, and had hitherto ventured only to refuse the Spanish troops a passage through his territories, on their coming to invade the Austrian dominions in Italy, as soon as he was ascertained of the alteration in the British ministry, discovered a resolution to support the queen of Hungary. France received the news of this change with the utmost consternation. His most Christian majesty immediately called an extraordinary council of state, wherein it was resolved to put that kingdom in the best posture of defence, and to pursue the affairs of the marine with the utmost diligence.

By this time Charles Albert, duke of Bavaria, was elected emperor, by the name of Charles VII. and recognized by the pope, who, according to the ancient custom, on this occasion granted the letters of dispensation, to excuse the emperor going into Italy to take the two crowns of Rome and Milan. As soon as the election, the investiture consequent thereupon, and other ceremonials, were completed, the emperor revoked the Aulic council, or supreme court of judicature at Rome, and established another at Franckfort; from whence the elector of Mentz, as chancellor of the empire, wrote to the queen of Hungary to transmit the records and papers belonging to that council from Vienna. This princess, however, disacknowledged the validity of the imperial election: she refused to comply with the demand; and soon after, the imperial diet or assembly of the states was removed from Ratisbon to Franckfort.

The elector of Bavaria, however, received but a small share of happiness from his new elevation;

for, amidst the loud acclamations which every way approached him, he had the misfortune to behold his electoral dominions laid open to the victorious Austrians, conducted by the great Khevenhuller, the most consummate general of the age. The strong passes of that electorate had been already penetrated; several principal towns were reduced; and the Bavarian army defeated during the severity of the winter season. The Austrians soon after advanced into the bowels of this plentiful country; and Munich, the capital seat of the Bavarian family, fell an easy prey to the unresisted invaders.

The queen of Hungary was no sooner informed of this event, than she wrote a most affecting letter to Khevenhuller, and presented him with the pictures of herself and her infant son, the archduke Joseph (born March 13, 1741). The letter was read, and the pictures shewn, to the officers and soldiers, who, transported with an enthusiasm of zeal for their beloved sovereign, swore they would live and die for her service; and in their future behaviour, as if inspired with these noble sentiments, they discovered on all occasions not only courage and resolution, but even madness and fury.

About the same time baron Bernklau entered Bavaria by another quarter, with an army drawn from the woods and wilds in the remotest territories of Austria, whose appearance, scarcely bordering upon human, spread terror wherever they went, which was still increased by their being allowed to live upon free quarters. They were however a very useful and indefatigable body of men: they drove count Thoring, with his Bavarians, under the cannon of Ingoldstadt, and performed many other important services.

Soon after, viz. about the middle of April, the Bavarians received a reinforcement of twenty thousand French troops, commanded by the duke de Harcourt, who were detached from Prague, and came by Amberg, through the Upper Palatinate. On the other hand, marshal Khevenhuller, being joined by the prince of Saxe-Hilburghausen, with an army of twenty-four thousand men, had seized an advantageous post at Ortenburgh, in the neighbourhood of Passau, and detached general Bernklau to observe the motions of the confederates, who had sent a body of four thousand men to attack the Austrian garrison in Munich. The garrison, upon intelligence of their design, quitted the city, thinking it untenable; but before the French could arrive, the city was again repossessed by the Austrians.

The Bavarians having received a second reinforcement from France, the confederate army was now augmented to fifty thousand men, and pitched their camp at Neder Altsach. This obliged Khevenhuller to recal his troops from Munich, and assemble his army all together near Villingen, where, having thrown two bridges over the Danube, general Bernklau was detached, with baron Trenck, and a body of six thousand men, to cross that river, and march as far as Zell, where they encamped and entrenched themselves within a league of the French and Bavarians, who thereupon marched back to Deckendorff towards the end of May; and from thence count Thoring and the duke de Harcourt advanced with a part of the army to the castle of Hilkersberg, on the Danube,

Danube, with a view to take possession of the bridge the Austrians had thrown over that river. The Austrian garrison, under the command of general Helfreich, immediately marched out to give them battle; and a severe action ensued, in which the Imperialists were defeated, with the loss of one thousand killed and wounded. After this action the French and Bavarians, though so greatly superior to the Austrians, avoided an engagement. To counterbalance, however, in some measure, these advantages, mareschal Broglio sent a body of French and Bavarians under prince Maurice of Saxony (better known by the name of count Saxe and marshal Saxe) who took by capitulation the town of Egra, while the citadel of Glatz, for want of provisions, was obliged to surrender to his Prussian majesty, who was conducting the operations of the war in Moldavia.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the grand duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of thirty-five thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse, and every-where favoured by the inhabitants. He commenced a defensive war very successfully, keeping the enemy in a continual state of alarm, by cutting off their convoys, and harassing them perpetually on every hand with crouds of hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The Pandours are Slavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Saave: they wear long garments, and in their girdles carry several pistols, a sabre, and a poniard. The Talpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sabre: the Croats are the militia of Croatia: the hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon small horses, which are very swift, light, and hardy; they are employed to cut off posts that are weak, and not properly supported by cavalry, which was every-where the case of the troops of France and Bavaria. The Austrians being enabled, by means of the great number of recruits which they daily received, to form a more regular plan of operations, prince Lobkowitz, at the head of eleven thousand foot and five thousand horse, was appointed to watch the motions of the French in Bohemia, while prince Charles with his army advanced against the Prussians and Saxons, who were preparing to lay siege to Brinn; but on advice of prince Charles's march, laid aside that intention, retired with great precipitation out of Moravia, and abandoned Olmutz.

This retreat was considered by the Austrians as extremely advantageous to their views, since it gave them an opportunity of uniting their whole force against the French under marshal Broglio, who was too strong for prince Lobkowitz singly; but before the Austrians could effect this junction, the king of Prussia having received a strong reinforcement of thirty-two thousand men, under prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, entered Bohemia, and with the utmost celerity endeavoured to circumvent the motions of the Austrians, and prevent their junction. By the force of generalship the king effected his design, and at last his army and that of prince Charles came to a pitched battle at Czaflaw, a town thirty-five miles to the eastward of Prague. The regular troops on both sides were nearly equal in number; but the Austrians had the advantage of a vast number of irregulars, who did them great service in the action. The battle continued four hours with the most

bloody obstinacy: the Austrians demonstrated the greatest bravery; the Prussians fought with a degree of desperation. Victory, however, was on the point of deciding for the former, when the irregulars, having forced their way into the Prussian camp, fell to plundering: their example was unfortunately followed by the regulars of the right wing, who had also broken into the enemy's intrenchments; and the main body of the Austrians being by this means left exposed, his Prussian majesty seized the critical moment; and renewing the attack with redoubled fury, obliged prince Charles to retire, with the loss of three thousand men, though his own loss was not much inferior.

His Prussian majesty, however, notwithstanding his great success, as well in Bohemia as Silesia, began to think of compromising his differences with the queen of Hungary. He was chiefly induced to take this resolution from his detection of the chicanery of the French court, which now first manifested itself towards his majesty. According to the plan of operations concerted, the French army was to have joined the Prussian forces before the battle of Czaflaw; but every courier brought fresh pretences for retarding their march. These subtleties were fully exposed, by a copy of marshal Broglio's dispatches, of the fourth of May, which fell into the king's hands. By these he discovered that a reinforcement of five thousand men was in march towards the marshal's army, and that his instructions ordered him not to join the Prussians; to spare his troops as much as possible, and never to act near those of the king; to form an army of observation of twenty thousand men to watch the motions of the Prussians; to risque nothing in conjunction with them, but to pretend to the king in excuse, that no reinforcement was arrived, any more than marshal Belleisle, who was the only general that had orders to act in concert with the king. Notwithstanding this discovery, he continued his operations against the Austrians, foreseeing, that if these should destroy the French, an event which was by no means improbable, he himself must be left to the mercy of the court of Vienna, from which he had every thing to fear. In order therefore to secure himself against this danger, he was obliged to save the French, though he was by no means satisfied with their conduct; but having gained the victory of Czaflaw, he continued entirely upon the defensive.

In a letter which he wrote to marshal Broglio after the battle, he covertly reproaches the French with their perfidy, in the following terms: "I am quit with my allies, for my troops have just now gained a complete victory: it is your business to make what advantage you can of it immediately, otherwise you may be answerable to your allies." The marshal pretended not to understand what his majesty meant by the words, "I am quit with my allies;" and wrote to Versailles, "That the king of Prussia might have expressed himself more obligingly, but that he did not understand the French tongue." He understood it well, and his meaning was clear.

While this monarch remained in a perfect state of inaction, the French gained a victory over the Austrians at Sahay, on the road to Frauemberg; but scarcity of provisions rendered the allies unable to make any advantage of their success. The arrival of the recruits from France was too late: the troops under

der Broglie were so much diminished, that only twelve thousand men could be mustered at a review of forty-six battalions, which ought to have amounted to thirty thousand men; the rest of the army was scattered, while prince Charles of Lorraine and prince Lobkowitz united their forces. To add to this misfortune, there was but little agreement between the French generals. Had the Prussians acted conjunctly with the French and Saxons, it is certain, that being masters of Prague, Egra, and all the northern Bohemia, victorious at Czaflaw and Sahay, they might have remained masters of Bohemia. The reason of the king of Prussia's inactivity was owing to the resolution he had taken to accommodate his differences with the queen of Hungary, in case he could procure any reasonable terms; and when marshal Belleisle waited upon him in his camp on the fifth of June, in order to concert with him what was to be done for the common cause, the king spoke thus to him: "I give you warning, that prince Charles is advancing towards M. de Broglie; and that if you do not improve the advantage you had at Sahay, I shall forthwith conclude a separate peace."

Nor did he fail to adhere to this resolution; for finding the queen of Hungary willing to cede to him the dominions to which he made pretensions; and incensed against the French, on account of the disingenuous treatment he had received from them, he had a private interview with prince Charles of Lorraine, when the preliminaries of a treaty of peace were agreed upon, which were signed at Breslau on the eleventh of June by the earl of Hyndford, the British minister at the court of Vienna, to whom her Hungarian majesty had given full powers to act for her, and by the count de Podewitz, on the part of the king of Prussia. The substance of this treaty is as follows.

"The queen of Hungary cedes to the king of Prussia all Upper and Lower Silesia, except the principality of Jeschen and Troppau, and likewise the principality of Glatz in Bohemia. The king of Prussia engages, on his part, to observe an exact neutrality during the continuance of the war, and to withdraw his troops from the kingdom of Bohemia, within fifteen days from the signing of the present treaty; within which time the ratification thereof is to be made. His Prussian majesty charges himself with the repayment of what was lent by the English merchants to the late emperor on the security of the revenues of Silesia, by the contract made at London, January 10--21, 1735. His Britannic majesty guarantees this treaty, as well in quality of king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover. By a separate article, the king of Poland is invited to accede to this treaty, upon condition of withdrawing his troops within sixteen days from the ratification hereof. The czarina, the States-general, the king of Denmark, and other powers of Europe, are invited to concur in this treaty."

By this treaty the queen of Hungary yielded to the king of Prussia not only more than he demanded fifteen months before, when she might in return have been assisted with troops and money, and his interest and influence in procuring the imperial crown for her consort the archduke, but gave him into the bargain the principality of

Glatz, only to remain neuter. But it must be considered, that at that time the king of Prussia was the only power who had commenced hostilities against her, with less pretensions to any part of the Austrian dominions than any of the other competitors. An emperor was now elected in opposition to her hereditary right, and the king of Prussia was the most successful of his allies. In drawing off him, she judiciously imagined that he would attract the king of Poland: and in this she was not mistaken; for as soon as the notification of the preliminary treaty was made to him, the Saxon troops in Bohemia were immediately ordered to halt till further instructions. A negotiation was set on foot, and a peace concluded between him and the queen of Hungary, which was proclaimed at Dresden the seventeenth of September; and by which the queen yielded to his Polish majesty, as elector of Saxony, some places in the circles of Elnbogen, Satzer, Leutmeriz, and Buntzlau, in Bohemia; in consideration whereof the elector guaranteed to her the rest of Bohemia.

The emperor was abandoned by these treaties, and not the slightest mention made of France: in other words, the French and Bavarians were left to contend for themselves. Prince Charles of Lorraine, after the battle of Czaflaw, marched towards Budwies, and joined prince Lobkowitz in his camp at Wesel, where the two armies formed a force of sixty thousand three hundred men. The confederate army was now forced to abandon all their posts one after another: they daily lost their provisions and ammunition, of which part was pillaged by their own soldiers, and part carried off by the enemy. Prince Charles passed the Moldau in pursuit of a body of troops under M. d'Aubigné, who retreated in disorder. He followed the French to Thein, to Piseck, and from Piseck to Pilsen, and from thence to Beraun. These retreats cost the French at least as many men as a battle, and, besides, contributed to dispirit the troops. They were perpetually harrassed in their precipitate marches by the hussars; their baggage pillaged; and every Frenchman who chanced to stray from his corps was sure to be knocked on the head by the pursuers, or the peasants of the villages they passed through; and, had it not been for a most judicious stand made by marshal Broglie against prince Charles, the whole French army must have been destroyed. This was an admirable piece of generalship, but did not at all restore his affairs. During the time he was making so many efforts to prevent being cut off by the united armies of prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, he received advice of the defection of his Prussian majesty, and the signing the treaty of Breslau. This news came like a thunderbolt upon Broglie, and increased the panic of his men, who never ventured to look back till they found themselves under the protection of the cannon of Prague, where they were joined by marshal Belleisle from Dresden, whither he had lately made a tour, with a view of dissuading his Polish majesty from abandoning the confederacy; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he posted away for Prague, resolved to take the best measures for securing that important city and the confederate army against the attack of the Austrians.

The city of Prague * is encompassed with a wall, bastions, and other works; has a citadel in the new town, and a castle in the little town, well provided with cannon, which render it as strong as a place of that extent can be; but it is commanded by the hills of Ginisnitz, about a mile from the city. The French garrison within, and the army under the walls of Prague, consisted now of twenty-four thousand of the choicest troops of France: these were employed night and day in fortifying their camp, which they chose on a very convenient spot of ground, being a sort of peninsula, formed at the north end of the city by the winding of the river Moldau, by which the right, left, and rear, were secured against any attack; so that they had nothing but a narrow front to guard; and this was defended in flank by the cannon upon the ramparts of the city, as well as by the strong intrenchments they had raised in front between the town and the river.

Prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, with their combined armies, amounting to sixty thousand men, arrived within sight of Prague on the twenty-fifth of June, and encamped on the hills of Ginisnitz, about a quarter of a mile from the city; from whence the army marched, and encamped at Konigshall, nearer to Prague, where, on the twenty-seventh, the grand duke of Tuscany arrived in the camp.

The appearance of the Austrian army convinced the French that the force of opposition would be of little service, and they resolved to try if they could extricate themselves by stratagems of negotiation. With this view Belleisle sent a trumpet to demand a conference, offering immediately, in virtue of his plenipotentiary power, to open conferences for a general accommodation; but he received for answer, that the queen of Hungary was determined to take no step of that kind without the participation of her allies. When Belleisle found the Austrians were too wary to be trepanned into his cobweb negotiation, he held several conferences with count Konigseck concerning a capitulation for the surrender of the place, offering to evacuate Prague and all Bohemia, the fortresses of Egra and Fraumberg included, on permission of marching off with their artillery, arms, and baggage: but the court of Vienna insisting they should surrender prisoners of war, the conferences were entirely broken off; and the place being invested on all sides, the trenches were opened on the twenty-eighth of July.

It was a sight altogether new to see an army of twenty-six thousand of the best troops in Europe besieged. The French general acquitted himself

with great spirit and resolution. He knew he had nothing but famine to fear: he was sensible the Austrians were very ignorant of the art of attack and defence; but they were formidable, by their numbers, by their knowledge of the country, by their valour in the field, and by their being acquainted with the language of, and possessed of the good will of the inhabitants. The queen had left nothing undone, on her part, which she thought might contribute to the retaking of this capital. She gave all the horses in her own stables to assist in drawing the artillery and stores. Her example was followed by her nobles, who strove with each other who should most contribute to the success of this great expedition. In short, the hopes of the queen of Hungary and her brave subjects seemed to rise in proportion as she was oppressed.

It was the misfortune of the French at Prague to find themselves at a great distance from their own country, among a people to whose language they were strangers, and by whom they were hated; to be exposed to every kind of necessity, without any certainty of assistance. In Prague every thing began to fail but courage. About the end of July meat sold there for four livres (three shillings and six-pence of our money) per pound. Horse flesh was eaten at the best tables; and thro' scarcity of forage, the besieged were forced to kill or turn loose upwards of fourteen thousand horses. Several of the principal French officers sent their plate to the mint to be coined, to purchase subsistence for their soldiers. The Austrians indeed had not one good engineer among them; their works therefore were very indifferently carried on: the trenches were too long and too wide, and the French reaped some advantages from the errors of their enemies. They made many successful sallies: the most memorable was that of the twenty-second of August; it was little less than a battle. Twelve thousand of the besieged, under marshal Belleisle, attacked the besiegers in their works, carried a battery, made two hundred prisoners, filled up the works, took general Monty, and killed and wounded fifteen hundred men. Their own loss was likewise very considerable: the duke de Biron, the prince de Deuxponts, and the prince de Beauveau, were wounded, and several officers of distinction lost their lives. On the Austrian side, the grand duke and prince Charles, who greatly distinguished themselves during the whole engagement, were frequently exposed to the utmost danger; the grand duke in particular escaped very narrowly, having his hat carried off by one of the cannon bullets.

In the mean time, cardinal de Fleury was making private overtures for an accommodation, and

* This city, so remarkable for the extraordinary siege sustained there by the French under the marshals Broglie and Belleisle, is the metropolis of Bohemia, pleasantly situated on the large river Moldau, one hundred and fifty miles north-west of Vienna, one hundred north-east of Ratisbon, and seventy south of Dresden. Few cities in Europe have a larger extent than Prague, which is divided into three parts, called the old, the new, and the middlecity. The old city, on the east of the Moldau, is very populous, and full of handsome, but old-fashioned houses; in which stands the university, one of the most celebrated in Europe; and in this quarter great numbers of wealthy Jews have their residence. The new city was formerly separated from the old by a wall, but now only by a ditch, into which the river can be let at pleasure. The lesser town lies on the west of the Moldau, and joins to the old town by a

bridge of sixteen arches, being in all one thousand seven hundred feet long, and thirty-five broad, with two large gates under two spacious towers, one at each end, which makes this bridge one of the noblest structures in the world, it being four hundred feet longer than Westminster-bridge, and seven hundred and eighty feet longer than London-bridge. Part of this town is built on a rising ground, at the top of which stands Upper Prague, where is a magnificent palace belonging to the crown. Prague is pleasantly surrounded by fine fields and gardens, and adorned with a great many elegant houses, churches and convents: the inhabitants are computed to be about one hundred thousand; and, excepting London, Paris, and Rome, no city has a greater concourse of nobility and gentry, who are exceeded by none in affluence and grandeur, equalled by few in politeness and civility to strangers.

even went so far as to accept the king of Great Britain as mediator. He also offered to treat about the secularization of the bishoprics of Osnabrug and Hildesheim, and the annexation of those territories in perpetuity to the house of Hanover. While, on the one hand, the cardinal thus addressed the British court, who lent a deaf ear to his proposals, as knowing their illusory tendency, he applied on the other to veldt-marshal count Königseck before Prague, to whom he wrote a letter, which was delivered to him by marshal Belleisle; in which the cardinal excuses himself from having consented to the present war, and says he was forced into it by the superior power of others with the king. This was directly levelled at marshal Belleisle. The cardinal afterwards chusing to disavow this letter, it was printed by order of the court of Vienna, which served greatly to lessen the cardinal's credit.

By this time Prague, the late flourishing and happy capital of a spacious kingdom, with more than one hundred thousand citizens within its walls, was subjected to all the calamities that war and famine could inflict. It would be foreign to our purpose to relate particularly every remarkable incident of this long and important siege: suffice it to say, that the French behaved with great spirit and intrepidity; nor could the Austrians and Hungarians, with their utmost efforts, make any regular approaches; so that the place might rather be said to be invested than besieged: yet it was apparent, that in the end the entire loss of the French army, both in Prague and Egra, was inevitable. There was but one way to relieve them, which was to send to their succour that army of forty thousand men, which, under the command of marshal Maillebois, had compelled the king of England to sign the neutrality for Hanover: but this army was in Westphalia, about seven hundred miles from Prague. This expedient was proposed by the marquis de Fenelon, ambassador in Holland. It had its inconveniencies, but yet was not without its advantages. France had in a manner exhausted herself of men: she had at different times sent into Germany the better part of two hundred and twelve squadrons, and one hundred and seventeen battalions; and these had been from time to time recruited. These troops, divided in Prague, Egra, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, were above half wasted away. It was debated to march these weakened armies towards the complete and flourishing army of Maillebois, composed of forty-one battalions and sixty-five squadrons, three thousand Palatines, three thousand Hessians, and three independent companies of foot, and two of dragoons. It was obvious, that if all these forces united had acted with unanimity, and been assisted by Prussia and Saxony, they must have succeeded in every thing. If marshal Maillebois had advanced with his army along the banks of the Rhine, to penetrate into Bohemia, he had left France unguarded; so that even the Dutch might have become formidable, and harassed the frontiers with forty thousand men they kept on foot for their own defence. These considerations were urged by the cardinal and his party as strong arguments against the measure projected; but the marquis de Fenelon, having undertaken for the continuance of Holland's neutrality, his most Christian majesty

determined upon it, however hazardous, because necessary; rightly considering, that great undertakings cannot be executed without risking great losses; and it was agreed in council, that orders should be sent to M. Maillebois to begin his march from Westphalia without loss of time; but the route and manner in which his army was to be conducted still embarrassed them extremely.

The scheme was imparted to his imperial majesty, without whose consent it could not be executed. Charles at first started some objections: he was desirous that the troops under Maillebois should continue in his electoral dominions: he represented in a memorial, that by delivering Bavaria, Prague would be set free of course, as the Austrians could no longer continue the siege of that place, when M. Maillebois' army should reach the banks of the Danube. In this opinion the emperor was seconded by M. Maillebois himself, who was extremely averse to set out on so discouraging an expedition. The French ministry, however, could not be brought to put their only resource in the hands of an emperor who had been so little able to defend himself, and who by this time had incurred their contempt, and even suspicion. Accordingly, Maillebois began his march from Westphalia to Bohemia about the middle of August, under the sanction of a rescript which the emperor sent to the diet, in which he justified the march of Maillebois upon the principles of necessity, from the unconquerable obstinacy of the court of Vienna.

The duke de Harcourt was then at the head of the French troops in Bavaria; Seckendorff commanded the Imperialists; and Khevenhuller the Austrians: but the decision of the fate of Prague, which was hourly expected, kept all parties in a state of inaction. The count de Saxe, who had now entered into the service of France, and gave daily proofs of his uncommon vigour, activity, and resolution, was appointed to succeed the duke de Harcourt in the command of the French army.

Prince Charles, who still continued before Prague, no sooner received news of the march of M. Maillebois to the assistance of that city, than he turned the siege into a blockade; and committing the care of it to prince Lobkowitz and the Hungarian general Festitz, with a body of eighteen thousand men, he set out to the defence of Bohemia.

After a most intricate and fatiguing march, the auxiliary army at length arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia, about the beginning of September. Every thing hitherto had been happily conducted: count Saxe was to join this army with the body he commanded in Bavaria. He had already acquired the character of an officer who would let no opportunity slip him. On this occasion he found means to escape from Bavaria, where count Khevenhuller held him in a manner shut up, and by a dexterous march joined his forces to those of Maillebois, after having taken the post of Elnbogen. Soon after, the Imperialists under Seckendorff arrived also from Bavaria; while Khevenhuller, who had in vain attempted to prevent this junction, joined the army under prince Charles, near Hayd. Meanwhile, the Austrians reduced the town of Fraunenburg; and Trenck, the famous partisan, made himself master, by a desperate attack, of Chamb in Bavaria, which, on account of its situation, was the general

general repository of the effects and treasure of the inhabitants.

Upon the departure of prince Charles from Prague, Belleisle and Broglio resolved to execute the same design which had been accomplished by the counts Saxe and Seckendorff; that of joining the marshal de Maillebois, who, by the accession of the troops from Bavaria, was now at the head of seventy thousand men; and had marched with such precipitation, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Mean while, Festitz, for want of a sufficient force, was obliged to raise the blockade of Prague; and the French generals being now at liberty, took post at Leutmeritz, a small town, lying half way between Prague and Kaden, in order to join the main army under Maillebois, who had by this time advanced in the neighbourhood of the latter place.

Prince Charles, well knowing that if the enemy's project succeeded, it would entirely alter the face of affairs in Germany, resolved, if possible, to prevent its execution. With this view he made himself master of the passes in the mountains of Bohemia, where an hundred men may put a whole army to a stand. Count Saxe had detached a body of troops towards Kaden, a post of the last importance, to break down the bridge upon the Eger, over which the Austrians were to pass. One company had already entered the place, and broken down a part of the bridge. The Austrians came up at the same instant, repaired the bridge, and made themselves masters of the town. Thus was all communication cut off between the armies of Belleisle and Broglio, and Maillebois. The latter could receive no accounts from Leutmeritz; and the only road to Kaden lay through a defile which it was impossible to penetrate. The main army had now scarce bread enough to last for three days; so that Maillebois was obliged to reduce the soldiers to half allowance. Discontent, want of discipline, misunderstanding, desertion; every thing conspired against the united army at this time. In fine, Maillebois seeing it impossible to effect his junction with the other two French marshals, returned towards Bavaria, while Belleisle and Broglio marched back to Prague. Maillebois, on his arrival on the confines of Bavaria, was disgraced, and the command given to M. Broglio, who escaped in disguise from Prague, and arrived in the auxiliary army on the twenty-second of November, where he took upon him the chief command. The auxiliary army being now of consequence superior in Bavaria, Munich, the capital of that electorate, was a second time relieved, and the emperor entered it again.

On the other hand, the Austrians having made themselves masters of Leutmeritz, M. Belleisle, who remained in Prague, found himself closely pent up therein by prince Lobkowitz (who had renewed the blockade) together with his whole army, now reduced to about seventeen thousand men, without money, subsistence, or hope of succour; and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war. They were thus cruelly situated, when, about the latter end of November, M. Belleisle received orders from his court to endeavour at effectuating a retreat from Prague. The general returned for answer, that he would engage to conduct his troops in safety to Egra, in spite of the enemy's army or the rigour

of the season: a bold undertaking, but which was as successfully executed.

Belleisle had formed his design of escaping with incredible secrecy; and, the better to conceal his purpose, he had remounted his cavalry, repaired his carriages, and made every other preparation for a longer defence. He had also engaged the whole attention of the Austrians, by frequent sallies and skirmishes, in which the French had generally the better. At last, every thing being entirely got ready, he resolved to carry his scheme into immediate execution: the danger was extreme. Prince Lobkowitz had distributed his army in such a manner as to surround the town, the inhabitants of which were so many spies on the motions of the French. The weather growing more and more cold, became almost intolerable. There were upwards of two thousand soldiers sick in the place; and the marshal himself had been a long time so ill of the sciatica, or hip-gout, that he could not mount on horseback; yet, in the midst of these conspiring obstacles, he fixed on the night of the sixteenth or seventeenth to make his retreat.

In order to secure it more effectually, it was incumbent on him not only to deceive count Lobkowitz, but also the inhabitants of the place, and even his own people. To this end, he was continually sending detachments all around him to bring in forage, which were always accompanied with cannon and covered waggons; so that the surprise should be less when he chose to evacuate the place, which must be done with such an equipage. Two days before his retreat he laid contributions, payable in four months. The day of his intended departure the gates of the town were kept shut; and having caused a report to be spread that he intended a general sally at such a quarter, he made his retreat by another road, and gained a day's march of prince Lobkowitz, before the other was apprized of his departure. This project he was enabled to execute with the greater facility, on account of the prodigious extent of the walls: and in order the more effectually to amuse the enemy, he left a garrison of about three thousand men in the place, under M. Chevert. M. Belleisle continued his retreat for ten days through ice and snow, the enemy's cavalry perpetually harrassing him on his march. On the third day prince Lobkowitz appeared at the head of a body of horse, on the other side of a plain, where the two armies might have come to an engagement; but the prince did not chuse to attack forces who, from their situation, must necessarily fight with that sort of despair that renders courage invincible: he determined therefore to cut off the retreat of the French, by taking possession of the passes upon the two principal roads leading to Egra.

M. Belleisle, however, once more eluded the designs of his enemy: he chose a road which would have been in any other season impassable: he marched his army across vast frozen morasses that never perhaps had been trodden. In this exploit he merited the greater honour, as, notwithstanding his being confined during the whole march to his coach or sedan by a violent rheumatism, he always continued himself to point out the way. At length, having surmounted all his difficulties, he arrived at Egra on the twenty-sixth day of December, having performed a march of one hundred

and fifty miles, and not having lost, by his own account, so much as a single soldier, except thro' the inclemency of the season, which killed about one thousand.

The very day that M. Belleisle reached Egra, the troops that had been left behind in Prague, under M. Chevert, capitulated on the most honourable terms, being allowed to march to Egra with all the honours of war. Thus the town of Prague, which had been taken by the French in a few hours, was evacuated after a siege and blockade of five months.

Having thus given an account of the campaign in Germany, the event of which was so very interesting to England, it is now time to attend the progress of the war in Italy and the southern parts of Europe, where the naval force of Great Britain had a considerable influence.

We have already taken notice of the junction of the French and Spanish fleets in the Mediterranean; of their having passed admiral Haddock; and of the latter having landed their troops at Orbitello in Italy; after which the French and Spanish squadrons put into the harbour of Toulon.

The queen of Hungary, alarmed at the dangers that threatened her, resolved to apply to the king of Sardinia, whose interest it was to preserve the present system of power in Italy, and who, by his situation, was best able to check the ambitious views of the French and Spanish monarchs. His Sardinian majesty was at this time sufficiently jealous of the designs of the Spaniards in Italy; but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain before he could be properly supported. He had therefore temporized for some time: but being now alarmed at the progress of the Spanish arms in Italy, he resolved to declare for the house of Austria. On this occasion, however, his Sardinian majesty took care to make the best terms for himself. He stipulated a subsidy from England; he reserved in their full force all the claims of his family upon the Milanese; and he obtained several private cessions of places from the queen of Hungary, whose husband's sister he had married. On the first of January, 1742, he caused to be printed and published a manifesto, in which he stated his claims; but it was not till the month of February that he resolved to act in conjunction with the queen of Hungary; and then he was not upon the best of terms with her in the main: they only united against the present danger that threatened both.

The troops which had been sent into Italy by the Spanish court were under the command of the duke de Montemar, famous for his victory at Bitonto, and afterwards remarkable by his disgrace. Their route lying necessarily through Tuscany, the grand duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, gave them a free passage, having declared himself neuter in the cause of his wife. The duke of Modena, who was married to a princess of the blood-royal of France, also declared himself neuter. Pope Benedict XIV. through whose territories both the Spanish and Austrian armies were to pass, promised the same neutrality. The republic of Genoa, from the same principle of neutrality, gave free passage to a body of French forces that arrived from Spain: and the king of Naples and the Two Sicilies adopted the same neutral system, though his father and brother were principally con-

cerned; yet, after all, not one of these potentates, so apparently neutral, were so in reality. Don Carlos in particular increased the duke de Montemar's army with several Neapolitan regiments: the duke of Modena was already the secret friend of Spain: Genoa had much the same inclination: and the pope, although he had acknowledged the elector of Bavaria as emperor, was visibly attached to the cause of the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, the queen's governor in the duchy of Milan, assembling all his forces early in the year, joined them which were sent him from Tirol, in order to oppose the Spaniards. About the beginning of March (1742) the king of Sardinia seconding warmly the Austrians, advanced towards the territories of Parma: he now exerted as much courage and abilities as he had displayed in the year 1733. In these two conjunctures he shewed how valuable his alliance was: he had excellent ministers, and good generals, and was himself both a minister and a general; an oeconomist in his expences, skilful in his conduct, indefatigable in his hardships, and intrepid in danger.

In the mean while, the Spanish army assembled at Rimini, near the duke de Montemar's; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to sixty thousand men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May they entered the Bolognese. The king of Sardinia had by this time taken the field with thirty thousand men, and appeared on the side of Parma; while the Austrians under marshal count Traun advanced towards the Bolognese with about seventeen thousand men. The duke of Modena, relying upon the protection of the Spaniards, was so impolitic, in defiance of the neutrality he professed, to enter into a private treaty with the duke of Montemar; of which the king of Sardinia being apprised, entered the duke's territories, seized upon his duchy, and made himself master of his capital; while the duke, thus stripped of all his possessions, was obliged to retire to the Spanish army, of which he was by his late treaty to have the nominal command. This army, however, soon became so reduced by sickness and desertion, that the duke de Montemar, finding he could not maintain his ground against the Austrians and Spaniards, retired to Rimini, whither he was followed by the king of Sardinia.

By this time the English ministry had come to a resolution to keep no farther measures with France: the conduct of the French admiral in the Mediterranean towards admiral Haddock was so strong a demonstration of the intentions of that court, as all their pretexts to a neutrality could not disguise.

Admiral Haddock, what by the fatigues of the service, what by anxiety of mind, owing to the numerous disappointments he had met with, found his constitution so much impaired, that he resigned the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean to commodore Lestock, who had lately arrived from the West Indies, and been sent up the Streights with ten sail of men of war, to reinforce Mr. Haddock, and oppose the united fleets of France and Spain.

Upon the departure of the admiral for England, the commodore used the utmost diligence in fitting the fleet for sea. On the twelfth of April he set sail from Port Mahon with a squadron of twenty-eight men of war, and soon after appeared before Toulon, at which the inhabitants were in the utmost consternation: the country round was alarmed

by fires, beacons, &c. But this proved a false alarm, the commodore not having the least intention of molesting them; for the united squadrons were greatly superior to the British in force, the French under admiral de Court consisting of five seventy gun ships, seven of sixty, four of fifty, two of thirty, and two of twenty; and the Spanish squadron under Don Navarro, of one ship of one hundred and fourteen guns, four of seventy, six of sixty, and five of fifty; in all, thirty-six men of war: so that commodore Lestock, after observing their situation, proceeded towards Antibes on the coast of Italy. In the mean time, upon the change of the British ministry, Mr. Lestock was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the white; but as it was determined to strike some bold stroke in the Mediterranean in the course of this summer, the supreme command of the fleet was bestowed upon Thomas Matthews, esq. vice-admiral of the red, who was at the same time invested with the character of ambassador-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia, and the other princes and states of Italy. He left England in the middle of April. In his passage he took several French and Spanish merchant ships, and at length safely joined rear-admiral Lestock in the harbour of Villa Franca.

Perhaps no ministry ever took a more impolitic step than in joining these two admirals in command, as it was well known that there had long subsisted between them an inveterate dislike to each other: nay, Matthews had even declared to the ministry on his appointment, that he accepted of the command only on condition that Mr. Lestock should be speedily recalled. However, the latter was continued in the Mediterranean till the sea-fight off Toulon, when it too plainly appeared that the glory and advantage of the nation was shamefully sacrificed to the gratification of private resentment.

Mr. Matthews' first care, after taking possession of his command, was to provide for the well-guarding of the coasts of Catalonia, Provence, and Italy; and he quickly gave an instance of his resolution to strike terror into the enemy, by rendering his fleet formidable; for a French man of war passing by Villa Franca, in sight of the British fleet, and refusing to pay the compliment to the flag, the vice-admiral fired at the Frenchman to bring him to; but the commander persisting in his obstinacy, a man of war was ordered out to force him to comply, who poured a broadside into the French ship, and sunk her directly. His next exploit was to send captain Norris, in the Kingston, of fifty guns, with the Duke fireship, captain Calis, to burn five Spanish galleys which had put into the bay of St. Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean; an order which was effectually executed. But no action of his proved so agreeable to the people of Great Britain as that of sending commodore Martin with a squadron of ships and bomb-ketches to Naples, to demand of the king of Sicily not only to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with those of Spain, but to promise in writing not to give them any farther assistance in any respect; and in case of a refusal on the part of his Sicilian majesty to give the proposed satisfaction, to bombard the city of Naples. Incredible was the consternation that seized on the Neapolitans at the sight of the formidable force Mr. Martin brought with him,

and the peremptory manner in which he made the above demand: and however deeply his Sicilian majesty might resent this insult upon his dignity, his private resentment was obliged to give way to the interests of his state, which was in no condition to defend itself. Accordingly, after several messages passing between the commodore and the duke de Montealegre, the Sicilian minister, the latter, in his master's name, promised in writing, that his troops should be immediately withdrawn out of Lombardy; and that he would not in any manner whatsoever aid or assist those of Spain any more during the present war in Italy. This promise was instantly performed: the Neapolitan troops were forthwith recalled; and the Spanish army being thus weakened, was not able during the remaining part of the campaign to perform any action of importance; and by this bold, but successful step of the British admiral, the queen of Hungary was saved from apparent destruction.

Soon after, viz. about the latter end of August, Mr. Matthews pursuing the spirited plan he had so happily begun, dispatched the same successful embassy to St. Remo, a Genoese town on the Mediterranean, thirty miles north-east of Nice, with orders to destroy some considerable magazines which the Spaniards had gotten together there. This service the commodore effectually performed, and in the beginning of September re-joined the vice-admiral, who took up his station at Hieres-bay, where his ships lay in an excellent road, and commanded every vessel that might attempt to enter or come out of the harbour of Toulon. The British fleet having by this time been joined by rear-admiral Rowley, was somewhat superior to the united squadrons of France and Spain, who therefore kept close within the port of Toulon.

The English fleet, however, could not controul the operations of the Spaniards by land; for the Spanish ministry, being fearful that if the Neapolitan troops were compelled to quit their army under the duke de Montemar, that general might be exposed to the danger of being defeated by a superior force; they determined to send another body of troops to his assistance, who were to march through the south of France, and endeavour to penetrate into Italy through the passes of Piedmont. Accordingly, in April seventeen thousand three hundred men assembled at Barcelona, under the command of the count de Glerices; and being joined on their march by other Spanish corps, were augmented to thirty thousand. On this reinforcement, the whole army marched through Provence and rendezvoused at Grace, about fifty miles distant from Toulon, where it waited for the arrival of Don Philip, second son to the king of Spain, whom his ambitious mother had lately set up as a new candidate for royalty, declaring she would leave no efforts unexerted to erect Lombardy into a kingdom in his favour. In May Don Philip with his court and a very splendid retinue entered Antibes, the last town of France towards Italy. In the beginning of June Don Philip put himself at the head of his troops, tho' the count de Glerices had the real command, on account of the prince's youth. Their plan was to force their way into Piedmont, by Nice and Villa Franca; but thro' the prudent dispositions of his Sardinian majesty, with the assistance of the British admiral, their designs were rendered impracticable; as was also
another

another attempt they made with a strong body of Miquelets, to force a passage by Demont into the valley of Stura. Disappointed in both these designs, the Spaniards defiled towards the left, thro' Dauphiné, and entered Savoy, where they met with very little resistance; and on the tenth of September the infant Don Philip took possession of Chamberry, the capital of that duchy, ninety miles from Turin, and immediately published a manifesto, enjoining the deputies of the province of Savoy to come in and take the oaths to him, and to bring their arms and ammunition to his quarters, within the space of five days at farthest, prohibiting them to pay any more taxes to the king of Sardinia, or to have any correspondence with him, under pain of death.

While these things were transacting on the borders of Piedmont, his Sardinian majesty was in a full career of success against the Spaniards in Italy, having obliged the Spanish and Neapolitan army to retreat from Rimini towards the kingdom of Naples; and the Neapolitan troops being recalled, he had now an opportunity of returning to the relief of his own dominions, which he did with 24,000 Piedmontese, leaving a small body of troops behind, under the command of the count d'Apremont, to co-operate with the Austrians in his absence. By forced marches he arrived at Turin on the eighth day of September. In the beginning of October he advanced to Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Chamberry; and the infant not chusing to hazard a battle, retired with some precipitation towards Dauphiné, and took post under the cannon of fort Barreaux, while his Sardinian majesty encamped within sight of them at Mians, near Montmelian, on the frontiers of Dauphiné: and in this condition the two armies remained till the beginning of December, when the court of Spain, disgusted with the inactivity of the count de Glerices, sent the marquis de las Minas to supersede him in the command of the army. This last general had no sooner joined the army than he made a vigorous attack upon the castle of Apremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp, and obliged the garrison to capitulate: after which he made the necessary dispositions for attacking the king of Sardinia, who, upon the loss of the last-mentioned important post, thought it most prudent to retire into Piedmont, the Spaniards at the same time marching back into Savoy, where they established their winter quarters.

In the mean time the Austrians, upon the departure of the Piedmontese troops, returned into the duchy of Modena; and as soon as the duke de Montemar was informed of this separation, instead of continuing his retreat towards Naples, advanced back again to St. Nicholas, within ten miles of Bologna, where he resigned his command to the count de Gages, though the duke of Modena still retained the title of generalissimo. This army attempted to penetrate into Tuscany, but was prevented by the vigilance of count Traun, the Austrian general; and in the beginning of December both armies went into winter quarters, the Spaniards in the Bolognese and Romagna, and the Austrians and Piedmontese in the Modenese and Parmesan.

Admiral Matthews having received information that his Sicilian majesty had sent a reinforcement of six regiments from Naples to join the Spanish ar-

my, in December dispatched a man of war to Naples with a letter, expostulating on this breach of the late promise of neutrality. The king in return ordered the duke de Montealegre to deliver to Mr. Allen, the British minister at his court, a declaration, importing, "That he was resolved to adhere to his engagements; but as these regiments in question belonged to his father the king of Spain, and had been only lent to him for his expedition to Sicily, it was not in his power to retain them when recalled, as they were not in his pay or service." However, his Neapolitan majesty, sensible of the weakness of his capital, from the last visit paid him by the English, caused several new fortifications to be erected for the defence of the port of Naples.

While the French were expelled from Bohemia, and the dominions of her Hungarian majesty in Italy secured in the manner already related, her possessions in Flanders were likewise powerfully protected by his Britannic majesty: for no sooner had marshal Maillebois marched from Westphalia to the relief of Prague, than the Hanoverian troops, consisting of sixteen thousand two hundred and sixty-eight men, began their march from Hanover and passed the Weser, in their way to Flanders; for which country the six thousand Hessians in British pay, began to move about the same time (viz. the latter end of August). These two bodies of troops joined the British forces at Brussels about the middle of October, and all together formed an army of about forty thousand men, which encamped in the neighbourhood of the last mentioned city. It was generally supposed, that his Britannic majesty would pass over to Flanders this year, and take upon him the command of this army; wherefore large draughts were made from the Austrian garrisons in that country, in order to complete the whole force to fifty thousand men; and it was confidently reported that king George meditated no less than the siege of Dunkirk, the fortifications of which the French had of late openly repaired. This at first so alarmed the court of France, that they assembled an army of twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, and took every possible precaution against any attack upon them in the Low Countries, fortifying Givet, Philipville, Avennes, and Rocroi, where they put strong garrisons, and laid up great magazines, while the earl of Stair quitted his negotiations at the Hague, and arrived at Ghent on the twenty-seventh of November. The French ministry, however, were soon relieved from their anxiety, by hearing that his Britannic majesty's voyage to Flanders, and the measures concerted for commencing operations, were entirely laid aside for this campaign, in consequence of the Dutch having threatened to declare against those who should strike the first blow in Flanders, and soon after the confederate army were ordered into winter quarters; the British and Hessians in Flanders, the Austrians in Luxemburg, and the Hanoverians in the county of Liege, in readiness to march in the spring whither it should appear most convenient for the service of her Hungarian majesty.

During these transactions in Europe, in the course of this year, every thing seemed to go backward in America, owing to the dissension between the admiral and general. They had in the latter end of the foregoing year received a reinforcement from England;

England; upon the arrival of which they held a council of war, to concert in what manner the ships and forces under their command might be most effectually employed for the advantage of the nation, and the annoyance of the enemy, when it was proposed by the land officers to undertake an expedition against Panama, by which a body of three hundred men, with five hundred negroes and four hundred Mulquetos, were to be landed at Porto Bello, and from thence to march over the Isthmus of Darien to the said town of Panama. Mr. Vernon and sir Chaloner Ogle having concurred with this opinion, Mr. Lowther was sent over to the coast of Porto Bello on board the Triton sloop, in the character of a trader, in order to obtain all the intelligence he could, for the better securing the success of the intended expedition: and in the mean time the admiral lost no time in getting his squadron in readiness; but the land officers were so very dilatory in their motions, that it was the latter end of March before the armament arrived at Porto Bello. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, with three fire-ships and two hospital ships: the transports were about forty sail, having on board three thousand land forces, and five hundred negroes raised by governor Trelawney, who attended the expedition in the rank of a colonel.

Admiral Vernon met with no opposition on entering the harbour of Porto Bello, though the governor of the place had three companies of Spanish soldiers with him, besides two more of mulattoes and negroes. The governor, upon the first sight of the English fleet standing in for the harbour, quitted the town with great precipitation, with the three companies of soldiers, and most of the inhabitants were preparing to follow him; but the admiral having observed on his first landing that the whole place was in great confusion, and that the town was on the point of being abandoned, dispatched an officer and an interpreter directly, to desire of the inhabitants to lay aside their apprehensions, and continue peaceably in their own possessions, promising them the fullest protection in their lives and properties. Encouraged by this indulgence, a deputation came on board the admiral from the magistrates, thanking him for his humanity, and readily putting themselves under his protection; which was accordingly granted them by the unanimous resolution of the council of war. It was likewise resolved that a detachment should be sent up the river Cascahal, in order to cut off the communication between Porto Bello and Panama, and take possession of the Contadero, or custom-house, and secure it with a guard; which was immediately put into execution.

Three days after the arrival of the fleet at Porto Bello, lieutenant Lowther came in; and a council of war being thereupon called, he was examined as to the practicability of the attempt against Panama, when he gave it as his opinion, that the putting this scheme into execution could not at present be attempted with any hopes of success, on account of the rainy season of the year, and the sickness that prevailed in consequence thereof amongst the troops. This opinion was adopted by all the land officers, with the general at their head; and as they out-numbered the sea officers three to two, their opinions were always decisive:

in short, a general council of war meeting afterwards on board the Boyne, admiral Vernon's own ship, it was thereat agreed to wood and water the ships, and return to Jamaica.

The general, however, thinking it necessary to offer some reason for thus suddenly deserting an enterprize which he had before appeared so sanguine for, sent a paper to the admiral, containing the reasons of the land officers for laying aside the projected attempt upon Panama, which were as follow: "That, from having consumed near three weeks in their passage, which was usually made in eight days, the rainy season was come upon them, which might not only incommode them in their march, but, by the sudden rising of the rivers, might cut off their communication: that from having, during their voyage, lost near one thousand men of those who had embarked at Jamaica, and from the fleet being unable to supply them with more than six hundred, their numbers would fall almost one third short of that required for the attempt on Panama: that from the want of one of the ships with negroes on board, their numbers were reduced so low as to disable them from carrying a sufficient quantity of provisions: that from an omission in executing one part of the scheme laid down for carrying on the enterprize, the governor of Porto Bello, with three companies of Spanish soldiers, and two of mulattoes and negroes, were retired to Panama; on the cutting off of whose retreat their success in some measure depended, as the governor was an officer of merit and service, in whom the Spaniards had great confidence: that there was lately good intelligence of a large reinforcement arrived at Panama from Lima, and of works being thrown up towards the land: and for these reasons they thought it was for the service to lay aside that enterprize as impracticable."

Nothing could exceed the vexation of Mr. Vernon at finding this expedition likely to conclude so ingloriously; for he was convinced that two thousand men would have been more than sufficient for the taking of Panama; and it is certain that the governor of that place was in despair about its preservation.

PANAMA is the capital city of the province of Darien, or Terra Firma, properly in South America. Hither the treasures of gold and silver, and other rich merchandizes of Peru, are brought, and deposited in magazines till they are transported to Europe; and here the merchandize of Europe, sent to America by the galleons, is lodged, till exported to the several cities of Peru, to which it is assigned. The reduction of this city would have made us entire masters of the Isthmus of Darien, and thereby, in effect, of all the treasures of Peru. By this conquest we should have always had in hand an equivalent for any concessions that the fate of war might have obliged us to make to either of the branches of the house of Bourbon. But from the circumstances, it appears that the general had not for some time been in earnest in the prosecution of this scheme; for he was amazingly dilatory in getting ready the troops after it had been agreed on; and even when they entered Porto Bello, he neglected the advice given by Mr. Vernon in a council of war, to send a detachment up the river Cascahal, in order to intercept the governor

governor of Porto Bello and his troops, which might in all probability have succeeded, or at least they might have cut off the two companies of mulattoes and negroes, who did not leave the place till next morning. But, to conclude, the result of the whole was, that the fleet and transports quitted Porto Bello and set sail for Jamaica, where they arrived on the fifteenth day of May; and the nation, instead of driving the Spaniards out of the West Indies, as was fully expected, and for which purpose above a million of money had been expended, only purchased this melancholy lesson, that as dissension is the misfortune of a free state, so it is the ruin of a military project.

After the return of the fleet from Porto Bello, nothing material was transacted in the West Indies either by vice-admiral Vernon or general Wentworth, if we except the taking possession of, and settling the little island of Rattan, in the bay of Honduras. On the twenty-third of September arrived captain Fowke, in the Gibraltar man of war, at Port-Royal in Jamaica, with letters from the duke of Newcastle, his majesty's secretary of state for the southern department, for admiral Vernon and general Wentworth to return to England; the vice-admiral to leave the command of the fleet to sir Chaloner Ogle, and the general to supply the fleet with what number of soldiers should be demanded to be under the aforesaid admiral's command, the government being now fully sensible of the disadvantage attending a command divided between the land and sea officers. On the nineteenth of October vice-admiral Vernon, in the Boyne, set sail from Port-Royal on his return to England, where he arrived safely in the month of December, as did general Wentworth some short time after.

In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Augustine, commanded by Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of that fortress. It consisted of thirty-six ships, from which three thousand men were landed at St. Simon's fort, and began their march for Frederica, the principal town in the province: but general Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took such wise precautions for opposing their progress, and so harassed them in their march, that after several bloody rencounters, in which the Spaniards were always worsted, they retired to their ships and abandoned the enterprize.

After the departure of admiral Vernon from Jamaica, sir Chaloner Ogle took all possible care for the security of the island and protection of the trade; but the Spanish squadron under admiral de Torres continuing still at the Havannah, and being superior to that under his command, was a check upon him in attempting any enterprize. However, the Spaniards were greatly disturbed in their trade by the British cruizers and privateers in those seas.

In England the parliament resumed its session on the sixteenth day of November, when his majesty acquainted the two houses, that he had augmented the British troops in the Low countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrians, as might be of service to the common cause in all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the king

of Sardinia, and his strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requisition of Sweden for his good offices to bring about a peace between that nation and Russia; the defensive alliances which he had contracted with the czarina and with the king of Prussia, as events which could not have been expected, if Great Britain had not manifested a reasonable spirit and vigour in the defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He said, the honour of his crown and kingdoms, the success of the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their resolutions.

His majesty also acquainted the house of commons in particular, that he had ordered the proper estimates for the service of the ensuing year to be prepared and laid before them, and also the account of the expence of those particular services which he had already mentioned, and which they would find to have been concerted in as frugal a manner as the nature of them would admit. He was persuaded, he said, that they would readily grant him such supplies as should be found necessary for the security and welfare of the nation, requisite for the support of the common cause, and adequate to the common emergency.

The next day both houses of parliament presented very dutiful and loyal addresses to his majesty, expressing their approbation of the measures he had taken for the support of the queen of Hungary, and the restoration of the balance of power in Europe: but when the motions for these addresses were made, they met with a vigorous opposition before they passed in the affirmative. This was occasioned by the influence of the disgusted members, who had promoted another opposition to the new ministry. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majesty and the king of Prussia, was signed at Whitehall.

Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition to the new ministry, they carried most of their points. The committee of supplies sat, for the first time, on the twenty-third of November, and continued by different adjournments to the second of March, 1743, when the total of the grants amounted to five millions three hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred pounds for the service of the current year, and five hundred and ninety-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-two pounds for a deficiency in the supplies granted for the preceding year, which made together the sum of five millions nine hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and eighty-two pounds. The committee of ways and means was established on the twenty-fifth of November, and continued till the twenty-fourth of March, when they settled the sum of six millions five hundred and sixty-two thousand four hundred and ninety-two pounds to answer the supplies, which was an exceeding of six hundred and fifty thousand ten pounds. To raise this sum the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, was computed to furnish two millions, the malt tax seven hundred and fifty thousand; one million was taken from the sinking fund; one million was to be borrowed at three per cent. and eight hundred thousand pounds to be raised by a lottery; five hundred and eighteen thousand six hundred pounds were to be borrowed by a loan on the excise bills, and four hundred

hundred eighty-one thousand four hundred pounds, being the deficiencies on the pot-duty; besides twelve thousand four hundred and ninety-two pounds overplus in the Exchequer. The amount of the national debt, on the thirty-first of December, was forty-eight millions nine hundred and fifteen thousand forty-seven pounds sixteen shillings and nine-pence half-penny, of which very near two millions had been increased since the thirty-first of December 1741; and though it was so considerable, most of the grants stipulated for the service of the year 1743 met with little opposition, the discontented party being resolved to reserve all their strength for a more important object.

On the first of December the motion was revived for appointing a committee to examine into the conduct of the earl of Orford during the last ten years of his administration, which was carried in the negative by two hundred and fifty-three voices against one hundred and eighty-six; and afforded an instance of the superiority of the ministerial party; because many members who, in the former session, had clamorously insisted on an enquiry, now appeared as openly on the other side, and voted against it. On the third of December a motion was made by Mr. Lyttleton, seconded by sir Watkyn-Williams Wynn, for reviving the place and pension bills; which met with the same fate as the former, being set aside by two hundred and twenty-one against one hundred and ninety-six.

On the sixteenth day of December, the house of commons being then in a grand committee of the supply, a motion was made to resolve, that the sum of two hundred and sixty-five thousand one hundred and ninety-one pounds six shillings and two pence farthing should be granted to his majesty for defraying the charge of five thousand five hundred and twelve horse, and ten thousand seven hundred and fifty-five foot, of the troops of Hanover, together with the general officers and the train of artillery in the pay of Great Britain, from the thirty-first day of August to the twenty-fifth day of December inclusive: that the sum of three hundred and ninety-two thousand six hundred and seven pounds eight shillings and three pence should be granted to his majesty for defraying the charge of the said troops, from the twenty-sixth day of December 1742, to the twenty-fifth day of December 1743: and that the sum of one hundred and sixty-one thousand six hundred and seven pounds seventeen shillings and one penny halfpenny should be granted to his majesty for defraying the expence of one thousand two hundred and sixty horse, and four thousand nine hundred and eight foot, of the troops of his majesty the king of Sweden, as elector of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, from the twenty-first day of December 1742, to the twenty-fifth day of December 1743. This motion was opposed with the utmost vehemence; and the debates which happened thereon in both houses were attended with reflections more personal and severe than could well have been expected in an assembly that owned the elector of Hanover for their sovereign. It was asserted that the act of settlement, which provides against Great Britain ever being engaged in a war on account of the dominions belonging to her king on the continent, had been violated. It was farther pretended, that the whole of the bargain for the electoral

troops was an imposition upon the English nation, inasmuch as those troops durst not act against the head of the empire without exposing his majesty in his electoral character to the ban; and of the justness of this reasoning, the late neutrality for Hanover was urged as an irrefragable proof. The measure of sending the British troops to the continent, before a promise had been obtained of the concurrence of the States-general, was severely censured; and, in answer to that part of his majesty's speech, wherein it is said, that this had been done in pursuance of the repeated advice of his parliament, it was alleged, that such advice was given only upon the supposition that the States-general, or some other power in Europe, would have joined Great Britain in her endeavours to preserve the house of Austria.

The ministry, towards the close of the last session, had contracted for sixteen thousand Hanoverians to be taken into the British pay, without the concurrence of parliament, whose approbation was expected when they assembled the next session. This procedure was now represented as highly unconstitutional, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of that august assembly. It was now publicly asserted by some of the leaders of the opposition, that the interests of Great Britain had been made subservient to the aggrandizing and enriching of Hanover, ever since the accession of the house of Brunswick; and that it was the grossest imposition, to make so opulent a kingdom dependent on and regulated by the interest of that electorate. Lastly, it was urged that no supply ought to be granted on so improper an occasion as the present; and that it was contrary to the national interest to retain such unserviceable auxiliaries in the British pay. The ministry, on the other hand, laboured to prove, that the preservation of Europe required that the crown of Great Britain should assist the queen of Hungary; and that such assistance could not be properly granted without this body of Hanoverians. The result was, that the house came to a resolution agreeable to the terms of the motion.

Though the continuance of the Hanoverian forces in the British pay had thus gained the approbation of the house of commons, it was afterwards more vigorously opposed in the house of lords; for on the first of February, 1743, when their lordships took into consideration the several estimates of the expence occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great Britain, earl Stanhope rose up; and, after observing that these troops were raised without the advice or consent of parliament; that it was a new burthen laid upon the nation by the despotic will of the ministers; and that the demands made for their support might be said to be a tax laid upon the people, not by the parliament, but by the court, his lordship moved, "That an humble address should be presented to his majesty, to beseech and advise him, that, considering the excessive and grievous expences incurred by the great number of foreign troops now in the pay of Great Britain; expences, increased by the extraordinary manner, as there was reason to apprehend, of making the estimates relating to them, and which did not appear to be conducive to the end proposed; his majesty would be graciously pleased, in compassion to his subjects, already loaded with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing

growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time ever before sustained, to exonerate his subjects of the charge and burden of those mercenaries who were taken into the British service last year, without the advice or consent of parliament." This motion was seconded by the earl of Sandwich, who took occasion to speak with great contempt of Hanover, and even seemed to forget, in mentioning certain illustrious personages, that decorum the subject required. The intent of this motion was to prevail on his majesty to disband this body of Hanoverians; but though it was strongly supported, after a long and warm debate it was rejected, by the determination of ninety lords against thirty-five, which occasioned a protest, entered and signed by those lords. The chief speakers for the motion were, the duke of Bedford, the earls of Chesterfield and Sandwich, viscount Londale, and lord Hervey, who were opposed by the lord-chancellor, the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Cholmondeley and Bath, lord Carteret, and lord Bathurst.

The British nation had for a long time entertained a great jealousy of Hanover: the frequent visits of the late and reigning monarch to their electoral dominions, contrary to the original terms on which the crown was conferred on them, had inclined their British subjects to entertain a suspicion that they had only the second place in the affection of their sovereign; and no attempt for many years had raised a greater heat of resentment, or excited louder clamours of indignation among the people, than the hire of the electoral troops; not that they had any just reason to imagine that his majesty would incur, either by contempt or neglect, the disaffection of his subjects, but because they apprehended the ministry, ever since the accession, had, to gain the affections of their sovereign, preferred the interest and advantage of his electoral before his royal dominions.

It was represented by the gentlemen in the opposition to the present ministry, that while Great Britain was exhausting herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes pretended to be founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary; the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, as well as under the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing, as an ally, to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had then in the field. The restoring the balance of power in Europe, by raising the house of Austria to its former condition of influence, dominion, and strength, was represented as an object not attainable by the arms of Great Britain alone. If the queen of Hungary, however, was to be assisted, the ministry, they said, had entered into wrong measures for granting her the proper assistance, because, from the situation of her affairs, and that of all Europe, as well as the particular interest and policy of Great Britain, she would have been more effectually served with a supply of money than with a reinforcement of men, as the thirty-eight thousand troops in pay in her service cost the British nation near a million and an half of money; one half of which sum, it was said, would have enabled her to maintain a greater number of men, capable of acting wherever her affairs might require.

In answer to these arguments, uttered by some of the most eminent and distinguished men in the

nation, it was said by the friends of the new ministry, that if it was really the intention of Great Britain to prevent the house of Austria from being crushed, it was certainly more eligible to support it with men than money: by perpetually recruiting so considerable an army, the Austrian dominions, populous as they are, might in time become unable to oppose France: there is a natural superiority confederated forces have over a single nation, which was manifested in the last general war, by the advantage that the united powers had over France; for the loss of men with the former falling more equally, was the less felt; while the whole loss of the latter fell upon her own nation, from whence alone she was able to recruit; which circumstance must enable the queen of Hungary to sustain the war longer, and with less inconvenience than the French: not only so, but there was another objection against furnishing that princess with a pecuniary aid, because it could not be less than a million; and so glaring a sum might have tempted the Austrian ministers to a misapplication of a considerable part of it. Such was the substance of the principal arguments urged for and against this famous measure.

It has been proved by repeated experience, that less abilities are required to oppose than to conduct, or even to defend an administration in England. The distinguished talents for which the gentlemen of the new ministry had been so idolized, while engaged in the late opposition, were all obscured from the eyes of the public, the moment they attained to the direction of affairs. The truth is, the number of their friends was small, and they had little or no interest; for though the remains of the late administration, who were still very powerful, concurred with them in, and supported all their measures; yet was not that from any real regard they bore them, but, as they thought it a common cause, to prevent the progress and success of a third party, which they equally dreaded: and what added to the unpopularity of the new ministry was, the disgrace they had incurred by having changed their party and principles, without having acquired any real power, particularly in money affairs, which was all vested in the members of the old administration.

The minister (so lord Carteret was now termed) exerted himself with equal spirit and ability in defending the measures which the government had embraced; but foreseeing that if the opposition in parliament should continue to gain strength, it might be attended with fatal consequences to the internal peace of the kingdom; and rightly considering that the opinions of the people are regulated in a great measure by the determinations of the parliament, he was not satisfied with the bare refusal of the lords to censure the measure of taking the Hanoverian troops into pay, unless they also came to a resolution which might imply a full and unlimited approbation of that measure; and therefore, by his procurement, a motion was made (after the conclusion of the debate upon earl Stanhope's motion) by the earl of Scarborough, that an address should be presented to his majesty, importing, That in the unsettled and dangerous situation of affairs in Europe, the sending a considerable body of British forces into the Austrian Netherlands, and augmenting the same with sixteen thousand of his majesty's electoral troops, and the

the Hessians in the British pay; and thereby, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary's troops in the Low Countries, forming a great army for the service of the common cause; was a wise, useful, and necessary measure, tending to the support and encouragement of his majesty's allies, the real and effectual assistance of the queen of Hungary, and the restoring and maintaining the balance of power in Europe. This motion occasioned a violent debate; but in the end it was carried by the court party, seventy-eight against thirty-five.

The ministry, however, had a very severe opposition to encounter, in their endeavours to carry a bill for repealing certain duties on spirituous liquors, and licences for retailing those liquors, and imposing others at an easier rate. This, it must be confessed, was a dangerous expedient; but the ministry could not at that time fall upon any other feasible method of producing the sums that had been granted to the government: besides, experience had shewn that the public revenue had not been in the least advantaged by the late imposed severe duties, nor the health or morals of the people any wise mended. A motion was therefore made to resolve, That the duty of twenty shillings per gallon upon spirituous liquors should be discontinued; and that, towards raising the supplies granted to his majesty, there should be paid for every gallon of low wines, and spirits of the first extraction, made or drawn from any foreign or imported materials, six-pence over and above all other duties charged or chargeable on those liquors. This bill made its way through the commons with very little opposition, but among the peers it produced the most obstinate dispute which had happened since the beginning of the parliament.

The lord Hervey had lately been divested of his post of privy-seal, which had been bestowed upon lord Gower, and these two noblemen from that instant exchanged principles: the first commenced the splenetic patriot, opposing every measure indiscriminately that was adopted by the ministry; the other as obsequiously falling in with and supporting them. Lord Hervey on this occasion made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of that destructive liquor they were about to let loose on their fellow-creatures. The archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates, expatiated on the same topic, who were joined by the duke of Bedford, the earls of Aylesford, Sandwich, and Chesterfield, and the lords Lonsdale and Talbot. The duke of Newcastle, the earls of Ilay, Cholmondeley, and Bath, with the lords Carteret and Bathurst, were numbered among its advocates, and shrewd arguments were advanced on both sides of the question; in the course of which there frequently appeared some brilliant sallies of wit and humour. After very long, animated, and repeated debates, the bill passed without amendments, though the whole bench of bishops voted against it. Experience has since shewn, that this measure has not been attended with the dismal consequences that were predicted by the lords in the opposition.

The minority in both houses were now convinced that the ministry this session had too much influence to be retarded in their measures. More provoked, however, than discouraged by their defeat, they resolved to tease those in power with every

motion they thought would prove most disagreeable to them. The first was, to make an enquiry into the contract for the remittance of the money abroad necessary for the public service; but this was over-ruled. The next was, to address his majesty to order the proper officer to lay before the house (of commons) copies of all the memorials, representations, and declarations, together with the answers that had passed between the courts of London and Vienna, relating to the state of the war in the empire, for the interest and support of the house of Austria, from the first of September, 1741, to the sixteenth of November, 1742.

The promoters and advocates of this motion urged in its favour, that nothing could be more reasonable than that the parliament should be made acquainted with all the particulars of an affair, for the support of which they had granted such immense sums of money. To this the friends of the minister replied, with great appearance of justice, that if this motion should pass, no court in Europe could be safe in their political dealings with us. They affirmed, that the transactions between two courts might be, and generally were, of such a nature, that were they to be published, the whole operations depending upon them might be defeated; and consequently, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the queen of Hungary than the agreeing to such a motion; and as success was the best proof of prudence, the present crisis was so favourable to that princess, that it ought to entitle the ministry to the thanks of the house, rather than subject them to any invidious enquiry into their conduct. For these, and other reasons of the like nature, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

The last motion was to address his majesty, that he would be pleased to communicate to the house copies of all the letters and memorials which had passed between the courts of London and Berlin, relating to any auxiliary or foreign forces entering into Germany in support of the queen of Hungary.

This motion appears to have been founded upon very wise, reasonable, and equitable considerations. The king of Prussia had expressed great uneasiness at the situation of affairs in Germany, where the emperor, he said, was on the point of being dethroned. The queen of Hungary was mistress of his dominions; and in all appearance a total revolution of the German system was about to take place. His Prussian majesty frankly declared, that notwithstanding the treaty of Breslaw, he could not be an indifferent spectator of such cruel degradations of the imperial dignity, which, as an elector of the empire, he was bound to support. He hinted at the same time, that, as a German sovereign, he could wish that the government of England would not think of sending their arms into Germany, because he could not behold the introduction of foreign troops into that country without the greatest jealousy and disgust. The question, however, upon a division, was rejected by a majority of eighteen voices.

No other material transaction passed in either house this session; for on the twenty-first day of April, 1743, his majesty went to the house, where, after passing the several acts ready for the royal assent, he made a speech to both houses, in which

he observed, "That, to the end that the British nation and the common cause might reap the most beneficial fruits from the vigorous resolutions of his parliament, he had, at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majesty, to oppose any dangerous measures that might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-establishment of public tranquillity upon just and solid foundations: that he had continued a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the West Indies, in order to prosecute the great work of distressing his enemies the Spaniards, and compelling them to accept of safe and honourable terms of peace, as well as of maintaining the rights of navigation and commerce belonging to his subjects; adding, that from the former of these squadrons his allies in Italy had found, and still continued to receive, a most useful and advantageous support." The lord-chancellor then, by his majesty's order, prorogued the parliament.

The affairs of Europe were at this time in a very perplexed and complicated situation. All the provinces, from the heart of Silesia to the extremity of Italy, experienced different reverses of fortune. Austria was at this time at open war only with Bavaria; the queen of Hungary depended for support on the king of England; and Charles VII. upon his most Christian majesty: yet neither Great Britain nor France had hitherto acted as principals in the war. Her Hungarian majesty and the king of Sardinia had mutual claims upon each other, which would soon have effected a rupture between them, had they not been bound together by their common dread of the house of Bourbon. Naples, Florence, Geneva, and Rome, were neuter. The people of the Milanese, of Mantua, of Parma, of Modena, and Guastalla, long accustomed to be the prey of the conqueror, without daring to vote either for or against him, beheld with an impotent concern the frequent shocks they were exposed to. Spain, who was a principal in the war against England, risked every thing in order to procure a sovereignty in the heart of Italy for the son of her ambitious queen. The court of Spain had demanded of the states of Switzerland a passage through their territories for some troops they were going to send into Italy, and were refused. The Swiss nation is ever ready to lend out its soldiers to any prince who is ready to hire them; but they will suffer the troops of no potentate to enter their territories: the government is pacific, and the people warriors: hence their neutrality is always respected. To give a proper weight to her's, Venice levied twenty thousand men.

All Germany seemed to behold with indifference the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria: even the elector of Cologne did not dare to take the part of his brother, who was emperor, fearing the fate of the duke of Modena. If Hanover took part in the quarrel, it was only as a country subject to the king of England, and her soldiers were paid by that crown. The German princes themselves, although their troops were let out as mercenaries, were yet regarded as neutrals.

England was more urgent with Holland than ever to declare war, and France laboured hard to prevent it. The marquis de Fenelon, the French ambassador at the Hague, had employed all his

address in persuading the Dutch to declare themselves neuter: but the English, with the prince of Orange at their head, prevailed so far, that in July of the preceding year their High Mightinesses were brought to agree to a proposition of putting forty thousand foot and five thousand horse into a proper condition for marching on the first notice. This vigorous resolution was in some measure owing to the spirited conduct of a young gentleman named Van Haren, one of the deputies, who exerted himself with great zeal and activity in support of the common cause. He composed some allegorical pieces to animate his nation against the king of France. These pieces were full of beautiful strokes of writing: the author knew well how to enrich his language, and to give it an harmonious turn, which it greatly wanted. He compared the ancient state of Greece to that of Holland, at this time overawed by the French, as the Greeks had been by the Persians and Macedonians. His style, though sublime and allegorical, was adapted to the understandings of the people, because it was natural, and the allegory clear. They were read by the Dutch of all denominations: they were recited publicly after divine service in the most frequented parts of towns, and even in the little villages; and those who read them in public were handsomely rewarded by the auditors, as had been formerly the case with those who pronounced Homer's pieces in public: in fine, these writings excited such a spirit among the people, that the States-general found themselves under a necessity of adopting still more resolute measures. The friends of the house of Orange began to exert themselves: the states of Groningen and West Friesland protested in favour of the prince against the promotion of foreign generals which was made in consequence of the resolution of the States general to augment their forces by sea and land; in the distribution of which promotions, they made the prince but a lieutenant-general, which he rejected with indignation.

The French court had expected to bring over the new empress of Russia, Elizabeth, to their measures; but they found her not disposed to listen to their offers. She remitted a considerable sum of money to the queen of Hungary, and at the same time congratulated the elector of Bavaria on his election to the imperial throne. She had declared her nephew, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, her successor, by the title of grand prince of all the Russias.

The king of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister of Charles XII. was declared next heir to the crown; but understanding that he had embraced the Greek religion, and had been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden.

The king of Prussia, though surrounded by the tumults of war, was cultivating in his own dominions the arts of peace, but still with such vigilance and attention as kept him always prepared for action.

In this critical situation were all the European powers in the beginning of the year 1743, when cardinal de Fleury departed this life at the age of eighty-nine. In him France lost an able minister, who had for many years managed the affairs of

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that kingdom. He was always a friend to pacific measures: he endeavoured to accomplish his purposes, by raising and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts; but the French to this day accuse him of having been too neglectful of the military glory of France, and of having suffered her marine to be almost annihilated. No sooner, however, were the cardinal's eyes closed, than Lewis XV. took the reins of government into his own hands, declaring he was ready to accept of an honourable peace, or to prosecute the war with vigour: and as he expected the allied army in Flanders would march into Germany, and act offensively, he resolved to assemble a numerous force to oppose them; and ordered the marshal de Noailles, one of his best generals, to post himself on the banks of the Rhine with an army of eighty thousand men, and on the approach of the English and their allies to march out against them.

His Britannic majesty had repeatedly plighted his faith for the support of the pragmatic sanction. Urged by this consideration, he resolved in the course of the ensuing campaign to head his troops in person. Accordingly, immediately upon the prorogation of the parliament, he set out for Germany, accompanied by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, the lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction, and arrived at Hanover on the sixth of May, his majesty, before his departure from England, having thought proper to make a grand promotion of general officers, as also to appoint a regency for the government of the kingdom during his absence, consisting of the following persons; his grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the dukes of Grafton, Dorset, Devon, Newcastle, Bolton, Montagu, and Richmond; the marquis of Tweeddale, secretary of state for Scotland; the earls of Harrington, Bath, Wilmington, Pembroke, Winchelsea, and Illy; lord Gower, lord Carteret, and Henry Pelham, esq.

At this period the queen of Hungary, who at the beginning of the last campaign seemed devoted to inevitable destruction, now appeared to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper Palatinate; and the Bavarian and French forces being divided into too many separate bodies, mouldered away by degrees. The mortality which got footing among the French troops in Bavaria was the beginning of their misfortunes. The French soldiers spent the latter end of the year 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded upon each other in German stoves, which alone destroyed them in great numbers; but that which was their greatest bane, was a misunderstanding between marshal Broglie and count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians: the latter, who acted under the emperor, was urgent with Broglie to send him reinforcements, which the marshal constantly refused, alleging, that he had enough to do, with all the forces he could muster, to make head against prince Lobkowitz, who having taken possession of Prague, proceeded to Egra, which he immediately invested, though without success.

By this time the campaign had been opened between the several parties engaged in the war. The emperor had exerted himself with great activity in recruiting his army; and having assembled a body of about twenty thousand men, he pitched his

camp at Lembach, in the neighbourhood of Brenau; while prince Charles of Lorraine, assuming the command of the Austrian troops in Bavaria, advanced against his Imperial majesty, and attacked him with great fury in his entrenchments. The Imperialists continued for some time to make a most desperate resistance; but about five thousand of them being killed on the spot, and a great number taken prisoners, they were at last obliged to abandon the camp, with all their baggage and artillery, to the victors. The remains of the defeated army retired to Brenau, and all Bavaria was soon laid open to the incursions of the Austrians, there being nothing now to oppose the progress of prince Charles, who took Dingelsing, Deckendorff, and Landshut, upon the Isser, making a great number of prisoners every-where. The emperor saw himself once more forced to abandon his dominions, and shelter himself in Augsburg, an imperial town; but he did not remain there long, the approach of the famous partisan Mentzel, at the head of a strong body of Pandours, obliging him to retire for shelter to Franckfort. This rapid course of military events fell out in the months of May and June.

Prince Charles, flushed with victory and success, advanced to the banks of the Danube, where the French marshal Broglie was posted, whom he obliged to quit his strong camp at Pladling, and retire to Ratisbon, and from thence to Ingoldstadt. In this retreat the French suffered greatly from the Austrian hussars and Irregulars, who hovered continually on their flanks and rear, cut off a great number of their men, and took a booty amounting to upwards of a million of florins.

Mean while, the campaign was equally vigorous and active in other quarters. As his Britannic majesty had promised the queen of Hungary to order his troops into Germany, in pursuance of his engagement, the British forces commanded by field-marshal earl of Stair began their march thither in the month of February, and on the nineteenth of May passed by the town of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they were joined by the Hanoverians in the pay of England. They were likewise in expectation of being soon reinforced by another body of six thousand troops belonging to that electorate, as well as by the Hessians in the service of Great Britain. As Franckfort was a neutral city, marshal Stair, before he approached its neighbourhood, sent a message to the emperor, who then resided in that city, to assure his Imperial majesty, "That nothing farther was intended by the march of the British troops into Germany than to restore the public peace and tranquillity: that his Britannic majesty, upon appointing him to the command of them, had expressly charged him to avoid every thing that might in the least injure the dignity of the head of the empire: and that therefore his Imperial majesty might assure himself, that the march of these troops should be directed in such a manner as not to disturb his residence at Frankfort." At the same time, the marshal caused it to be notified to the neighbouring princes and imperial towns, that he had no orders to act against the emperor, but only to oblige the French to leave Germany. In return, these several states, and the regency of Frankfort in particular, expressed their intention to observe a strict neutrality. The emperor, however, thinking it somewhat unsafe to remain in a neutral

neutral city, retired to Munich, in company with the prince royal his son, and did not return till he was compelled to it, by the loss of his hereditary dominions, as above related.

The Dutch having at length consented to join the allied army with twenty thousand men, believing also that now they could take such a step without any hazard, and that without declaring war against France, they might help to crush her; they sent six thousand men into Flanders to replace the Austrian garrisons, and proposed to send an army of fourteen thousand men into Germany; but they proceeded, in the true spirit of that republic, very slowly.

In the mean time, the army of the allies continued their march along the banks of the Rhine till the beginning of May, when they began to assemble near Hœchst, on the borders of the Mayne, where proper ground was laid out for their encampment. The Austrians under the command of marshal Neuperg and the duke d'Aremberg arrived about the same time, and encamped on the right, at a league distance from the British troops; and the Hanoverians under lieutenant-general Blton coming up soon after, encamped on the left, marshal Stair taking up his quarters at Hœchst, which was about the center of the whole. The army of the allies, after making allowance for all deductions, was supposed to consist of about thirty-seven thousand men.

The court of Versailles expected these motions of the allied army, and had been making preparations to obstruct their junction with the Austrians in Bavaria. No sooner, therefore, had the allies passed the Rhine, than marshal Noailles, at the head of eighty thousand men, entered the Palatinate; and after detaching count Segur to reinforce Broglie, advanced towards the Rhine, where he seized Spire, Worms, Oppenheim, and all the places on that side the river above Mentz, as also the city of Heidelberg on the Neckar; but was disappointed in his attempt to surprize Hailbron, a well fortified town on the same river, by the vigilance of the garrison. The French made no attempt to pass the Rhine till the fourteenth of May, when they crossed that river, and by a variety of marches and counter-marches, reduced the allies to great straits for want of provisions: they even endeavoured to make themselves masters of Aschaffenburg, where there was a bridge over the Mayne; but the earl of Stair had the good fortune to prevent them in that enterprize.

On the nineteenth day of June his Britannic majesty, attended by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland and lord Carteret, arrived in the camp of the allies, where he was received with the most joyful acclamations by the army, which he reviewed the same afternoon, and that evening took up his head quarters at the palace of Aschaffenburg, belonging to the elector of Mentz.

The French had possessed themselves of all the upper posts upon the Mayne: the boats below, obstructed at once by the enemy's hussars and the rapidity of the stream, were unable to come up with provisions; and thus the allies, by a concurrence of untoward circumstances, were surrounded on all hands by a superior army, commanded by a cautious and vigilant general, who had taken his measures so wisely, that nothing appeared left for the confederates but to surrender prisoners of war,

or run the risk of being cut in pieces in their retreat. While the allies were in this disadvantageous situation, short of provisions, unable to procure forage, and almost surrounded by the French, couriers arrived from prince Charles, with intelligence of his successes in Bavaria; and at the same time advice was brought, that the six thousand Hanoverians and six thousand Hessians, which his Britannic majesty furnished in his electoral capacity, and were now upon their route to reinforce the allied army, had effected a junction, and were within two days march of Hanover, under the command of prince George of Hesse-Cassel and general Druchleben, who wanted to know by what means they could conduct them to the confederates. As the French commanded the lower part of the Mayne, it was apprehended if the prince of Hesse attempted to advance beyond Hanau, he might be intercepted; and as it was absolutely necessary to accomplish the junction between him and the main body of the confederates, his Britannic majesty took a resolution of marching the army back again to Hanau, and sent orders to the prince of Hesse to halt at that city; but in this case his majesty found he must be exposed to the fire of the batteries which the enemy had raised upon the Mayne. His rear was likewise in danger of being cut off by the French; for marshal de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg, on the road to Hanau, which, by an unaccountable neglect, the allies had suffered him to do without interruption. On the twenty-sixth of June the king caused his army to decamp before daylight without beat of drum, and ventured upon a most dangerous march, which indeed by no means could be avoided.

The road the allied army was to take was bounded by hills and woods on the right, and flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French marshal was encamped, who was no sooner informed that our troops were in motion, than he declared they were marching to their destruction. He immediately caused thirty squadrons, consisting of the French household troops, dragoons, and light horse, to cross the river, and advance towards the village of Dettingen, by which the English must necessarily pass. Four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, were marched over two bridges, with orders to remain in the village of Dettingen, on one side of a hollow way, where they could not be perceived by our troops, of all whose motions marshal Noailles had a clear view, and gave express orders for his men not to fall upon the allies but at a certain advantage, as the very situation of the ground was a snare from which they could not escape. The enemy had before them a narrow pass; the village of Dettingen was on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in their center. M. Noailles earnestly recommended to his nephew, the duke of Grammont, who commanded the troops sent to oppose the march of the confederates, to wait in that position till the latter should fall into his hands, which was unavoidable. In the mean time, he sent five brigades to secure the post of Aschaffenburg, which his Britannic majesty had just quitted, who by this motion found himself surrounded on all sides, and reduced to the melancholy alternative of submitting at discretion, or fighting at very great disadvantage.

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All these wise dispositions of the marshal were, however, disconcerted by the mad fierceness of temper of the duke de Grammont, who imagining that the first column of the allies had already passed, and that he had only to fall upon their rear, which could not withstand him, quitted the very advantageous post he occupied, which he ought by all means to have kept, and advanced to give the confederates battle on an accessible ground, where his whole front was exposed. The latter, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed; and the French now fell into the very snare they had laid for the confederates, whom they attacked in disorder, and with unequal force. The cannon which the enemy had planted on the other side of the Mayne raked us in flank, and killed a great number of our men, the Hanoverians especially; but our batteries took the French in front. The advantage of cannon, which is very great, was soon overbalanced, the artillery on the opposite side of the river being rendered useless, as in the confusion it must have annoyed the French themselves, if it had been properly served.

Marshal Noailles, who had continued on the other side the river, that he might the better observe the disposition of both armies, when he understood that the duke de Grammont had passed the defile, exclaimed in a violent passion, that he had ruined his whole scheme; and when he found the fatal event resulting from the temerity of this officer, he passed over the Mayne to assist him; but it was too late: for the French having charged with a mad impetuosity, which at first put some regiments of British cavalry into disorder, continued running on with so little discipline and regularity, and the infantry of the allies behaved with so much intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their sovereign, that the fate of the day was soon determined in favour of that army, which a few hours before seemed devoted to unavoidable destruction.

During the whole of the engagement, his Britannic majesty rode up and down the ranks flourishing his sword, and crying out to the British infantry, "Now boys! now for the honour of England! fire! advance boldly, and the French will soon run." The event fulfilled his prediction. The battle began about twelve o'clock, and about two in the afternoon the French gave way, and passed a rivulet which was behind them, where they again posted themselves in order of battle, upon an eminence commanding the plain: but notwithstanding this advantageous disposition, on a body of three thousand English cavalry marching up towards them, they abandoned that post, and retreated over the Mayne with such precipitation and confusion, that several perished in the river, which they had so lately crossed with all the pride of certain victory. It has been thought by several experienced commanders, that had the enemy been vigorously pursued, before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, it is more than probable they would have sustained a total overthrow. The earl of Stair proposed this measure, but his advice was over-ruled.

Thus ended this memorable engagement, in which the French lost about five thousand men, either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and amongst them most of their generals and officers of distinction, as also six standards. The loss of

the allies in this action amounted to near three thousand: the chief officers killed on our side were lieutenant-general Clayton, who was shot by a random ball as the French were retreating; and major-general Monroy, of the Hanoverians. Among the wounded were the duke of Cumberland, who behaved very gallantly, and received a shot in the leg; the duke d'Arenberg, the earl of Albemarle, major-general Huske, colonel Ligonier, and colonel Piers.

Immediately after the action, his majesty continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the twelve thousand Hessians and Hanoverians. Before the allies left the field of battle, the earl of Stair sent a trumpet to marshal Noailles, recommending to his protection the wounded that were left behind: and it is but doing justice to the French general to observe, that he treated them with the utmost care and tenderness. A general thanksgiving was performed on the twenty-fourth of June by the whole confederate army at Hanau, on account of the late battle. The French also sung *Te Deum* on the same occasion; and assembling all their forces, afterwards removed their camp to Offenbach, a town on the south side of the Mayne, at an equal distance between Hanau and Frankfort, and directly in sight of the confederates.

While the two armies continued in this situation, prince Charles of Lorraine accomplished his work in Bavaria, and obliged marshal Broglie to retire before him through Suabia, who repassed the Rhine on the borders of Alsace with much precipitation about the end of June, at the same time nearly that the emperor, believing himself no longer safe in Augsburg, had returned to take shelter in Frankfort, where he arrived the very evening of that day on which the battle of Dettingen was fought. As Frankfort was a neutral town, the officers of the French and allied armies repaired thither indiscriminately after the action, and M. Noailles found the emperor infinitely chagrined, on account of marshal Broglie's retreat; and to augment his misfortunes, he was without subsistence for himself and his family, in an imperial town, where no one would advance him any money, though the head of the empire. M. Noailles on this occasion furnished him with forty thousand crowns upon a letter of credit.

The two armies continued on different sides of the river Mayne till the twelfth day of July, when M. Noailles, receiving intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine was bending his march towards the confederate army, in order to put him between two fires, and that his highness was actually advanced as far as Heidelberg, the capital city of the elector-palatine, situate on the Neckar, and not above forty miles from Frankfort; he resolved to prevent his design, by decamping on the twentieth at night, after setting fire to his magazines; and made so speedy a retreat, that in four days the whole French army repassed the Rhine, between Worms and Oppenheim. His Britannic majesty was visited by prince Charles and count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were concerted.

In the mean time, his Imperial majesty, wearied out with a destructive war, relenting for the calamities he had brought upon his electoral subjects, deprived of the means of supporting his

august dignity; and above all, finding that he could expect no other assistance from the French, now made advances towards an accommodation with the queen of Hungary, and ordered his general count Seckendorf, to enter into a treaty of neutrality in his name with prince Charles of Lorraine. Accordingly, the general had an interview with count Khevenhuller, deputed from prince Charles, at the convent of Lower Sconfield, near Rain, where a convention was signed on the thirtieth of June, importing, that the emperor should remain neuter during the continuance of the present war; and that his troops should be quartered in Franconia: that the queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace: that Brenau and Scharding should be delivered up to the Austrians: that the French garrison of Ingoldstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Austrian general should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike stores, belonging to the French, which should be found in the place.

When this treaty of Hanau was sent to London for ratification, the lords justices thought proper to annul it, owing to the representations of the queen of Hungary, who insisted that the elector of Bavaria could not be considered as a neutral party in his own cause, and that this treaty was only intended to deprive her of the assistance of her allies. His Imperial majesty, still panting after peace, offered to allow the strong towns in Bavaria to be garrisoned by neutral troops, and to renounce all pretensions to the Austrian succession: nay, he even offered to give his daughter in marriage to the archduke, who was then three years of age, and to secure the imperial dignity in reversion to the house of Austria, by procuring the young archduke to be elected king of the Romans; and that he would abide by the judgment of the maritime powers, on the single condition of obtaining a restitution of his hereditary dominions, even with the mortifying restriction of leaving all the fortified towns in the possession of neutral troops. But all these considerable offers, though not immediately rejected, terminated without any effect, being evaded by the excuses of dispatching couriers, and such-like pretences, till the conclusion of the treaty of Worms in September following; after which not a single step was taken towards an accommodation, this last treaty establishing the future violence of the war, in opposition to the pacific propositions made at Hanau, when the war in Germany might certainly have been as satisfactorily terminated to all the contending parties, as it was after the loss of so many thousands of lives. In fact, several princes of the Germanic body began to resent the inflexibility of the queen of Hungary, and to be alarmed at the success of the house of Austria, and pitied the desperate situation of the emperor, who now experienced every possible stroke of ill fortune; for while the above treaty was agitating, Egra and Ingoldstadt, the only towns that were left him after the retreat of Broglie, were reduced by the Austrians. In Ingoldstadt they found all the emperor's domestic treasure, plate, jewels, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the house of Bavaria, the most valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition. To increase

the mortifications of this wretched head of the empire, if they could be said to admit of addition, his old friend the elector of Mentz was dead, and his successor was an avowed supporter of the Austrian interests. Not contented with the insults they had already offered him, the council of Austria presented to the imperial diet, even in the town of Frankfort, a rescript, wherein the election of Charles VII. was protested against as null and absolutely void. The new elector of Mentz, in his quality of high-chancellor of the empire, to which dignity he had been advanced against the emperor's inclination, registered this protest in the protocol or journal of the diet. Charles could only complain, which he did by written remonstrances, that produced a warm dispute among the members of the Germanic body.

The king of Prussia in particular, who had backed the imperial negotiations with the strongest remonstrances, finding the treaty of Worms had abolished all pacific sentiments at the court of Vienna, and willing to shew his influence in Europe, had an interview on the thirtieth of September with general Seckendorff at Anspach, and from thence proceeded privately to Frankfort, where he had a conference with the emperor. This tour at that time occasioned various speculations: however, the nature of these conferences may be easily conjectured, from his future conduct in opposing the queen of Hungary, and by his protesting against the investiture of the duchy of Saxe-Lauenburgh, claimed by the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, which afterwards gave rise to a difference between them.

On the twenty-fourth day of August the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and king George fixed his head-quarters in the episcopal palace of Worms; the French marshal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, where he took possession of the lines of Lauterburg, formerly cast up by the Germans to defend their frontiers. The allies continued encamped about Worms till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Continuing their operations, they took possession of Gimmersheim, and demolished the lines which the enemy had formed on the Queich: then they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter quarters. While the allies lay at Worms, colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of Croats and Pandours, belonging to the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into a part of Lorraine, which they ravaged without mercy.

In September prince Charles with the Austrian army entered the Brisgau, and attempted to pass the Rhine; but marshal Coigny, who commanded a French army in that neighbourhood, appearing on the opposite banks of the river, with a body of fifty thousand men, he was obliged to desist from his design; and returning into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria.

By this time the earl of Stair had solicited and obtained leave to resign his command. His lordship appears to have been disgusted at a supposed preference which the king shewed to the foreign generals in the service of Great Britain: and this report gained so much ground among the people of England, as greatly to lessen the satisfaction they

they would otherwise have received from the glorious action of Dettingen, and, perhaps, their demonstrations of gratitude towards their sovereign, who by his distinguished bravery had been so eminently instrumental in the success of that day. In the latter end of October the king of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army separated; the troops in the British pay marched back to the Netherlands, the rest took the route to their respective countries.

In the month of September a treaty had been concluded at Worms, between his Britannic majesty, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary; by which the latter of these sovereigns engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy. The king of Sardinia obliged himself to maintain forty thousand infantry, and fifty thousand horse, on condition of his having the command of this combined army, and receiving an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds from Great Britain. As a further gratification, her Hungarian majesty yielded to the king of Sardinia the city of Placentia, with several districts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novarese, and all her rights and pretensions to Final, at present possessed by the republic of Genoa, which, they supposed, would make no difficulty to relinquish it, upon being repaid the purchase-money, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds. This sum his Britannic majesty promised to disburse; and, moreover, to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which should be ordered to act in strict concert with his Sardinian majesty. Lastly, the contracting powers agreed that Final should be constituted a free port, like that of Leghorn.

This treaty, which was ratified by the regency at London, as soon as it could be transmitted thither, exposed the British minister (lord Carteret) who conducted it, to great blame and censure. It was represented as a violation of common justice, since the Genoese were hereby negotiated out of their property, they having purchased the marquisate of Final of the late emperor, for a valuable consideration; and the purchase had been guaranteed by Great Britain. Besides, they were further injured by the condition of its being made a free port, which could not fail of prejudicing their commerce upon the Mediterranean. The Genoese themselves seemed so sensible of the hard measure that had been dealt them by this latter article particularly, that they made strong remonstrances against it at the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and as little or no regard was paid to their representations, they threw themselves into the arms of Spain and France for protection.

The good understanding between the Czarina and the queen of Hungary was destroyed in the course of this year, in consequence of a conspiracy that had been detected by the court of Petersburg, for removing the empress Elizabeth and recalling the princess Anne to the government; in which conspiracy the marquis de Botta, who had resided at the court of the Czarina, was suspected of having been concerned. The empress demanded satisfaction of her Hungarian majesty for the ill-conduct of her minister. The queen appointed commissioners to enquire into his conduct; by whom he was acquitted, to the great displeasure of the empress of Russia, who highly resented that the court

of Vienna should require any other proof of the marquis's guilt than her asseveration. We must not forget, that a treaty of alliance was this year concluded between the Czarina and the king of Great Britain.

Let us now take a view of the campaign in Italy, which proved very unfavourable to the Spaniards.

His Sardinian majesty on the close of the last year had been dispossessed of the whole duchy of Savoy, when the Spanish Infant took up his winter residence in Chamberry, while the king of Sardinia was obliged to retire to his Piedmontese dominions. During the severity of the winter nothing was attempted on either side. In the spring of the year 1743, his Sardinian majesty had assembled an army of forty thousand men; but though he was greatly superior to the Spaniards, he continued inactive; and the Spaniards in Savoy waited in expectation of a reinforcement from their court. But though the Spaniards were quiet on the side of Savoy, the Spanish queen, who lived only for the aggrandizement of her family, prevailed on her uxorious consort, to send his general count de Gages a peremptory command, to attack without delay, the Austrians and Piedmontese under count Traun and count Aspremont, in the ecclesiastical territories. This was accordingly done, without attending to the prior representations of the count, who had sent repeated advices to the Spanish ministry, of his army having been so much reduced by sickness, death, and desertion, as not to muster above twenty-eight thousand men, out of forty thousand men that the duke of Montemar had left when he resigned his command to him.

The royal command, however, was too absolute to leave de Gages aught but compliance. Accordingly, he privately passed the Panaro in the beginning of February, and made himself master of Campo Santo and Final. On the eighth of February the count offered the Austrians and Piedmontese battle, which was accepted by them. The two armies were nearly equal, and a most obstinate and bloody engagement ensued, which, however, was far from proving decisive. The Spaniards lost about four thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken; among whom were the duke de Arcos, and three other generals. The confederates did not suffer quite so much; if we except the loss of one of their principal generals, count de Aspremont, who died of his wounds soon after the action. Some colours and cannon were taken on both sides; and each sung *Te Deum* for the victory.

Count de Gages, however, finding his army to diminish daily, and, having received advice that count Traun had been reinforced by seven thousand men, repassed the Panaro, retreated suddenly out of the Bolognese, and marched to Rimini, in the ecclesiastical state, where he fortified himself in a very advantageous camp. Before he quitted the Bolognese, he had, by several different expresses, warmly solicited his Sicilian majesty, to assist him with a body of Neapolitan forces; but that prince, though undoubtedly inclined to give assistance to the Spaniards, was so overawed by the proximity of the British fleet, that he durst not venture on such a step.

After this engagement, the Austrians remained wholly inactive in the Modenese, till the month of September; when count Traun, whose age now rendered

rendered him little able to support the fatigues of a winter campaign, solicited, and obtained leave of her Hungarian majesty to resign the command, and prince Lobkowitz was ordered to succeed him. This general, immediately on his arrival at the army, determined to enter upon action: accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of September he suddenly decamped, and advanced towards count de Gages; who with his forces being reduced, by the united calamities of famine and desertion, to not more than seven thousand men, retreated precipitately to Fano, a sea-port town in the gulph of Venice. Here, however, the Spanish general seemed determined to wait for the enemy; as such precautions had been taken, that the Austrians could make but little use of their cavalry, in which their superiority chiefly consisted. In the mean time, the count repossessed himself of Pesaro, and began to fortify all the passes of the Foglia, in order to dispute the passage of that river: but prince Lobkowitz knowing that the Spaniards would venture any engagement, to extricate themselves out of so miserable a country; and that the severity of the approaching winter must greatly diminish their numbers, when they would be obliged to fly before him, without hazarding a stroke; thought it most adviseable to discontinue his pursuit for the present; and put his troops into winter quarters about the middle of October.

The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip, entered upon action, the French court having spent the summer chiefly in negotiations to draw off the king of Sardinia from the alliance; but finding that expedient fail, they at length sent the prince of Conti, at the head of twelve thousand men, to reinforce the Spaniards in Savoy, and force a passage into Piedmont, which the marquis de las Minas had unsuccessfully attempted, with the loss of three thousand men. A body of four thousand Spaniards were also sent from Catalonia to join the young infant's army. In the mean time, the king of Sardinia had entered Savoy with forty thousand men; upon which the young Spanish prince and the marquis de las Minas abandoned Chamberry on the twenty-second of August, and defiled through Dauphiné towards Briançon, thirty-six miles distant from Turin, where they were joined by the Spaniards and the French auxiliaries, when the whole army consisted of fifty-six thousand men. Here they continued some time, to give the French army leisure to recruit from the fatigue of their long march, as well as to concert the future operations of the campaign; and notwithstanding the advanced season, the prince de Conti, who was brave, fond of arms, and of an enterprising disposition, persuaded the marquis de las Minas to concur with him in a resolution to attempt forcing the Piedmontese lines at Chateau-Dauphiné. This important post had been reinforced by the king of Sardinia and admiral Matthews; which latter had landed eight hundred men, and a great number of cannon, from his squadron at Villa Franca, to secure it as much as possible from the vigorous attack expected from the enemy.

The French and Spanish generals decamped from Briançon on the twenty-eighth of September, and arriving on the confines of Dauphiné early in the morning on the first of October, they made a warm attack upon the Piedmontese, who receiving them

as warmly, obliged the assailants to retire with the loss of eight hundred men. Nevertheless, they renewed the attack eight days successively, but were always defeated, and at length obliged to quit their enterprize with very considerable loss, and retire to Chamberry; but the French made good their winter quarters in Dauphiné and Provence, and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

Our naval armaments in the Mediterranean continued in the same situation as at the conclusion of the preceding year, admiral Matthews continuing still at the isles of Hieres, to prevent the French and Spanish fleets from coming out of Toulon, which, as it was of the highest consequence to their affairs in Italy, it was apprehended they would speedily attempt. In fact, the Spaniards had for some time been particularly earnest with the court of France to afford them a more effectual assistance than it had done for some time; and the French being at length determined to come to an open rupture with us, the courts of Versailles and Madrid came to an agreement, that M. de Court, the French admiral, who was blocked up with admiral Navarro in Toulon, should be now joined by the French ships that were fitting out in that harbour; that in the mean time a squadron should be equipped at Brest, to intercept the squadron which was on the point of sailing for the Mediterranean to reinforce the British fleet there; and that at the same time orders should be sent to the combined fleets to put to sea from Toulon, and fight Matthews. Of this design, however, the British admiral got intelligence, by intercepted letters, which he transmitted to the ministry in England, accompanied with the most pressing solicitations to supply him with fresh ships, those he had with him being so foul, and otherwise out of repair, that he apprehended he should not be sufficiently strong to make head against the combined fleets with any prospect of success, should they come out and attack him. In this situation were the English naval affairs at the close of the year 1743.

In America they wore a more disagreeable aspect; for though sir Chaloner Ogle, who had been left there, on the return of Vernon and Wentworth to England, in the double capacity of admiral of the fleet, and commander of the land forces on board, was an officer, in every respect, worthy of so important a trust; yet he was deterred from personally attempting any material enterprize, because the Spanish squadron, under admiral de Torres, which was stronger than that he commanded, still continued at the Havannah. Sir Chaloner, however, determined to commence some attack against the Spaniards, which might not too greatly weaken his fleet. In the beginning of the year he ordered captain Knowles, commander of the Suffolk, a seventy-gun ship, who was well acquainted with the coast, to take under him the Burford, of seventy-guns, the Assistance, Norwich, and Advice, of fifty, and the Scarborough of twenty guns, and three sloops, and to proceed to Antigua, where he was to be joined by the Eltham of forty guns, and the Lively of twenty; and with this squadron to make an attempt upon La Guera and Porto Cavallo, on the Caracca coast; but the governor of the Caraccas having received intelligence of this expedition, had neglected nothing that tended to his security, by erecting new batteries,

ries, and augmenting the garrisons with a numerous body of Indians, Mulattoes, and Negroes; besides, he had prevailed on the Dutch governor of Curaçoa, an island of the Lesser Antilles, to supply him with a considerable quantity of ammunition; so that when commodore Knowles made the attack upon the place, he met with so warm a reception, that he was compelled to abandon the enterprize, and made his best way for the Dutch island Curaçoa; where he repaired the damage he had suffered in the attack of La Gueira. We had one lieutenant and ninety-two men killed, and three hundred and eighty wounded: among the latter was captain Lushington, a gallant and experienced sea-officer, commander of the *Burford*, who had his thigh taken off by a cannon shot, and expired at Curaçoa two hours after he was carried ashore. The Spaniards, however, had no great cause for exultation, as their town and fortifications were almost destroyed, and they lost above seven hundred men.

Commodore Knowles, not discouraged by the repulse he had lately sustained, and determined not to part with the Spaniards till he had made them feel the effects of his visit, had no sooner refitted his squadron than he put to sea, in order to make an attempt upon Porto Cavallo, off which place he came to an anchor on the fifteenth of April.

The commodore, taking a view of the situation of the Spaniards, saw twelve of their smallest ships, and three gallies, hauled up to the head of the harbour out of gun-shot, and two large ones, one of sixty, and another of forty guns, moored close over to the other shore, as there was not depth of water for them to go up the harbour: one ship was laid across the channel in the mouth of the harbour ready to be sunk, to prevent any entrance, with a chain from the castle to her stern, and another from her head to the main, where the Spaniards had lately erected three fascine batteries, which extended a considerable length. On a low point, called Punta Brava, were two other new fascine batteries, one of twelve guns, the other of seven: but commodore Knowles perceiving they were ill designed, and might easily be flanked, thought it would be no difficult matter to render himself master of them; and that if the attempt succeeded, the guns of both might be made use of against the castle. Accordingly, it was agreed at a general consultation held the next morning, to send in two ships to cannonade those batteries, which was done; and they being silenced, the forces, consisting of twelve hundred soldiers and sailors, were landed in the evening under major Lucas; but being seized with an unaccountable sudden panic, they fell into the greatest confusion, firing upon each other, and flying with the utmost precipitation to their ships. On the twenty-first a general consultation of officers was held, when it appearing that most of the ships had spent the greatest part of their ammunition, and were all miserably shattered in their masts and rigging; in fine, that the squadron was no longer in a condition to renew the attack, the commodore abandoned the enterprize, sent away the squadron to their respective stations, and after an exchange of prisoners with the governor of Porto Cavallo, returned with the other ships to Jamaica.

On the continent of America the operations of the war were very languid. General Oglethorpe

having received intelligence, that the Spaniards meditated another invasion from St. Augustine, was determined to prevent them. Accordingly, in the beginning of the spring of this year, he began his march towards St. Augustine with a body of forces, consisting of Indians, and a part of his own regiments, together with the Highlanders and Rangers, and encamped for some time in the neighbourhood of the town by way of defiance: but the Spaniards did not think proper to venture on an engagement; and the British general being too weak to undertake a siege, he returned to Georgia, which he continued to put in so defensible a condition, as to leave nothing to fear from any attempt of the enemy. Towards the close of the summer he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the twenty-eighth of September, where he met with a most gracious reception from his royal master, by whom he was soon after promoted on the military list.

Let us now take a survey of the most important domestic transactions of the year 1743.

The remains of the regiments lately in the West Indies returned home, were scarce the shadow of those who were sent out. As an instance of which, general Blakeney's regiment, which went out eight hundred strong, now consisted only of eight men. Soon after the departure of his majesty for Germany, an affair happened which, tho' inconsiderable in itself, threw London into a great consternation. The Scottish regiment of Highlanders, commanded by lord Semple, had greatly distinguished themselves for their regularity, sobriety, and military discipline. With these troops it was determined to replace those lately arrived from the West Indies. Accordingly, they were ordered up to London, and on the fourteenth of May reviewed by general Wade upon Finchley-common, and next day ordered to march to Gravesend. This they exclaimed loudly against, as a breach of the terms on which they had enlisted, namely, not to be sent out of Great Britain; and on the seventeenth of the same month about one hundred and fifty of them mutinied, and marched off in a body towards their own country, but were soon overtaken, obliged to surrender, and brought prisoners to the Tower, where three of them were shot, and the rest sent to Jamaica and Georgia, and the main body of the regiment to Flanders, where they afterwards did excellent service.

On the nineteenth of October her highness the princess Louisa, his majesty's youngest daughter, set out for Germany, in order to be married to the prince royal of Denmark. She was attended in her voyage by the countess of Albemarle, and baron Solenthall the Danish envoy, and arrived on the twenty-ninth at Hanover. From thence she went to Altena, where she was met by the prince royal, and married on the eighteenth of November; and on the eleventh of December the princely pair made their public entry into Copenhagen. It was rumoured that a cross marriage between the same families was proposed at the same time: it did not however take place.

A great contest happened this year amongst the proprietors of the South-sea company, relating to Mr. Knight, who had been their cashier in the fatal year 1720, and had ever since lived in France as an exile: he had already procured his pardon

from the crown, owing to some favourable circumstances that pleaded in his behalf; and he now offered the company ten thousand pounds by way of composition for all their claims against him. This offer was strenuously opposed by a great number of the proprietors, who thought it would have the appearance of a most scandalous composition on the part of the company. Innumerable pamphlets and other writings flew about on the occasion: however, upon a ballot, the offer of Mr. Knight was accepted, by a majority of four hundred and ten against two hundred and seventeen. This year died the celebrated John Campbel, duke of Argyll and Greenwich, so eminent for his shining talents in the field and senate. He was succeeded in his Scottish title by his brother Archibald, earl of Ilay. The title of Greenwich by his death became extinct.

During the recess of parliament, every endeavour had been exerted by the anti-ministerial writers, to poison the minds of the people of England with suspicions of the worst tendency, to raise in them a settled aversion to those at the helm, and even to alienate their affections from their sovereign. With this view, all the arts of calumny and misrepresentation were employed: the burdens of taxes were exaggerated; the interest of the nation was affirmed to be directly sacrificed to views of aggrandizing a foreign electorate; and no pains was spared to increase the jealousy and national quarrel between the English and Hanoverians. The better to answer this last purpose, a report was as confidently as successfully propagated, that the king had on all occasions, during the last campaign, given preference to the foreign over the British troops, and that it was on this account only that the earl of Stair had thrown up his commission, being no longer able to support the insults the British troops sustained from their own mercenaries: they even went so far as to affirm, that the sovereign himself appeared at the battle of Dettingen in a yellow scarf (the Hanoverian colour) and that his electoral troops were so securely posted, as not only to be out of all danger, but also of little or no service in that engagement. These reports, though many of them manifestly false, wrought their whole effect, and the minds of the people were inflamed to the highest degree of discontent, when the parliament, after several prorogations, resumed its session on the first day of December.

His majesty in his speech told the members, That the dominions of the queen of Hungary had been evacuated by her enemies, and that the powerful armies which had marched to her assistance had retired out of the empire: that, in this conjuncture, it was with great pleasure he could acquaint them, that he had been joined by a body of troops of his good friends and allies the States-general: that, in further prosecution of these measures, the definitive treaty between him, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, had been happily concluded; a treaty which in time should be laid before them: that the advantages which must result from this alliance to the common cause were sufficiently apparent; and it would be particularly conducive to the interests of his kingdoms, by disappointing the ambitious views of the crown of Spain, with which they were at present engaged in so just and necessary a war; that, as he made no

doubt but they would proceed upon these foundations with firmness and constancy, they might reasonably hope to see the public tranquillity soon re-established, and a safe and honourable peace speedily obtained: that such were the ends which he had in view, and to the attainment of which he should bend his whole study and attention; but, in order the more thoroughly to accomplish them, vigorous and resolute measures were necessary; and to concert and carry on such measures, he did, with a just confidence, rely on their zealous, chearful, and effectual support.

In the upper house lord Sandwich moved for an address, beseeching his majesty to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain, in order to remove the popular discontent, and stop the murmurs of the English troops abroad. In support of this motion it was alleged, that these Hanoverians, though in the pay, could hardly be said to be in the service of the British nation: that some of them refused to form in the first line at the battle of Dettingen, and retired to the second: that others refused to obey the orders of lord Stair, the British general, to march in pursuit of the enemy after the battle; and the greatest number of them who, together with some of the British guards, composed what was called the rear-guard, under the command of a Hanoverian lieutenant-general, took a different route from the rest of the army in their march to Aschaffenburg: that this step not only rendered them wholly useless to the army when attacked by the French in front, but would have rendered them equally useless if the French from Aschaffenburg, where the passage was left open to them, had attacked the allies in the rear, in which it was pretended that these troops were left as in the post of honour: that not contented to avoid being of use either in the front or in the rear, but determined to be of no use in any station, they halted as soon as they came within sight and reach of the battle, though pressed by the British officers, and invited by the ardour of the British troops to share the glory and complete the victory (as they might have done) of the day: that as by these means the future co-operations of the national troops with these mercenaries had been rendered impracticable, and even their meeting dangerous, it seemed indispensibly necessary to remove the object that occasioned the many instances of partiality by which the Hanoverians have been unhappily distinguished, and the British forces undeservedly discouraged. These, and many other assertions of the like tendency, boldly thrown out, and no less powerfully supported by those in the opposition to the government, appeared to make a considerable impression upon many of the peers, which lord Carteret, who had accompanied his majesty abroad, and was on the field of battle, observing, he rose up to answer and confute them.

“From all, said his lordship, I could see, and from all I could hear, from gentlemen who were in the action, the Hanoverians showed as much courage, and as much obedience to the command of their superior officers, as any troops ever did: from whence I infer, that they could do as much service as any troops whatever; and that they were willing to do us service, and to march whithersoever they were commanded by our generals.” Some of the lords having, during the course of the debate, advanced, that the Hanoverian troops

durst

durst not fight against the emperor, because he was their sovereign, and elected with the concurrence of their master, his lordship observed, that this was a very mistaken notion. "The emperor, my lords, continued he, neither began, nor does he now carry on the war against the queen of Hungary as emperor: he is engaged in war with her only as duke of Bavaria; and consequently the members of the empire may assist either the one or the other, without committing any breach of any law of the empire. If our army did not attack the French, it was not to any backwardness in the Hanoverians, but to our not having an opportunity to attack them with any advantage."

In another passage of the same speech (which made a great noise at this time) he observed, "that the noble lord (meaning the earl of Stair) who had the chief command, under his majesty, of all the British troops, as well as the troops in British pay, is well known to most of your lordships; and any one who knows him must be convinced, that he would not tamely submit to such an affront as that of a disobedience to his command. If he had resented it, or if he had complained, I should certainly have heard of it in the army; and as I never did, I must suppose there never was the least occasion for any such complaints."

A great number of other members spoke both for and against the motion; the substance of whose arguments being in the main the same as already recited, shall not be here repeated. Upon a division, the motion was rejected by a majority of 71 against 36 peers: but this occasioned a very stinging protest, signed by about twenty-five peers. When the term for keeping the Hanoverians in British pay was nearly expired, and the estimates for their being continued the ensuing year were laid before the house, lord Sandwich renewed his motion; but the chancellor, as speaker of the house, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session. A debate ensued, and the second motion was over-ruled.

The Hanoverian troops were voted in the house of commons. Nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the upper house, "That the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay was prejudicial to his majesty's true interest, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation." He was seconded by the duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust, and the proposal gave rise to another warm dispute; but the minority, as formerly, were foiled in their attempts.

The ministry were no less warmly attacked in the house of commons. Mr. Grenville (the present earl Temple) moved for an address to beseech his majesty, that he would not engage the British nation any farther in the war on the continent without the concurrence of the States-general, on certain stipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war. Another motion was made for laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound on places and pensions, and a third for repealing the septennial act. These proposals were each of them productive of violent debates; but the court still continued to maintain their superiority. So great indeed was the credit and influence of the ministry, that although the national debt was increased

by above six millions since the commencement of the war, the commons indulged them with a very large sum for the expence of the ensuing year. The grants specified in the votes amounted to six millions five hundred thousand pounds. To this sum were added three millions five hundred thousand pounds, paid in perpetual taxes; so that the expence of the year arose to TEN MILLIONS; an amazing sum! The funds established for the annual charge were, the land-tax at two millions, the malt-tax at seven hundred fifty thousand pounds, one million paid by the East India company for the renewal of their charter, one million two hundred thousand pounds by annuities, one million from the sinking fund, thirty-six thousand pounds from the coinage, and six hundred thousand pounds by a lottery.

The dissensions of the British parliament were suddenly suspended in the beginning of the year 1744, by an event that seemed to call upon both parties to unite in their common defence. This was the intelligence of an intended invasion in favour of the pretender, whose eldest son, Charles-Edward, had passed through Italy in December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, embarked at Final, landed at Antibes, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, had been indulged with a private audience of the French king; who thought, by the parliamentary disputes and general dissatisfaction of the people of Great Britain, that the whole nation was ripe for revolt, and therefore determined to make use of young Charles, who was a youth of promising talents, secret, brave, and enterprising, to effect the projected invasion of this kingdom; which, should it at last miscarry, would, he foresaw, make a considerable diversion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarrass the king of England, who was the chief support of the house of Austria and all its allies. The old pretender was persuaded to suffer his son to try the experiment: the young man embraced the offer with the greatest alacrity. The French ministry began to make preparations for carrying the scheme into immediate execution, and every thing was proposed to be conducted with equal secrecy and dispatch. The court of Spain, equally concerned in the success of the project with that of Versailles, undertook to furnish the necessary sums, which the exhausted state of the French finances would not suffer them to advance.

Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand. The count had been in England; and having observed the few number of strong towns and fortresses in it, he had formed an idea that it might be easily over-run. Matters being at length completely settled, the troops began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels were assembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, the young pretender himself repairing to those places to superintend the preparations.

In the mean time, the British ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, were no longer at a loss for the destination of the French armaments. Accordingly, orders were sent to Mr. Thompson, our resident at Paris, to make the strongest remonstrances thereupon to the French ministry, but he received only evasive answers.

It had been determined in the cabinet at Versailles to land their troops in Kent, under a strong convoy of men of war equipped at Brest, and commanded by monsieur Roquefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity. This commander sailed on the twenty-sixth day of January from Brest, directing his course up the English Channel with eighteen ships of the line. They were presently descried by an English cruizer, who ran into Plymouth, and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of admiralty. As the French had been the greatest part of last summer equipping a considerable armament at Brest, a fleet of twelve men of war had been ordered to rendezvous at Spithead, under the command of sir John Norris; but as no intelligence arrived that the French squadron was in readiness for the sea, sir John did not take the command of these ships: but now that it was known for certain that the French fleet was at sea, and perhaps in the Channel, he was immediately dispatched down to the squadron, which he brought round to the Downs from Spithead; and being soon after joined by seven or eight ships of the line from Chatham, he found himself of superior strength to the enemy.

Every other possible precaution was taken by the government to guard against the impending danger: several regiments marched to the southern coasts of England; all governors and commanders were ordered to repair to their respective posts; the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a posture of defence; and directions were given for raising the militia of Kent to defend the coast, if occasion should require. On the fifteenth day of February his majesty in a message informed both houses of the French designs; in answer to which they jointly presented a loyal address, which was followed by others from the city of London, and most of the corporations in the kingdom, expressing their abhorrence of the French attempt, and promising to stand by his majesty with their lives and fortunes. A proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors: the parliament also addressed his majesty to augment his forces by sea and land. And now it being known that the late dissensions among the great men in the army and state had been the chief encouragement to the French to meditate their present scheme, the earl of Stair and the duke of Marlborough, in order to evince their loyalty to his majesty, made him a voluntary tender of their services in any station which he should think proper. Their offer was accepted: the earl of Stair was re-invested with the chief command of all the forces in Great Britain: the duke of Montagu was permitted to raise a regiment of four hundred horse at his own expence; and orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place.

Mean while, the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young pretender, and seven thousand men were actually embarked; while Roquefeuille endeavoured to beat round the Channel, and take the transports under his convoy; but meeting with contrary winds and bad weather, it was the seventeenth of February before he got the length of the Isle of Wight. Here he lay to, and

sent out a frigate for intelligence of what force was assembled at Spithead, which brought him information that no ships could be discovered in that road; upon which the French admiral, over hastily concluding that the English, apprehensive of an insult from his superior force, had withdrawn their ships into Portsmouth harbour, dispatched M. de Barreil, his second in command, with five men of war to Dunkirk, to hasten the arrival of the transports with the troops on board, while he himself, taking advantage of a spurt of fair wind, made sail with the remainder of his fleet, and came to an anchor on the twenty-second of February in the evening, off Dungeness, a steep promontory or head-land on the coast of Kent, about eighteen miles south-west of Dover, and eight miles east of Rye. While the French admiral lay here, sir John Norris with his fleet, amounting to thirty sail, the least of which was of sixty guns, weighed anchor from the Downs; and on the twenty-fourth in the forenoon M. de Roquefeuille, to his infinite surprize, saw the British fleet doubling the South Foreland and making towards him; and although the wind was against them, by the help of the tide gaining greatly upon him; but the tide of flood being spent, and the wind dying away, sir John Norris found himself under the necessity of coming to an anchor, which he did about two leagues distance from the French. M. de Roquefeuille, finding that the British squadron was not only more numerous, and much superior in force to that under his command, but that they had been likewise blocked up in a bay, from whence there appeared no possibility of escaping, summoned all his officers to a council, to demand their opinion how he should act in this miserable situation; when it was unanimously agreed to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sun-set, and make the best of their way for their own coast. The council then broke up, and every officer returned to his ship to execute what had been resolved upon. While they were weighing their anchors, a fresh gale of wind started up at east north-east, which increasing every minute, soon became a storm that hurried them down the Channel at the rate of ten miles an hour; so that next morning at day-break they were off Cape Barfleur: after which they were separated by a thick fog, and arrived at Brest in a very disorderly manner, being greatly shattered by the storm, to which however they owed their safety. A great number of their transports were driven ashore and shattered to pieces, and the rest were so much damaged, that they could not be repaired for a considerable time. The English remained masters of the sea, and kept the whole French coast in alarm. The designed invasion was therefore quite laid aside; the French generals returned to Paris, and the young pretender set out for the place of his former residence.

The British squadron was much damaged in the storm; and sir John Norris being thus disappointed of attacking the French, and finding they had entirely effected their escape, thought proper to return to his station in the Downs, where he arrived on the twenty-seventh of February, having before sent away sir Charles Hardy with all the three-decked ships to Portsmouth, where they could ride with greater security. On the second of March the Habeas Corpus act was suspended, and several persons of distinction, among whom was the earl of Barrymore, of the kingdom of Ireland, were apprehended,

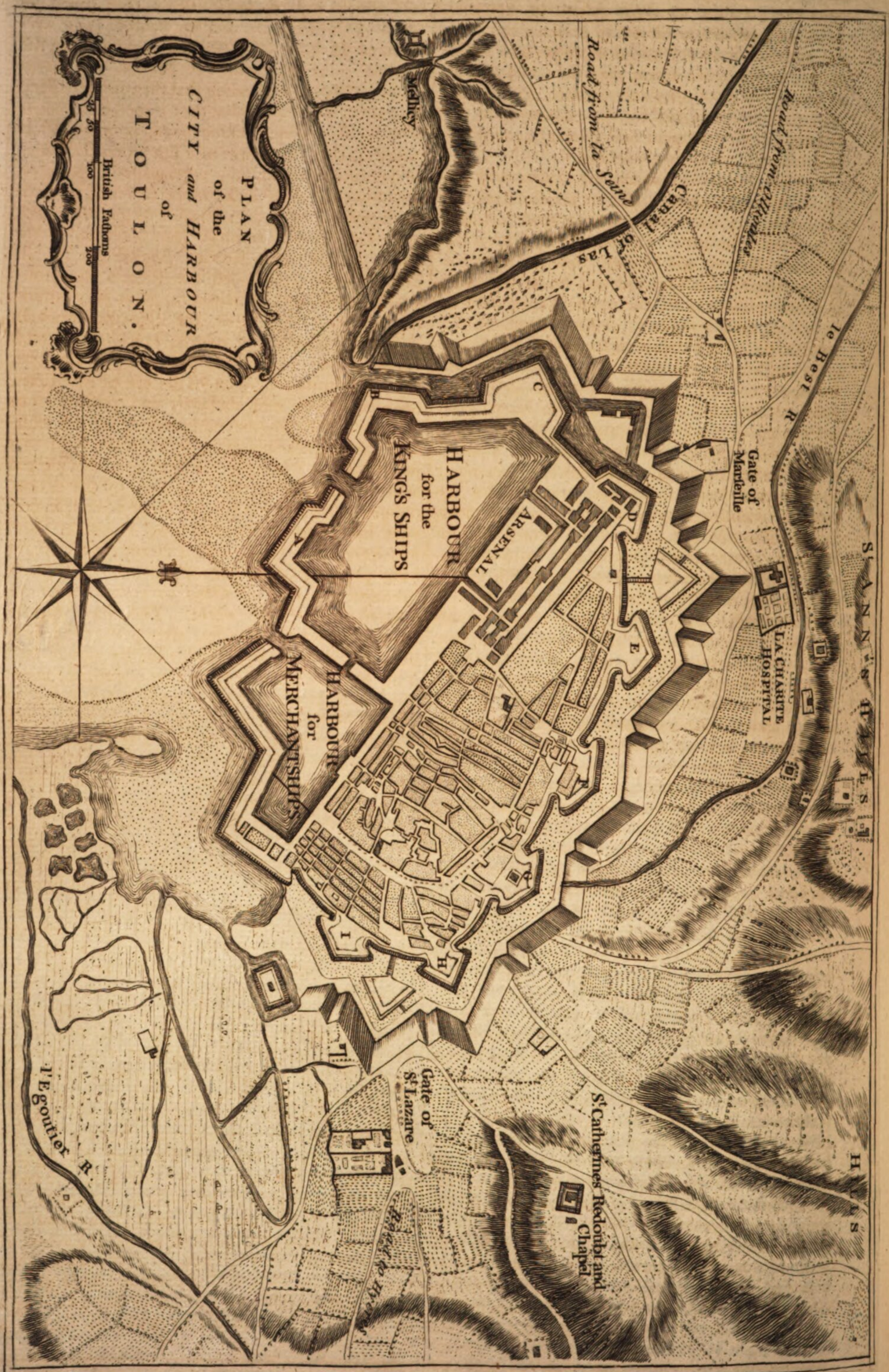
apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices; but every one of those suspected persons were afterwards admitted to bail, and discharged as soon as all fears of an invasion were over. By virtue of the perpetual defensive league between England and Holland, signed the third of March, 1678, and renewed and confirmed by the last treaty, which their High Mightinesses concluded in the year 1728, with his reigning majesty, the Dutch were obliged to furnish, as auxiliaries to the British nation, a succour of six thousand troops and twenty men of war, to be employed in the service of that crown, whenever demanded: the requisition was made by our resident at the Hague as soon as ever the designs of the French became apparent; and their High Mightinesses immediately gave orders for the transportation of six battalions, of five hundred men each, into England as soon as possible. These arrived at Gravelend on the eighteenth of March, and were followed soon after by three thousand men more.

When Lewis found himself entirely disappointed in his hostile schemes against the British nation, either to gratify his own resentment, or to sooth the anger of the court of Madrid, in which large sums had been thus uselessly squandered, he resolved no longer to preserve any measures with the English nation. Accordingly, Mr. Thompson, our resident at Paris, was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published at Paris on the twentieth day of March, 1744, wherein the French king charged his Britannic majesty with having dissuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised piracy upon the subjects of France; and even blocked up his most Catholic majesty's fleet in his harbour of Toulon. In answer to this his Britannic majesty, on the thirty-first of March, published a counter-declaration of war against France, to the great joy of the nation, which had long reflected with indignation upon the many insults we had received from that faithless people. The Dutch, who upon such an event were to supply us with twenty ships of war, did vouchsafe to send five or six, which, for any service they were of, might as well have staid at home. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse refused their stipulated succours till we had an army formed in Hanover sufficient to protect them. The Russians alleged it was too late in the year to give us the assistance we had a right to demand. The king of Prussia insisted we were the aggressors, and therefore would send us no succours. In April the French also declared war against the queen of Hungary, who returned a like declaration against France in the succeeding month; and thus all Europe was lighted up in flames.

On the third of April his Britannic majesty went to the house of peers, and made a speech to his parliament, in which he acquainted them with the French king's having declared war against him on the most ill-grounded and injurious pretences: that he had on his part also declared war against the French king, and had made the proper requisitions to the States-general for performing their engagements on this important occasion. His majesty then declared, that in the prosecution of his just cause, he relied on the divine protection, and the vigorous support of his parliament, assur-

ing them that he would do his part: that he had no interest at heart but theirs; and that common interest conjured them all to unite. To this pathetic speech both houses returned the most affectionate and loyal addresses, promising effectually to stand by and assist his majesty in prosecuting the war against France with the greatest vigour, and to furnish whatever expences should be found necessary for the same, as became a free and grateful people in defence of their liberties. The commons also, more evidently to demonstrate their loyalty, brought in a bill for inflicting penalties of high-treason upon those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the pretender. This bill was sent up to the lords on the twenty-seventh of April, when lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, moved that a clause should be inserted for continuing the penalty of treason upon the posterity of those who should be convicted of holding such correspondence, during the life of the two sons of the pretender to the crown. This motion was supported by the duke of Newcastle, lord Carteret, and the whole strength of the ministry, and opposed by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, lord Talbot, and lord Hervey, who argued against it in the most pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nations, the rules of common justice, and the precept of religion; as tending to involve the innocent with the guilty; and meant only to augment the ministerial power, to plunder the nation, and enable courtiers to grow rich by public calamities. The lords who defended the motion ascribed this proposal purely to motives of preserving their constitution and liberties, and of defeating the schemes which had been formed for dispossessing the present royal family of the throne. After a long and violent debate the question was carried in the affirmative, though not without occasioning a protest, signed by eighteen lords. When the bill was returned with the amendment to the commons, the amendment was strenuously opposed by lord Strange, lord Guernsey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members by whom the original bill had been countenanced: but the ministerial party here, as in the upper house, carried their point: the bill was approved by the majority, and soon after received the royal assent.

On the fifteenth day of May his majesty put an end to the session with a speech, in which he returned both houses "his hearty thanks for the many demonstrations they had given him during the course of it, of their good affections, and of their zeal for the support of his government. He observed, that the great preparations made by France on the side of the Austrian Netherlands, must convince all Europe of the ambitious and destructive views of that crown in beginning the present war: that it should be his care, in conjunction with his allies, to pursue the most proper measures to disappoint these designs, and to prosecute the war in such a manner as might be most effectual for obtaining a safe and honourable peace: that his good friends the States-general had already, in pursuance of his requisition, agreed to furnish the succours stipulated by treaties, and had given the strongest assurances of their sense, not only of the common danger, but also of the inseparable connection of their interests with those of Great Britain; a disposition which he would not fail



fail to improve to the general good of the common cause: that he hoped the members of both houses, upon their return to their respective counties, would be particularly careful to preserve the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, especially at this critical conjuncture, when they were called upon by every motive of duty and interest, to cherish a more than ordinary zeal for the maintenance and defence of their religion and liberty, against the malicious designs of their enemies."

The late projected invasion was replete with many ills against England, and its timely detection and prevention was consequently a most fortunate circumstance for her. The scheme had been laid with such deep art and secrecy, that the commanders of the French fleet did not know the place of their destination till the moment they were to set sail: it was, moreover, closely connected with another which, had it proved successful, must have given the French the entire dominion of the sea. The queen of Spain, impatient of the difficulties which retarded her son Don Philip in his progress in Italy, and enraged at the detention of the French and Spanish squadrons in the harbour of Toulon, had, by promising to sustain all the loss that might be suffered in such an attempt, prevailed on the court of Versailles to agree that the combined fleets should sail out of the harbour and attack that of England; after which, should they gain the victory, they were to repair into the English Channel, in order to assist in the projected descent.

Accordingly, orders were dispatched to the united fleets to put to sea with all expedition, and dare the utmost hazards of an engagement. Admiral Matthews had by this time been reinforced from England, so that he had the superiority of the French and Spaniards; and on the eleventh of January this year found himself at the head of forty sail, of which twenty-eight were of the line*, having on board two thousand four hundred and ninety guns, fifteen thousand seamen, and eight hundred soldiers from Minorca; so that it is more than probable the enemy would have gladly avoided an engagement, had not their orders from their respective courts been so peremptory. Their whole force consisted of twenty-eight ships of the line; one of them, the Spanish admiral's, named the Royal Philip, mounted one hundred and fourteen guns: they had likewise six frigates; but all their ships were clean, and completely manned.

On the ninth of February, 1744, in the morning, the combined fleet came out of the harbour; and Matthews, who lay in the bay, and had intelligence of their design, made the proper dispositions to engage them. He immediately got under sail with his whole fleet; but the wind dying away, he was obliged to come to an anchor again in the bay. According to the disposition of the line of battle made by the British admiral, the van was conducted by Mr. Rowley, rear-admiral of the white; the center by Mr. Matthews himself, lately made admiral of the blue; and the rear by Lestock, who had been promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue. The next day, a small breeze springing up at east, the two fleets neared each other; but it was night before Matthews could get near

enough to the enemy, who seemed to decline the line of battle. By this time, however, vice-admiral Lestock and his squadron was full five miles astern of the admiral; and the Spanish ships were astern of De Court, the French admiral, who still avoided to engage with the English van under Rowley. Matthews, finding that the combined fleets kept aloof, and fearing that they might, by a change of wind, be enabled to elude the engagement, determined to break the form of a line of battle, which he had hitherto studiously endeavoured to preserve, and about twelve o'clock, on the eleventh, he made the signal for engaging: himself began the attack upon the Spanish admiral, Don Navarro, in the Real; rear-admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court, who commanded the French squadron; but Lestock still remained a great way astern. During the engagement, the captains Cornwall, Osborne, Hawke, and Forbes, exhibited the most exemplary courage; but several other captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in the most dastardly and pusillanimous manner. Mr. Matthews, however, by the assistance of the Marlborough, reduced the Real to a perfect wreck; but the Marlborough, driving too near the admiral, in the very heat of the action, obliged him to fill his sail and shoot a-head, to prevent her being on board of him, which, as there was very little wind, and a heavy swell, might have proved fatal to both of them. The Marlborough was now left alone to contend with the greatest ship in the world. The brave captain Cornwall, her commander, after performing wonders, lost both his legs and his life by a chain-shot. The first lieutenant taking the command, continued to fight with equal bravery; but being at length utterly disabled, she was about five o'clock towed out of the line of battle. The Royal Philip, however, was in as miserable a condition, lying like a mere hulk upon the water; which admiral Matthews perceiving, he made a signal for the Anne galley fire-ship to go down and burn her. These kind of vessels are filled with gun-powder, and every other kind of combustible, and they fasten upon an enemy's ship with grappling-irons fixed at their yards, arms, and at booms, spread out in different places for that purpose. The moment the fire-ship is fastened to her object, a match is set to the train of powder, while the crew hurry into a boat that waits a-stern for them. The captain is the last who enters it. In the mean time, the train catching, the fire-ship is instantly all in flames, and is blown up, together with the vessel to which it is grappled. It is always customary to order a large ship to go down with this machine, to cover it from the fire of the enemy. Matthews took this precaution; but the ship he ordered to this service did not obey his signal: nevertheless, the brave captain Mackay, who commanded this engine of destruction, continued advancing. By this time four Spanish ships had passed by Lestock, and hastened to the protection of their admiral: they poured their broadsides into the poor defenceless, and undefended Anne galley, which had by this time got within her own length of the Real; but unable to sustain so terrible a

* Viz. four ships of ninety guns, eight of eighty, eleven of seventy, and five of sixty.

salute, was now on the point of sinking; which the captain perceiving, and seeing his own destruction inevitable, determined at least to avenge himself in the hour of his death: he set fire to the train, hoping he might yet be able to get alongside of the Spanish admiral, and blow her up along with himself; but it was too late: his vessel was in an instant on fire, and blew up within a few feet of the Royal Philip, whose deck was covered with the wreck, but without receiving any damage from this dreadful explosion.

The four ships which had passed Mr. Lestock now directing their whole fury against the *Namur*, Mr. Matthews' ship (who still lay within musket-shot of the *Real*, with his masts and rigging terribly disabled) raked him fore and aft for some time. About five o'clock Mr. Matthews made the signal for the line a-head, and wore round; but he was only followed by the *Dorsetshire*, *Essex*, *Rupert*, and *Royal Oak*, which were a-stern of him: these however formed the line with the admiral, and engaged the *Royal Philip*, and six other ships which had got into a close line with their admiral. One ship of the Spanish line, named the *Poder*, struck to captain Hawke of the *Berwick*, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her: she was afterwards retaken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews.

It is agreed that the Spanish division must have been entirely destroyed, had it not been for M. de Court, the French admiral, who continued so closely to engage rear-admiral Rowley as to prevent his going down to the assistance of Mr. Matthews. About five o'clock the French admiral made the signal for the van to tack, with an intention to put admiral Matthews between two fires. This obliged Rowley to tack likewise, to join the center of our fleet, which was threatened with the most imminent danger by the above manœuvre of the French admiral, Lestock not having, during all this time, brought up his division to reinforce it; which was the more extraordinary, as four Spanish ships had actually passed him, and arrived to save their admiral, Navarro, in the *Real*. Night coming on, the firing ceased on both sides, and the combined fleets took that opportunity of towing all the crippled ships before the wind, and making the best of their way from the British fleet, who lost sight of them about ten o'clock; and there being but little wind, Matthews brought to, that Lestock and the sternmost ships might get up to him. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chase till night. They were observed again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till evening. On the morning of the fourteenth a great number of the ships of the combined fleets were seen distinctly from the mast-head; and a fresh gale springing up, Lestock gave chase to, and had gained on them considerably by noon: but just as he was in full view of coming up with them, Matthews threw out his signal to leave off chase, and afterwards bore away for Port-Mahon to refit; while the enemy, continuing their course towards the coast of Spain, M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicante, and Don Navarro sailed into the harbour of Carthage.

Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Mr. Lestock of having misbehaved in the

action, suspended him from his command, and sent him prisoner to England. This action off Toulon was, notwithstanding the superior force of the English, rendered indecisive, or rather fruitless, by the mutual aversion the two commanders had for each other. Whether Lestock would have willingly deprived Matthews of the glory of a victory, or whether Matthews did not chuse to share with him that glory, is a question we cannot here decide. This much is certain, that the only fruits of our vast expence, and preparations of both us and the enemy in the Mediterranean, was the slaughter of a great number of men, and the disabling many vessels. There were complaints on all sides; and the same disgust appears to have prevailed between the Spanish and French admirals as between the two British commanders. The Spaniards accused the French of having sacrificed them to the whole fire of the British fleet; and though it was plain that De Court had saved them from destruction, yet, to gratify the Spaniards, the French commandant was disgraced, though he was afterwards restored to his command with circumstances that reflected double honour upon him.

It may easily be supposed that the conduct of our fleet on this important occasion, would become the subject of a parliamentary enquiry in England. The trial of the delinquents came before a committee of the house of commons in the March following, when Lestock exhibited a countercharge against Matthews, who had resigned his command to rear-admiral Rowley, and had arrived in England. The house, however, not finding itself able to determine in this intricate affair, in which so many points of seamanship and naval manœuvres continually started up, presented an address to his majesty, desiring that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents.

The court-martial was accordingly constituted and appointed, and proceeded to trial; but by reason of the many delays and obstructions thrown in by both parties, did not pass sentence till the latter end of the year 1746, when several captains of Matthews' division were cashiered, vice-admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. The issue of this court-martial was thought to be the more extraordinary, as the admiral, who had displayed the greatest courage and spirit, possibly not sufficiently tempered with conduct, scarce escaped suffering an ignominious death for cowardice; while the vice-admiral, who had kept aloof during the whole engagement, and hazarded the destruction of his superior and half of the fleet, by disobeying, or pretending not to understand his signals, was acquitted with honour. Unhappily, decisions of this kind are too frequently the result of interest and prejudice, rather than of a due attention to reason, or the merits of the cause.

Proper regard, however, was in other instances paid to real merit: a noble monument was erected to the memory of captain Cornwall in Westminster-abbey, by a vote of the British parliament, and at the public expence; an honour to which, by his gallant behaviour in this and in several former actions, this commander was universally allowed to be justly entitled. The captains Forbes, Osborne, and Hawke, had afterwards distinguished honours and rewards bestowed upon them suitable to their spirit,

spirit, courage, and conduct, as had rear-admiral Rowley: in fine, nothing can be more probable than that, had all the commanders of the British fleet during the engagement off Toulon, done their duties equally well, the Spanish squadron, if not the French likewise, might have been totally destroyed, and a glorious end put at once to the war.

The consequence however proved, that the advantage in the Toulon engagement was on the side of France and Spain. The Mediterranean was left open at least for some time, and Don Philip was easily supplied with provisions, which he much wanted, from the coast of Provence; but neither the French nor Spanish squadrons were able to make head against Matthews when he returned to his station, after having refitted his ships. France and Spain being under a necessity of always supporting very numerous land armies, have not that continual fund of seamen, which are the resource of Great Britain's power. It was now more evident than ever of how great importance the possession of Minorca was to us, and the great prejudice Spain had sustained in the loss of that place.

In the beginning of this year, 1744, Don Philip in Lombardy, with the marquis de las Minas under him, found himself, by the arrival of an augmentation from Spain, and the junction of twenty thousand French under the prince de Conti, at the head of sixty thousand men; with which his highness was advised, after the retreat of the British fleet to Minorca, to enter Dauphiné, pass the Var, and renew his attempts to penetrate into Piedmont on the side of Nice, where his Sardinian majesty could not immediately collect an army sufficient to make any formidable resistance, because he could expect little support from prince Lobkowitz, on account of his Sicilian majesty having determined to assist the Spaniards in Italy. It was a bold resolution of the enemy to attempt penetrating into a country, where a single battalion may stop a whole army; where you are every instant obliged to fight amongst rocks and torrents; and where all these obstacles are heightened by the difficulty of getting provisions. All the passages into Piedmont were defended with such security as to deny any entrance on the side of Savoy, and an army of thirty thousand Piedmontese was assembled in the neighbourhood of Villa Franca, where his Sardinian majesty fortified his camp with strong entrenchments, which were rendered more inaccessible by the mountainous situation of the country; and his majesty continued in this camp, to prevent the incursions of the confederate forces, who were expected to make their attempt on the side of Nice.

The confederate army of French and Spaniards having quitted their cantonments, passed thro' Dauphiné, and made the necessary preparations for repulsing the Piedmontese troops from the passage on the side of Nice. About the latter end of March the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti passed the Var, a river which falls from the Alps, and empties itself into the sea of Genoa, below Nice: that city, with the whole country to which it gives name, being incapable of making any defence, quickly surrendered. The confederates then passed the river Paglioní, with an intent to encamp between Nice and Montalban, and seize on the fortified posts which encompassed the king

of Sardinia's camp; but before they could advance any farther, they were under a necessity of attacking the intrenchments near Villa Franca, and those of the fortress of Montalban, in the midst of rocks which form a long chain of inaccessible ramparts. There was no possibility of marching but through narrow defiles, and over frightful precipices, exposed to the enemy's artillery. Full in the front of this, they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock; and even on the Alps they had as great difficulties to encounter. Admiral Matthews having careened his ships, was returned to reassume the empire of the Mediterranean sea. He landed a body of men at Villa Franca, who joined the Piedmontese, and some English gunners whom he lent them from his fleet did great service: but the two young princes, who commanded an army of veteran troops who were every way fit for such an expedition, and into whom they infused fresh ardour by their own example, concerted their measures so well, that they surmounted all obstacles. The marquis de Bissy, at the head of a detachment of French, and the marquis de Campo Santo at the head of another of Spaniards, soon made themselves masters of the enemy's batteries which flanked the passage of Villa Franca. Every thing was so well planned, so quick and so vigorously pushed on the side of the confederates, and they made such prodigious efforts, that this chief pass of Villa Franca, the rampart of Piedmont, which was above the height of two hundred fathoms from the level, and defended by five thousand troops, and which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite inaccessible, was carried by the French and Spaniards, though with the loss of near six thousand men, while that of the Piedmontese, who defended it, was about three thousand killed and taken prisoners. Amongst them was the marquis de Suze, natural brother to his Sardinian majesty, who commanded the troops that defended the entrenchments. The confederates then pursuing their advantage, advanced from post to post, from rock to rock, carrying every thing before them.

In the mean while, another large detachment had made a furious assault upon the intrenchments of Montalban, commanded by general Sinzan, with five thousand men. Twice were the enemy at the very top of these intrenchments: they had even made themselves masters of two batteries of cannon, but were obliged to abandon them, and to retire, with the loss of four hundred men killed and as many wounded, besides a great number of prisoners, among whom were a major-general, a brigadier general, a lieutenant-colonel, nine captains, and thirty-three subalterns. The Piedmontese defended themselves so well as to have only one hundred men killed, sixty wounded, and one hundred and forty made prisoners. Sinzan, however, finding that the marquis de Suze had been defeated, and that the French would now have it in their power to cut off the communication with Villa Franca, he held a council of war, in which it was agreed to abandon the entrenchments. This was done on the twelfth of April, three days after those of Villa Franca had been forced; and a garrison of three hundred and forty men being put into the citadel of Villa Franca, and sixty into the fortress of Montalban, the Piedmontese troops, to the number of four hundred and fifty, with all the ammunition, provision, and artillery, embarked on board the English

English men of war for Oneglia, a port town in the territory of Genoa, but subject to his Sardinian majesty, seven miles south-west of Genoa, and forty-eight south-east of Coni, where they arrived on the twentieth of April, after a tedious and stormy passage.

The French immediately entered Villa Franca and Montalban, and a detachment of ten thousand Spaniards was sent under the duke d'Arcos, one of the Spanish generals, to attack the Piedmontese in Oneglia. Mean while, his Sardinian majesty quitted his encampment, and retired towards Coni. The Spanish general having crossed the territory of Genoa, arrived on the tenth of May before Oneglia, from whence general Sinzan retreated to Garesio, where he fortified himself among the eminences in so advantageous a situation, that he deterred the Spaniards from attempting to dispossess him from his post. The duke d'Arcos then received orders to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milanese, whither he was to be followed by the whole combined army: but admiral Matthews, who was then off the Genoese coast, acquainted the republic, "That if the senate permitted the combined army to pass through their dominions, his Britannic majesty should regard it as a breach of their neutrality." This intimidated the doge and senate: they immediately intreated the confederate generals to abandon their designs, and had the happiness of procuring a compliance.

In fact, notwithstanding the successes of Don Philip and the prince of Conti, the scaling of those mountains at Villa Franca and Montalban, and the victories obtained among these precipices, they had not as yet been able to open a passage on that side: they could not advance for want of subsistence through those defiles, and over those rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by soldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to march in several places on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was washed by the sea, and where they were exposed to the artillery of an English squadron stationed there to annoy them: they had moreover lost above twelve thousand men since the passage of the Var. The prince of Conti duly weighing all these considerations, proposed to the infant and the marquis de las Minas to return into Dauphiné, and endeavour to force a passage on the side of Demont, which was readily assented to. The Spanish troops who had possessed themselves of Oneglia were recalled; and having joined the marquis de las Minas at Nice, the confederate army, on the first of June, repassed the Var, and defiled towards the Upper Dauphiné. On the ninth of July they arrived near the passes of Chateau-Dauphiné, and encamped about Briançon, Guillestre, and Tournous, to be in readiness to force their way into Piedmont, by Demont; and the adjacent passes were strongly fortified by his Sardinian majesty, who had removed from Coni for their protection.

The confederate forces having made the proper dispositions, on the eighteenth of July, early in the morning, began the execution of their projected attacks. M. du Bois de Givry, a French lieutenant-general, and the bailli (or bailiff) of the great cross of Malta, led nine French battalions of the regiments of Poitou, Conti, Salis, Provence, and Brie, betwixt two mountains: the count de Campo

Santo followed him at the head of three Spanish battalions through another defile on the mountains of Traversiera. The bailli de Givry having made good his passage, came and drew up on the side of a summit which terminated at the redoubt of Monte Cavallo, and was defended by a detachment of twelve hundred Piedmontese. The assailants had no artillery, and were exposed to their enemy's cannon. Givry was wounded in the beginning of the action; and the marquis de Ville-mur being informed that a passage of equal importance had been just then luckily discovered, sent orders for a retreat. Givry obeyed, and prepared to draw off his men; but both the officers and soldiers were too greatly animated to obey his directions. The lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Poitou was the first who leaped into the Piedmontese entrenchments; the French grenadiers darted themselves one upon another; and by the favour of a fog, which prevented the Piedmontese from taking any object for their fire, made themselves masters of the covered way; and the chevalier de Castagnola, who commanded the works, being wounded, and only four hundred and sixty men remaining of the twelve hundred in the redoubt, which was extremely harassed, the commandant thought proper to retire with the troops which had sustained the garrison, leaving the French to take possession of the redoubt, which was of the greatest importance, as it opened them a passage into Piedmont; though this advantage was dearly purchased, the French having lost one hundred and forty-three officers, and upwards of three thousand five hundred men.

His Sardinian majesty perceiving the loss of these advantageous posts, drew his troops from the frontiers, sent his heavy cannon off before him, and afterwards marched to prepare for the security of Turin, by defending the village of Varita and the Po, according to the motions of the confederates. While these latter were taking Chateau-Dauphiné, they were obliged to take the place known by the name of the Barricades: this is a pass of about three fathoms wide, between two mountains which rear their heads to the sky. The king of Sardinia had turned the river Stura, which waters the adjacent valley, into this precipice. The post on the other side of the river was defended by three entrenchments and a covered way. This was the last passage that was forced: and such was the consternation of the Piedmontese, that, impregnable as it was thought, it was carried by the French and Spaniards with very little loss. This advantage gained, the confederates left the Piedmontese army on the left, and invested Demont, a strong fortress at the foot of the mountains, in the road to Coni. This fortress had been built, at an immense expence, on the top of a rock that stood by itself in the midst of the valley of Stura, and was defended by a garrison of fifteen hundred men, provided with fifty-eight brass cannon, fourteen mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition and powder; and on account of its great strength, it was expected that it would have made a vigorous defence. The trenches were opened on the fourteenth of August, when the besiegers began to play; and on the eighteenth, having accidentally thrown a red-hot bullet into a place near the great magazine, general Vialetri, the governor, being afraid that he and all his garrison should be blown up,

up, called for the assistance of the besiegers to extinguish the flames: and thus the allies, with the loss of only five men, got possession of a fortress in four days, that otherwise would have cost them several weeks siege, with the loss of many thousands of lives. By the reduction of Demont, the French and Spanish powers became masters of the flat country of Piedmont, which they laid under heavy contributions. His Sardinian majesty, dispirited with his losses, and thinking it improper to venture a battle in the plain against a superior army, flushed with the most extraordinary successes, retired to Saluzzo, seventeen miles south from Turin, to cover that metropolis, where he continued in expectation of a reinforcement of eight thousand Austrians under general Pallavicini, from Mantua and the Milanese.

The princes were now determined to invest Coni, a strong town and castle, seated upon a hill at the confluence of the rivers Shira and Gueffa, thirty-two miles south of Turin, and thirty-five north of Nice. Coni was garrisoned by twelve hundred men, commanded by baron Leutrum, who made the necessary measures for an obstinate resistance. The prince of Conti on the eighth of September appeared before the town, and opened his trenches on the thirteenth. On the fifteenth his Sardinian majesty had the satisfaction of being joined by general Pallavicini with his reinforcement, when his army consisted of thirty-six thousand men, which was superior to the French and Spaniards, who were now reduced to thirty-three thousand: they however had the superiority in cavalry.

His Sardinian majesty now resolved to hazard a battle, sensible that this was one of those occasions in which such an attempt is warranted by all the rules of sound policy. If he won the day, the confederates had few resources, and their retreat would have been attended with great difficulty: if he lost it, the town was still able to hold out in this advanced season, and he had a safe retreat. Nothing could be more judicious than this prince's disposition of his army; for having less cavalry than the besiegers, and more infantry, he made his attack in such a manner as to give his infantry the whole advantage of the ground, and secure his cavalry from any danger of a defeat.

The prince of Conti, informed of his Sardinian majesty's intention to attack the confederates in their lines, took every necessary measure, in conjunction with the royal infant and the Spanish generals, for giving the Piedmontese a proper reception; and drew the army out of their intrenchments to meet the king of Sardinia, who arrived in the plain near Madonna de l'Olmo, in sight of Coni, on the twenty-third of September. On the twenty-fourth the two armies engaged. His Sardinian majesty maintained the fight till night, without flinching; when finding it impracticable to force the enemy's intrenchments, he retired in good order to a camp at Murassio. He afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement of men and a supply of provisions into Coni, which enabled baron Leutrum, the governor, to hold out the place till the middle of October, when the marquis d'Ormea, who was posted with a detachment of five hundred Piedmontese on the eastern side of the town, found an opportunity of getting count Soto, with six hundred men, into the garrison. The besiegers, discouraged by this augmentation of the

garrison, the advanced season of the year, the heavy snows and rains, the over-flowings of the rivers, and the considerable and perpetual losses they sustained by the fate of war and sickness, whereby their army was almost one half diminished, thought it most advisable to abandon the siege and make a retreat. Accordingly, in the beginning of November they quitted their trenches, and marched back to Demont, leaving their sick and wounded, to the number of two thousand, to the mercy of the Piedmontese. Having destroyed the fortifications of this place, they continued their retreat with great precipitation to Dauphiné, dreadfully harrassed by the Vaudois and light troops in the service of his Sardinian majesty, who once more recovered possession of Piedmont.

Thus terminated the campaign in Lombardy, which proved a most expensive and fatal one to the Spaniards, whose ministry, to gratify the clamours of a discontented populace, caused the marquis de las Minas to be disgraced and sent into exile, to keep company with the duke de Montemar. The conduct of the prince of Conti, however, was universally applauded; and indeed with great justice; for during this whole campaign he had on every occasion commanded like an experienced general, and fought like a valiant soldier. The French now took up their quarters in Dauphiné; the Spaniards resumed theirs in Savoy; and his Sardinian majesty cantoned his troops in Piedmont, returning himself to pass the remainder of the winter at Turin.

Prince Lobkowitz continued to command in Italy, against the Spaniards and Neapolitans under the duke of Modena and count de Gages, who, with the remainder of their enfeebled army, consisting of only ten thousand men, had taken up their winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Fano, while the Austrians posted themselves at Rimini. The queen of Hungary had been persuaded by the bishop of Gurck, her ambassador at Rome, to attempt the conquest of Naples and Sicily, as the only means of indemnifying herself for the cessions she had made by the treaty of Worms; and she had actually declared war against the king of those countries, who having renounced his neutrality, openly espoused the cause of his father, ordered twenty-five thousand of his own troops, under the duke de Vieuville, to join them; and, after sending his queen and family to Gaeta, he set out to command them in chief himself. He then published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct; in which he observed, that his moderation had not been properly valued by the courts of Vienna and London; that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the queen of Hungary had even formed a design to invade his dominions. This charge appears to have but too good foundation; the emissaries of the house of Austria had endeavoured to raise a rebellion in Naples, which prince Lobkowitz was ordered to favour by an invasion. This general had quitted his cantonments at Rimini early in the spring, and began his march towards the Spaniards, who on his approach retired from their fortified passes on the Foglia, and departed from Pesaro in their retreat to the Neapolitan dominions. The Spanish general continued his retreat by Semigallia, and passed the river Tronto, which divides Naples from the Ecclesiastical State, taking post under

under the cannon of Pescara, a port-town in the province of Abruzzo, situate on the gulph of Venice, ninety miles north of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz did not immediately continue to pursue the Spaniards to the Neapolitan territories; but having received positive orders to penetrate into those dominions, he prosecuted his march towards the Ecclesiastical State, and on the thirteenth of May the Austrian army arrived at Narni, within forty miles of Rome; and by the fifteenth was at Civita Castellana, within twenty-five miles of that city.

The army under count Gages was, by the juncture of the Neapolitans, become superior to that of the Austrians; whereupon it was resolved by his Sicilian majesty, the duke of Modena, and the count, to advance to the neighbourhood of Rome, and check the progress of prince Lobkowitz. In pursuance of this determination, the combined army arrived in the Campagna di Roma, and on the twenty-second of May posted themselves in an advantageous camp, on the eminences in the neighbourhood of Velletri, a town twenty miles east of Rome, where they threw up entrenchments. Prince Lobkowitz, on his side, seized upon the rising grounds opposite to the confederate camp, where he also entrenched himself; and both armies lay in sight of each other for some time, without coming to any considerable action.

In the mean while, prince Lobkowitz detached a large body of forces under count Brown, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, where he dispersed a manifesto, in which the queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and return to their allegiance to the house of Austria. This step, however, produced very little effect; and the Austrian detachment retired, at the approach of the duke of Vieuville with a superior number of forces.

Prince Lobkowitz having received intelligence, on the tenth of August, that the flank of the Spanish camp, lying next to the plain, was negligently guarded, it incited him to form a design of surprising it, together with the town of Velletri, where the enemy had their head-quarters. Night being come, the Austrian general divided his army into three bodies, with which he intended to surround Velletri, and carry off his Sicilian majesty and the duke of Modena. The better to cover his design, he ordered several false attacks to be made, in order to amuse the enemy, and divert their attention from the place he had chosen for the important scene of action. Every thing succeeded to his wish. About midnight count Brown, at the head of six thousand Austrians, having surprised and beaten the grand guard of the enemy behind Velletri, forced one of the gates and entered the town. The main guard were slain: those who resisted were cut in pieces; and those who made no resistance were taken prisoners: in short, terror and alarm were spread every-where. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken: the marquis de l'Hospital, ambassador from France to the court of Naples, had just time to awaken the king and the duke, who found an opportunity of escaping through the gardens to the village of Juliano, just before their apartments were entirely surrounded. The fire and the noise having roused the rest of the Spanish and Neapolitan forces who were in Velletri, they flew to arms; an obstinate engagement ensued; and count

Brown, finding that his Sicilian majesty and the duke of Modena had escaped, and were returning with count Gages and a strong reinforcement to prevent his retreat, thought it most proper to retire, which he did in good order, taking with him all the baggage, plate, and furniture of his Sicilian majesty and the duke of Modena, the French ambassador, and several other noblemen and officers of distinction: an immense booty! In their retreat the Austrians burnt the tents of the confederate camp behind Velletri. In this action the Spaniards are said to have lost two thousand men, with eight hundred taken prisoners, together with some standards and colours. The Austrians lost about six hundred men; and general Novati, the second in command, fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit was attended with no consequence of importance.

The heats of the autumn proved so fatal to the Austrians, that prince Lobkowitz saw his army mouldering away, without any possibility of being recruited: the country, moreover, was so exhausted, that he could with the utmost difficulty procure even common subsistence for his remaining troops. These considerations determined him to think of a retreat. Accordingly, on the thirty-first of October he decamped suddenly to cross the Tiber at Ponte Molle. Count de Gages was no sooner informed that the Austrians were retreated, than he marched out with his whole army in pursuit of them. The Austrians marched under the walls of Rome, and on the 2d of November crossed the Tiber, and broke down the bridges, though not so expeditiously but the confederate forces came up and attempted to do the same, which occasioned a warm action, in which the Austrians lost one hundred and twenty men, and the Spaniards about double that number. Seven hundred of the Austrian rear-guard were taken, with count Soto, who commanded them at Nocera; and the army of prince Lobkowitz suffered greatly by desertion. Nevertheless, he continued his retreat in a very masterly manner, crossed the mountains of Gobbio, and arrived in the estates of Bologna and Romagna, when his highness was informed of the expulsion of the French and Spaniards out of the Piedmontese dominions, which occasioned him to put his army in cantonments, and to fix his head-quarters at Imola, one hundred and eighty-two miles north-west of Rome; while count de Gages settled his in Terni, forty-six miles north-east of Rome, and quartered his troops as far as Viterbo, determined to renew the next campaign with all possible vigour, and effect a junction with Don Philip.

The war in Germany, which had been almost extinguished in the last campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. All the concessions the emperor had offered to make were rejected; and the treaty of Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. The inflexibility of the house of Austria, however, proved in the end serviceable to the emperor. The forlorn condition of this unfortunate prince excited the compassion of divers princes: they could not behold without indignation the head of the empire stripped of his dominions, and reduced to live upon a precarious pension, which was furnished him by France, and which was hardly sufficient to procure him the necessaries of life. These considerations, added to

the intrigues of the court of Versailles, brought about a German confederacy against the queen of Hungary; and on the eleventh of May a treaty of alliance and union was concluded at Frankfort between his Imperial majesty, the king of Prussia, the elector-palatine, and the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse, reciting, that as in regard to the Austrian succession things had been pushed to such an extremity as to endanger the total subversion of the German empire; therefore the contracting parties, animated by a paternal affection for their dear country, as well as for the firm support of the system of the empire, had made between them an act for a binding and constant union, to the following purport:

"They agreed to employ their good offices, either to persuade or compel the queen of Hungary to recognize the emperor's title, or restore his hereditary (Bavarian) dominions, and to give up the archives of the empire which were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories; the disputes about the succession of the late emperor they referred to the decision of the states of the empire: they promised to assist one another, in case of being attacked; and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Liege, to accede to this convention." So far the treaty of Frankfort had a harmless tendency; and these were all the articles ever published by the contracting parties: but the court of Vienna afterwards published another separate article, which they asserted was annexed to this treaty, and contained the great secret of this alliance. It imported, "That as there was but too good reason to believe, that the queen of Hungary could not be persuaded by gentle means to consent to a peace, according to the intent of the treaty, his majesty the king of Prussia thought it indispensibly necessary to have recourse to stronger and more effectual methods; and as he was always desirous of co-operating towards the pacification of Germany, he was, after the most mature reflection, firmly of opinion, that a shorter and more decisive expedient could not be employed, than for him to promise and engage, as he did by the present article, to make an expedition towards conquering all Bohemia; to put his Imperial majesty in possession of that crown; and to guaranty it to him, his heirs, and successors for ever: that, in return, his Imperial majesty, touched with the most lively gratitude, did, for himself, his heirs and successors, give up to his Prussian majesty, irrevocably and for ever, in the strongest and most authentic manner, the right which he had to the circle and town of Konigsgratz, and the circle of Buntzlau and Leutmeritz, so that the country situated between Silesia and the river Elbe, and running from the town and circle of Konigsgratz to the confines of Saxony, should belong to the king of Prussia, and that the course of the Elbe should be the barrier of the two states; but that the country which was situated on the other side of that river within Bohemia, should remain to his Imperial majesty, although it should be appendant to the circles ceded to his Prussian majesty, excepting the lordship and town of Partuwitz, and the town of Collin, which his Imperial majesty did from that time give up to the king of Prussia. The two contracting parties farther agreed, that,

after each should be put in possession of the respective territories mentioned in the article, they should mutually guaranty them to each other for themselves, their heirs, and successors, for ever."

His Imperial majesty publicly denied that there was such, or any separate article to the treaty of Frankfort; but the subsequent conduct of his Prussian majesty, and the other confederating powers, shewed the queen of Hungary to be right in her assertion. The great object of this prince seems to have been to reconcile his conduct to his good understanding with his Britannic majesty: with this view he published a manifesto, which was extremely concise and well drawn up, and which was printed in the London Gazette, July 30, and was in substance as follows:

"That he could no longer remain an idle spectator of the troubles in Germany, but found himself obliged to make use of the force God had given him to restore the power of the laws, and the authority of the empire: that the queen of Hungary had treated the emperor's hereditary dominions with inexpressible cruelty: that Germany had been over-run with foreign troops, which had marched through neutral countries without making the usual requisitions: that the emperor's troops had been attacked under neutral fortresses, and obliged to abandon the empire, whereof their master was the head: that the imperial dignity had been treated with indecency by the Hungarian troops: that the queen, declaring the election of the emperor void, and the diet of Frankfort illegal, had not only violated the imperial dignity, but injured all the princes who had the right of election: that he had no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, and that he desired nothing for himself, and only engaged in the war as an auxiliary for the liberties of Germany: that the emperor had offered to yield his pretensions to the dominions of Austria, on condition that his hereditary countries should be restored to him: that this proposal had been made to the king of England at Hanau, and rejected in such a manner as shewed the king of England had no intention to restore peace, but rather to make his advantage of the troubles: that the mediation of the Dutch had been desired; but they had declined to interpose, knowing the inflexibility of the English and Austrian courts: that the same terms had been offered again at Vienna, and again rejected; and that therefore the queen must impute it to her own council that her enemies find new allies: that he was not fighting for any interest of his own: that he asked nothing for himself, but was determined to exert all his power in defence of the emperor, in vindication of the rights of election, and in support of the liberties of Germany, which the queen of Hungary would enslave."

Such was the substance of this famous manifesto, which was calculated with a view to induce the people and parliament of England to withdraw their assistance from her Hungarian majesty: that this was the king of Prussia's intention, appeared more plainly from a rescript which he sent to M. Andrie, his ambassador at London; whereby he was ordered to declare to the British ministry the motives which obliged his master to supply the emperor with auxiliaries. This also was published in our news-papers; and the composition of

of it plainly shews that his Prussian majesty had acquired a perfect knowledge of the state of parties in England.

In one part of it he expresses himself thus: "I hope, however, that no judicious Englishman, nor any Briton who is zealous for the constitution of his country, can possibly entertain the least doubt with regard to the equity of my resolution, of which he may easily convince himself, by barely transporting on the theatre of England what now passes on that of Germany: that as every true English patriot would look with indignation upon all such intrigues as should be carried on in his country towards making the now reigning family descend from the throne, in order to advance the pretender to it, and would oppose all such practices to the utmost of his power; in like manner, there is no patriot or powerful prince of the empire, that can behold with indifference the present state of the country, or can coolly suffer another member of the empire, such as the queen of Hungary, to endeavour to spoil of his dignity and authority the emperor lawfully elected, in order to invest with that rank a candidate destitute of the qualifications which are most essential to fill the imperial throne. As, in consequence of the same principle, no German prince has a right to meddle with the internal policy of Great Britain, nor the constitution of its government, I have some reason to hope that the English nation will not meddle with the affairs of the empire; and I entertain those hopes the more confidently, because England has no reason to interfere in this quarrel from any considerations of her trade or commerce: and although she may have more regard for one German court than for another, yet I imagine she will not pretend that such powerful and respectable princes as those of the empire should be obliged to regulate their conduct according to the inclinations of those among the English, who strive to make their countrymen enter into foreign quarrels; in which England can have no manner of concern."

The emperor's health was at this time in a very declining condition, and the court of Vienna had formed a design, in the event of his death, of raising the grand duke, her Hungarian majesty's consort, to the imperial throne. The electors of Saxony, Mentz, and Cologne, seemed very well inclined to favour such a project. Of all the princes of the empire, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, was the most capable of affording assistance to her Hungarian majesty. This prince, who at first had joined the king of Prussia against her, was now inclined to enter into an alliance with this princess against Prussia. In pursuing this measure, he did not intend to declare war against Frederic, but only to assist the queen in the same manner the States-general had joined with her against France, without declaring war against that crown. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great interest in making the queen of Hungary and the new house of Austria more powerful: nay, it rather seemed strange that he should chuse to aggrandize that house than to raise himself upon its ruins: but a private pique betwixt him and the king of Prussia, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehension of the rising grandeur of the house of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dresden.

As soon therefore as the king of Prussia had set his hand to the treaty of Frankfort with France and the emperor, the king of Poland signed an agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May, by which he promised to assist her with thirty thousand men; and the queen yielded to him a part of Silesia, which she hoped to recover, and to which that prince pretended some ancient rights, as all the German princes have some pretensions or other to the territories of their neighbours. On this occasion, however, his Polish majesty demanded a considerable subsidy; but it was thought unreasonable that Great Britain should load herself with the whole of the expence. Application was made to the States-general, who promised to contribute one third of the sum; but the proportion was deemed too small, and it was judged more equitable that the States should pay two thirds of the subsidy.

While these transactions were in agitation, the king of France, secured of his influence in Germany by the potent confederacy he had brought about between the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse, no longer wore the mark of an auxiliary to the emperor, but having signed a declaration of war against the queen of Hungary, determined to make his first campaign in person in the Netherlands, where he had assembled a formidable army. He had appointed marshal Coigni to defend the passage of the Rhine with sixty-one battalions and one hundred squadrons; the Bavarian troops, consisting of near twelve thousand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, an officer in whom they at that time had the greatest dependence. Marshal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which consisted of sixty-eight battalions and ninety-seven squadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marshal of France, and commanded a separate corps, composed of thirty-two battalions and fifty-two squadrons, also complete; thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men. The situation of the French, especially in Flanders, was very different from what it had been the preceding year: the English might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage, but now it was too late; and the Dutch, who refused to engage with us when the enterprize was easy, now took a share in it, when it was become in a manner impracticable.

Lewis chose rather to make his first campaign in Flanders than in Alsace, supposing that on the Rhine the war would only be defensive; whereas every thing was disposed for making it offensive in the Austrian Netherlands. His army intended for this expedition assembled in the neighbourhood of Lisle, the capital of the French Netherlands, where the French monarch arrived on the first of May, attended by marshal Noailles, count Saxe, count Clermont, and many other officers of distinction. On the fourth his majesty reviewed his forces, and made some new regulations for the establishment of military discipline; a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted.

Two days after the arrival of the French king at Lisle, the confederate army took the field, amounting to twenty-two thousand English, sixteen thousand

thousand Hanoverians, eighteen thousand Austrians, and twenty thousand Dutch; in all, seventy-six thousand men, if the respective quotas, which were greatly deficient, had been complete: these troops formed an encampment in the neighbourhood of Brussels. The English and Hanoverians were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, who had been bred up under the great duke of Marlborough, and was well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had served a great many campaigns. The duke of Aremberg, of the house of Ligue, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops: he was trained up under prince Eugene, had served against the Turks and French, and was not a little instrumental to the success of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen; in both which he was wounded at the head of his troops. Count Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch, was a descendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Nassau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and greatness.

These three generals certainly had it in their power to oppose the designs of Lewis; but the Dutch were, as usual, temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand, they were strongly pressed by the English to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war within the space of two months against any power that should attack either of the two nations. On the other hand, they flattered themselves with keeping the appearances of neutrality, even in the midst of war itself, and were arming against France at the very time they were afraid of provoking that crown. In this dilemma, they deputed count de Wassenauer to Lewis, expressing their apprehensions at the warlike preparations his majesty was making in the neighbourhood of their states, and intreating him to desist from any design of attacking their barrier. Their remonstrances, however, produced no effect, and their request was disregarded. The French king told the Dutch minister, that as his moderation had hitherto served to no other purpose than that of rendering his enemies more untractable, he was determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

Accordingly, on the eighteenth of May he made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garrison. The day following the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, one of their barrier towns, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men, commanded by the baron d'Echteren. Menin, though one of the most regular and most tenable fortresses in the Netherlands, being one of the celebrated Vauban's masterpieces, was compelled to surrender in four days, the French losing forty men only in the reduction; whereas the same place had cost the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene nineteen days, and at least four thousand men. Before the surrender of Menin, a detachment of thirty thousand French, commanded by count Clermont, grandson of the great Condé, had invested Ypres, where the prince of Hesse-Philippsthal commanded a garrison of two thousand five hundred men. The trenches were opened on the first of June, when the king and marshal Noailles arrived in the camp. The garrison made

a gallant defence; but upon the twelfth, at night, the French carried the covered way; upon which the lower town was abandoned, and on the fourteenth Ypres capitulated. In the several attacks the besiegers lost about three thousand six hundred men, and the garrison had about three hundred killed and wounded. This conquest, however, was cheaply purchased on the side of the French, as it brought them into possession of the whole chatellany, comprehending the towns of Mont Cassel, Baileul, Rouffelaer, Poperingen, Warnton, Commynes, and Houaric.

Every moment was now improved; for whilst the French king's troops were taking possession of Ypres, the duke of Boufflers reduced fort Knock, where baron de Hompesch commanded a Dutch garrison of one thousand men, who surrendered on the seventeenth of June upon honourable conditions. On the twenty-eighth count Clermont laid siege to Furnes, which capitulated the fifth day after opening the trenches.

The allied army beheld the progress of the French without being able to oppose it. Marshal Saxe, with an army of observation, consisting of twenty battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, lay posted behind the Lys, between Ghent and Courtray, in so advantageous a manner as to be able to prevent any attempt of the confederates, and to facilitate the operations of the besiegers; while the duke d'Harcourt commanded a flying camp of six thousand men on the one side of Maubeuge, in the province of Hainault. While Furnes was invested, the French monarch made his public entry into Dunkirk, where he continued for some time, highly elated with the success of this his first campaign. He had taken such precautions for the security of Alsace, which was defended by Coigni and Seckendorff, with two considerable armies under their command, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Austrians in that quarter: besides, he had by this time received intelligence that the king of Prussia had made an irruption into Bohemia, so that he resolved to prosecute his conquests in the Netherlands.

All these towering projects, however, were on a sudden disconcerted, by advice that prince Charles of Lorraine, after joining the Austrian army assembled under count Traun, near Hailbron, in the circle of Suabia, had passed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Spire, within sight of the French and Bavarians; that Alsace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine. At first this intelligence met with no credit; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by alarming the French in several places, and making different attempts at one and the same time, at length succeeded on the side where count Seckendorff was posted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Hessians. Thus the Austrian army, consisting of seventy-two thousand effective men, entered Alsace without the least opposition: they immediately made themselves masters of Lautenberg, a post of no great strength, but of the utmost importance. This passage of the Rhine, which did such honour to prince Charles, was entirely owing to his diligence, and the negligence of the general of the Bavarian troops, whom marshal Coigni was obliged to intrust to guard the banks of the river towards Gemersheim and Rosanbeau. Seckendorff undertook

took to defend them; and this was the very place where prince Charles effected his passage in the latter end of June.

Marshal Coigni, whose army extended along the Rhine, now saw, with equal surprize and indignation, that his communication with France was cut off; that Alsace, the country of Metz and Lorraine, were on the point of falling a prey to the Austrians: in fine, that there was no other resource left but to cut his way through the enemy, in order to re-enter Alsace, and cover the country. Having resolved upon this measure, he instantly set out with the greatest part of his army for Weissemburg, of which an advanced body of the enemy, under general Nadaſti, had taken possession. After a bloody engagement, the French retook Weissemburg and the lines; but they were soon obliged, upon the arrival of prince Charles with his whole army, to retire towards Haguenau, which they were likewise forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy laid all the country of Lower Alsace under contribution, and spread terror even to the borders of Lorraine, and king Stanislaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

When the French king received this news at Dunkirk, he did not hesitate a moment concerning the part he had to take: he resolved to interrupt the course of his victories in Flanders; and leaving marshal Saxe with forty thousand men to preserve his new acquisitions, to fly himself to the assistance of Alsace. After having caused M. Noailles to set out before him, he sent the duke de Harcourt with a body of troops to guard the pass of Phalsburg, and prepared to march himself for the Rhine, at the head of twenty-six battalions and thirty three squadrons. He set out from Dunkirk on the nineteenth of July, and on the fourth of August arrived at Metz, the capital of Lorraine, where he made a magnificent entry. Here he received tidings of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous situation, if possible, than any she had yet been in.

The king of Prussia thinking his manifestos and rescripts had given a sufficient sanction for the renovation of hostilities on his part, resolved to make an irruption into Bohemia, conformable to the propositions of the court of Versailles, whenever prince Charles should appear too formidable on the Rhine. Although there were then in Saxony no less than forty thousand regular forces, yet his Prussian majesty seems to have had so contemptible an opinion of their valour or discipline, that he chose to make his invasion of Bohemia through that electorate, which he entered at the head of eighty-four thousand men in the month of July, attended by a formidable train of artillery, having under him in the command the prince of Anhalt-Dessau and marshal Schwerin. The Saxons suffered him to march unmolested. At the same time general Marwitz, with a separate body of twenty thousand Prussians, advanced thro' Silesia into Moravia; and though the Austrians had taken all possible care to retard the progress of both armies, by destroying the roads, bridges, and provisions, the Prussians soon made themselves masters of Pardubitz and Podiebrad.

The two armies having joined on the frontiers of Bohemia, his Prussian majesty entered that kingdom on the twenty-fifth of August; and having taken up his head-quarters at Peterſwald, he published a proclamation, which was dispersed through the country, importing, "That he had entered that kingdom as an auxiliary to the emperor, and with a view to restore the authority of that prince, the constitution of the empire, and the peace of Germany. He promised protection to all the Bohemians who should behave quietly and inoffensively, and deliver up their arms; but threatened those who should resist his army, which he affected to call the imperial auxiliary army, with all the rigours of military execution."

The king of Prussia, after the dispersing of this proclamation, continued his march, and made such rapid progress, that on the second of September he invested Prague, though his heavy artillery was not yet come up, and actually made himself master of some of the advanced posts. His artillery was, in the mean time, attacked by a detachment of Austrians, commanded by count Bathiani, who defeated the convoy; but the king having detached a party to recover it, the Austrians fled, and left them masters of the cannon. The next step his majesty took was to cut off all communication between the city and count Bathiani's army, which was effected after a bloody skirmish, wherein the Prussians gained the advantage. The outworks of Prague were now attacked, and carried without much opposition: in a word, after the new and old towns, and the Jews town, were partly reduced to ashes, general Ogilvy the governor once more surrendered the city (on the tenth day of its siege) with fifteen thousand men in the garrison, who were taken prisoners of war. Prince Frederic-William, the king's cousin, was killed at the first general attack, which was made in four different places.

As soon as the king had made himself master of Prague, wherein he put a garrison of six thousand men, he marched to Tabor, and took the towns of Budweis and Teyn, with the castle of Frauenberg, wherein was a considerable garrison, who were made prisoners of war. There was now nothing to oppose him in Bohemia. Moravia was at the same time invaded: one French army was returning into Germany, whilst another was victorious in Italy. Every one now imagined the king of Prussia would march to Vienna, prescribe laws to the queen of Hungary, and terminate the war by a division of the Austrian dominions.

But the victor found it more easy to make conquests than to retain them. The court of Vienna, immediately upon the irruption of the Prussians into Bohemia, had sent express orders to prince Charles to repass the Rhine, and hasten to the succour of that distressed country. The marshals Noailles and Belleisle had been successively sent by the French king to reinforce marshal Coigni, who thereby became superior to the Austrians under prince Charles. A dangerous fever which seized the French king soon after his arrival at Metz, and which brought him to death's door, had prevented him from conducting his troops in person; and marshal Noailles, to whom the command in Alsace now devolved in right of seniority, suffered prince Charles to repass the Rhine with very little molestation, although much superior to him

him in numbers. He then marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani. The king of Prussia complained most bitterly against the French generals for letting an enemy escape who was coming to wreak his vengeance upon one of their allies. By this time also the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had openly declared in favour of her Hungarian majesty; and prince Charles of Lorraine had the satisfaction to find himself reinforced by twenty thousand Saxon troops, under the command of the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, by which he was rendered superior to his Prussian majesty, whom he determined to attack. That monarch, however, retired before him, and the Prussians successively evacuated the different posts which conducted to Prague, and were in the end forced to evacuate that capital itself. After having disputed the passage of the Elbe, the king gave orders for the garrison, composed of eleven thousand men, to quit the town, which they did on the nineteenth of November, leaving behind them their magazines and heavy artillery, among which were seven remarkable fine pieces of cannon, called the Seven Electors. The Prussians carried with them their field artillery, and a great number of waggons laden with stores and contributions; but the Austrians and Saxons harrassing them in their march, great part of them fell into their hands, so that the king's troops were almost naked, and in great want of provisions and necessaries. At length, having gained Silesia, his Prussian majesty distributed his army into winter quarters, and he himself returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

During these transactions, count Seckendorff advanced into Bavaria at the head of a strong army, compelled the Austrians under general Bernklau to abandon that electorate, and the emperor once more entered his capital city of Munich on the 22d day of October. His Imperial majesty on the third of November appeared before Passau, and summoned cardinal Lamberg, the bishop, to admit a neutral garrison; but the prelate answered, that as the Austrians were in possession, it was not in his power to accede to the proposal: therefore his Imperial majesty, finding the season too far advanced to think of besieging such strong places as Passau and Ingoldstadt, and that general Bernklau had received a strong reinforcement out of Bohemia, dispersed his troops into winter-quarters as far as the Upper Palatinate, and returned to Munich on the seventeenth of December, with the satisfaction of seeing himself securely reinstated in his electoral dominions; a satisfaction, however, which he did not long live to enjoy.

General Bernklau did not follow the example of the Imperialists in retiring into winter-quarters; but being joined by general Thungen with a large reinforcement from Bohemia, he suddenly changed the face of affairs in Bavaria, seizing upon the greatest part of the Upper Palatinate. He also fortified and strongly garrisoned Stadt-am-hoff, a place of great importance for securing his quarters along the Danube. This general also, on the twentieth of December, invested Newmarck in the Upper Palatinate, where was a garrison of two thousand French and Imperialists, commanded by the marquis de Crussol, who, after a little resist-

ance, surrendered the town, and his men prisoners of war. Hemen and Amberg next capitulated, by which the Austrians were now in possession of the whole Palatinate, where they remained quiet till the approaching spring again enabled them to resume their operations.

While count Seckendorff was on his march in Bavaria, the French marshals Noailles, Belleisle, and Coigni, at the head of eighty thousand men, entered the Austrian dominions in the circle of Suabia, where most of the places belonging to the queen of Hungary submitted, and on the twenty-first of September the French invested the strong and important city of Friburg, for which they had made the most formidable preparations. This city is capital of the territory of Brisgau, opposite to the Upper Alsace, situate twenty-eight miles south of Strasburg, and the same distance north from Basil, and was taken by marshal Villars in 1712, without any considerable resistance; but the French at this time expected an obstinate siege, from the known valour and abilities of general Damnitz, who commanded in the place with a garrison of five thousand veteran troops, well provided with every thing for maintaining a vigorous defence. The French monarch having recovered from his illness, which had so long confined him at Metz, in Lorraine, set out from thence in the beginning of October; and having in his way made a public entry into Strasburg, where his reception was one of the most magnificent ever beheld, he arrived in the camp before Friburg on the eleventh, where his majesty was attended by the marshals Noailles, Maillebois, Coigni, and Belleisle, marshal Schmectan the Prussian envoy, and the Saxon and Palatine ministers. Some little time before his arrival, Lewis had the good fortune to engage in his service, as a lieutenant-general, as great a genius in the art of besieging fortifications, as any that modern times have produced. This was the famous count Lowendahl, to whose intrepidity and skill the taking of the place was chiefly owing. General Damnitz made a gallant defence, disputing every inch of ground; and by his continual fire, frequent sallies, and the springing a great number of mines, made a terrible havock among the besiegers, who now, animated by the presence of their sovereign, redoubled their efforts with incredible fury; and their bombs, of which they had thrown no less than eleven thousand into the city, having reduced it to one common heap of ruins, the brave Damnitz was at length obliged to think of capitulating; and on the sixth day of November hung out a white flag, and went in person to the French camp, to treat with the king about the surrender of the city, and had liberty to retire to the castles, the governors of which were to have a reasonable time for knowing the sentiments of her Hungarian majesty, whether they should capitulate likewise, or hold out. The answer was for the latter; in consequence of which a fresh siege was begun, which continued till the twenty-eighth of November, when the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In this remarkable siege, which, to say the truth, demonstrated the French to be inferior to no nation in the world for power and courage, they lost upwards of eighteen thousand men. They found in the city and forts two hundred brass and one hundred iron cannon, seventy field-pieces, two hundred

hundred mortars, and all other military stores in proportion. This conquest terminated the campaign in Germany. The French army was cantoned along the banks of the Rhine, under the command of marshal Maillebois, and Lewis returned to Versailles, where he was received by his people with a degree of joy and homage approaching to adoration.

I have already observed, that the situation of the French army in the Netherlands had for some time prevented the confederates from undertaking any thing of importance; but after the departure of the French troops for Alsace, count Saxe had only fifty-eight thousand men in the field, and twenty-two thousand in the garrisons, while the allies were augmented to ninety-four thousand men. The confederate generals finding their superiority, quitted their encampment, passed the Schelde on the twentieth, and advanced to Helchin, with an intention to draw count Saxe to an engagement; who, instead of accepting the offer, kept close in the strong entrenchments he had thrown up behind the Lys. The allies finding that they could not, with any prospect of success, attempt to attack him in this situation, fled off in sight of Tournay, and on the eighth of August encamped within four miles of Lisle, where they foraged unmolested for several days, and laid the open country under contribution; but they made no attempt upon Lisle itself, which in all probability would have submitted at the first summons, had they attacked it immediately on their approach, for then it had no other garrison than two or three battalions of militia; but count Saxe soon threw in so considerable a reinforcement as effectually to secure this important place. The conduct of the confederate generals was severely censured in England, and served as a matter of ridicule to the enemy. The truth is, that the English general, Wade, was superannuated; his partner in command, the duke of Aremberg, is said to have been unwilling to give umbrage to the French king, great part of his fortune lying within the territory of Lisle, where they were now encamped; the Dutch were averse to any bold enterprize; and the train of artillery was by some fatality retarded, and lay at Ostend. Add to this, that Wade and Aremberg were divided in their opinions, entertained an inveterate hatred and animosity against each other, and studiously avoided all manner of intercourse. In fine, after having remained some time in sight of Lisle, the confederates returned to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they went into winter-quarters in the month of October; and count Saxe followed their example, having first abandoned Courtray, where he had demolished the fortifications. He afterwards sent a numerous body of his troops to assist in repairing the fortifications of Dunkirk, and also to fortify the sluice at Mardyke.

After the engagement off Toulon, nothing of importance was performed by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was, during this summer, altoge-

ther inactive. We shall therefore attend a naval operation of the English in the other hemisphere, which is perhaps the most singular of any that history can produce. Mention has already been made of commodore Anson's destination with a small squadron in the autumn of the year 1740 to the South Seas, in order to distress the enemy there; and we conducted him as far as Port St. Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, where he arrived in the month of January 1741*, reserving the narrative of the rest of his achievements to this year, in which, on the fifteenth day of June, he returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, after having made the circuit of the terraqueous globe.

The secret of this expedition to the South Seas appears to have been so ill kept, that the Spaniards were apprised of all the particulars concerning it, long before it sailed from England; and had fitted out a squadron of five sail of the line and two frigates, under the command of admiral Don Joseph Pizarro, on purpose to defeat it. Had this fleet, which was every way superior to Mr. Anson, been able to have performed its voyage, the success of that officer might have been very indifferent; but by various accidents, the whole of the Spanish armament was reduced to one sixty-six gun ship, which was at length obliged to return to Europe.

While the commodore was in the bay of St. Julian he held a council of war, wherein he fixed the plan of his future operations; and after having coasted along the cold and desert country of Patagonia, he entered the Straights of Le Maire about the end of February 1741: but here the commodore lost sight of the Pearl and Severn, two of his great ships, and never saw them more during his voyage; they having been unable to weather Cape Horn, returned to Europe, having first been refitted at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil: in short, the commodore now saw his whole strength reduced (to use the words of the relator of the voyage) to a couple of shattered, half-manned cruizers, and a sloop, so far disabled, that in many climates they scarcely durst have put to sea. It was the thirtieth of November before the commodore completed his passage round Cape Horn, after surmounting difficulties which affect us with horror in the very relation. Upon doubling the Cape, his little squadron was again shattered and dispersed by violent tempests; one half of the men perished aboard by an inveterate scurvy; the commodore's ship being separated from the rest, put into the island of Juan Fernandez† on the ninth of June, where they were afterwards joined by the Trial sloop and the Gloucester, three of his own ships being yet missing: the Anna Pink came in about the middle of August, and Mr. Anson sent the Trial sloop to Mala Fuera, about twenty-two leagues to the west of Juan Fernandez, in quest of the missing ships, but to no purpose. In the meantime, the people who were landed on the island recovered surprisingly; and nothing was omitted by the commodore that could contribute to their health, security,

* See page 397 of this volume.

† Fernandez, or Juan Fernandez, is a small uninhabited island of Chili, in South America, lying in the Pacific Ocean, three hundred miles west of St. Jago, visited by all European ships that go into the South Seas, on account of its harbour,

the fruits, herbs, and other provisions to be met with on it. The editor of Lord Anson's Voyage places this island in the latitude of 33 degrees 40 minutes south, and 110 leagues west from the continent of Chili.

or accommodation for the future part of their voyage.

We have already observed that the *Severn* and *Pearl* were parted from the squadron; the *Wager*, a twenty gun ship, captain Cheap, had come with the commodore into the South Seas, but had been separated from him in one of those dreadful storms the squadron had encountered, and was unfortunately wrecked on the desolate island of Socoro; but the crew, to the number of one hundred, were all of them saved. Imagining, however, that the authority of their officers had determined with the loss of the ship, they began to mutiny; and having confined the captain, and converted the long-boat into a schooner, eighty of them actually set sail for Rio Grande on the coast of Brazil, where, after their number had been more than one half diminished by sickness, they at last arrived, in the month of January 1742. Cheap, with the small number who remained behind, found means to be conveyed to Chiloe, from thence to Valparaíso, and afterwards to St. Jago, the capital of Chili: there they continued upwards of a year, till at length a cartel being settled between the two nations, they were permitted to return to their own country.

Mr. Anson had now with him the *Centurion*, the *Gloucester*, the *Trial* sloop, and the *Anna Pink*, which latter was loaded with provisions; and the surviving hands being perfectly recovered, he put to sea on the eighth of September, and took several considerable prizes in cruising near the island of Fernandez: but having soon after advanced towards the equator, he ventured to attack the city of Paíta, upon the same coast of America, where he had learned from the prisoners taken on board one of his prizes, that a large sum of money was at that very time lodged in the custom-house, belonging to the Spanish merchants, and intended to be shipped on board a vessel then in that port. In executing this bold and hazardous enterprize, he neither made use of his ships nor of the land forces on board them, but sent no more than fifty-eight of his own seamen, commanded by his lieutenant, Mr. (since sir Piercy) Brett. These were ordered into boats, and taking advantage of the night, landed unperceived. The sudden surprize, the confusion, and the darkness, added to the shout the sailors set up on entering the town, spread universal terror through the inhabitants, who, with their governor, abandoned the place with the utmost precipitation, thinking a whole army was at their heels. In the mean time the English, without being molested, carried off the treasures which they found in the custom-house and private dwellings. Mr. Anson then caused the town to be set on fire, which was quickly consumed. The loss which the Spaniards sustained by this expedition was much greater than the advantage the English made, for it amounted to about a million and an half of dollars; but the

booty of the English did not exceed forty thousand pounds.

Having thus plundered the Spaniards with as much ease as they in past ages had plundered the Americans, the commodore now prepared to sail with all expedition to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent coast of Mexico, there to cruize for the Manilla galleon, which he knew was then at sea, bound for the port of Acapulco, there to convert her lading into treasure. It was then about the middle of November, and the galleon did not usually arrive at Acapulco till the end of January. By cross winds and bad weather it was the nineteenth of February, 1742, before the English squadron arrived off Acapulco, which lies at the beach of Mexico. The court of Madrid was not then aware of the risk it ran of losing that vast region of the world. Had admiral Vernon, who besieged Carthage upon the opposite sea, succeeded, he might have assisted Mr. Anson, which was easy to be done over the Isthmus of Darien. Thus Panama would have been taken by the English both upon the right and left, and the Spaniards deprived of the very center of their American dominions.

The commodore, on his arrival off Acapulco, had the disagreeable intelligence that the Manilla ship had anchored in that harbour on the ninth day of January; that she had converted her cargo into money, and was to have sailed again on the fourteenth of March; but that, upon his squadron having been discovered by the Spaniards, the governor of Acapulco had countermanded her departure for that season.

The commodore had now a most unfortunate prospect; the rainy season approached, and he had nothing left but to cross the vast Pacific Ocean for the river Canton in China. The *Trial* was now grown so leaky that she was no longer able to swim, and was therefore scuttled and sunk, as were the prizes which had been taken, and the crews were put on board the *Gloucester* and *Centurion*. With these two only remaining ships (the *Anne* store-ship having been discharged and sent home) the commodore stretched away for the river Canton, which he was in hopes of reaching in about two months; but the elements still continued his implacable adversaries. To add to his distress, the *Gloucester* sprung an irreparable leak at sea, and the commodore was obliged to take her crew into the *Centurion*, and burn her. This last named ship was now the only one that was left of his whole squadron, and she was in a most shattered condition. Incredible were the miseries and hardships Mr. Anson and his crew suffered from the leakiness of their vessel, and the scorbutic disorder which raged amongst them with the most alarming violence. At last, towards the end of August, they fortunately made one of the Marian or Ladrone islands*, called Tinian, which was at that time quite uninhabited. Not long before, it con-

* These islands, situate in the Pacific Ocean or South Sea, were first discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese, whom the emperor Charles V. and the king of Spain employed to discover a western passage to the East Indies, on the sixth of March, 1520; when touching at the isle of Guam, one of the most southerly of these islands, for water and fresh provisions,

the natives pilfered some of his goods, whence he called them the Ladrone, or Thievish Islands. Guam, lying in the tract to the Philippines and East Indies, is still the most frequented by the European nations; and here the Spaniards have a little fort, with a garrison of thirty men. It is about forty miles in length, and ten in breadth.

tained no less than thirty thousand souls; but the greatest part of the inhabitants had been swept away by an epidemic disease, and the survivors had been removed to Guam, another island, by the Spaniards. Here, upon mustering the whole of their able hands, including some negroes and Indian prisoners, they amounted to no more than seventy-one.

The whole crew owed its preservation to this island, which, according to the account published in Mr. Anson's Voyage, was the most delicious spot imagination can form. It surpassed Juan Fernandez in fertility, abounded on all sides with woods, springs, and rivulets, tame animals, fruits, pulse, and every thing necessary for food, the conveniences of life, and for refitting the vessel: but the most extraordinary thing found there was a sort of tree, the taste of whose fruit resembled that of the best bread: a real treasure to persons in their condition!

It was the middle of October before the commodore was in a condition to put to sea again; and on the 12th of November, after a great variety of other adventures, too numerous to be inserted here, he arrived at Macao, which is a Portuguese settlement, situate in an island at the entrance of the river of Canton, but entirely under the power of the Chinese. Here he had an opportunity of maintaining the honour of his country, by refusing to pay the imposts exacted by the emperor of China from all foreign ships. He insisted that no British ship of war was subject to them. His coolness and intrepidity staggered the Chinese. The viceroy of Canton granted him an audience, to which he was conducted through two ranks of soldiers, to the number of ten thousand; after which the viceroy gave orders for his ship to be hove down, refitted, and furnished with provisions and stores, to enable him to proceed to England.

By the fifteenth of April, 1743, his ship was in a condition to put to sea; and having taken on board some Lascars, or Indian sailors, and some Dutch, whom he thought might be useful to him, he set sail with a full determination to go in search of the Manila ship or ships, which he had reason to believe were at this season of the year returning from Acapulco. By the last of May the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, in the direct tract of the Manila ship. At length, upon the twentieth of June, the so much wished-for vessel was descried. This ship, called the *Nosra Senhora de Cabadonga*, was mounted with forty guns; and the treasure, with other effects on board, amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling. The Centurion, though mounting sixty guns, had but two hundred and twenty-seven men on board. The captain of the galleon chose rather to venture the loss of the treasure than forfeit his reputation by flying from an enemy. Accordingly, an engagement ensued, in which the resolution and skill of the English overbalanced all the superiority of the Spaniards; and the galleon struck, and surrendered into the commodore's hands, after having sixty-seven men killed and eighty-four wounded; while the Centurion lost only two men, and had one lieutenant and sixteen hands wounded. The conqueror returned with this rich prize to Canton, where, after having refitted his ship, and supplied himself with all the necessaries of which he stood in

need, he prepared to return to his native country, to taste the sweet reward of all his toils and labour. Before his departure from Canton, he sold the hulk of the galleon to the merchants of Macao. On the eleventh of March, 1744, he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; and having, by favour of a fog, unknown to himself, run through a fleet of French ships, he arrived safely at Spithead in the month of June, from whence his treasure was brought up in great triumph to London, attended by those brave seamen who had so well merited, by their unparalleled sufferings and perseverance, the share they were entitled to in it.

There yet remain to be noticed some other naval transactions of the year 1744. The Mediterranean fleet being in the utmost necessity for stores and provisions, a considerable number of vessels, laden with these articles, were ordered to be convoyed thither by sir Charles Hardy, vice-admiral of the red, with a squadron of eleven ships of the line, and one bomb-ketch. The vice-admiral, with the store ships, set sail from St. Helen's on the eighteenth of April, and conducted his convoy to Lisbon, where he was detained a considerable time by a squadron of fourteen sail of the line and six frigates, sent from Brest for that purpose, commanded by M. Rochambault, who cruized off the Rock of Lisbon to intercept sir Charles, in case he should attempt to put to sea. As soon as this was known to the British ministry, they ordered sir John Balchen, who commanded a large fleet at Spithead, having under him vice-admiral Martin and vice-admiral Stewart, to sail with the first favourable wind, and proceed in quest of the Brest squadron, to disengage sir Charles Hardy from his detention at Lisbon. While sir John was putting himself in a condition to obey these orders, he was reinforced by the Dutch squadron of twenty men of war, commanded by admiral Bacchereft, which their High Mightinesses had at length consented to send, in consequence of his Britannic majesty's repeated requisition, and agreeable to the treaty of 1697. On the seventh of August the combined fleets sailed from Spithead, to the number of twenty-one sail of the line (a proper number being left behind for the Channel and port service) and on the ninth of September cast anchor off the Rock of Lisbon. Monsieur Rochambault, the French commandant, upon receiving intelligence that the combined fleets were arrived on the coast, and were so much superior to him in force, thought proper to retire, and leave the sea entirely open to them. By this means sir Charles Hardy was at liberty to proceed according to his destination; but admiral Balchen, after having thus performed the duty he was sent upon, and being upon his return home, was, on the third of October, overtaken in the Bay of Biscay with a violent storm of wind, in which his own ship, the *Victory*, of one hundred and ten guns, and esteemed the finest first-rate in Europe, foundered on the Caskets, a large and dangerous reef of rocks off Alderney; and this brave commander perished, with all his officers and crew, amounting to between eleven and twelve hundred choice seamen: among these were fifty gentlemen volunteers, of some of the best families in England. The rest of the fleet with great difficulty escaped from the fury of the tempest, and got safe into Spithead.

On the fifth of May this year commodore Barret, with a squadron of two ships of sixty guns, one of fifty, and one of twenty, was dispatched to the East Indies, to protect the British trade and settlements there. On his arrival there, he made prize of several French ships richly laden, and otherwise greatly annoyed the enemy.

The naval war in America produced nothing material between the British and Spanish squadrons, under the command of sir Chaloner Ogle and admiral de Torres, whose squadrons were much of an equality, and continued in their former situation; the first remaining at Port Royal in Jamaica, and the other lying before the walls of the Havannah: but towards the end of this year the Spanish admiral made amends for this inactivity, by bringing under his convoy to Spain a most immense treasure, leaving at the Havannah seven men of war for its defence and the protection of the Spanish trade.

Commodore Warren, who was stationed with a squadron for the protection of the Leeward Islands, took several valuable prizes from the French, and cut off several ships bound with provisions to Martinico, whereby that island was reduced to the utmost distress. In the month of July deputy-governor Hodge, of the island of Anguilla, one of the Caribbees, drove the French out of their half of the island of St. Martin's; and the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew, another of those islands, declared themselves his Britannic majesty's subjects. In North America the French took and burnt our fort of Canso in Nova Scotia, after making the garrison prisoners of war.

On the twentieth of October this year the island of Jamaica was visited by a most dreadful hurricane, which proved very fatal to the shipping there, as well as to the island in general. Six men of war were lost, and upwards of ninety merchant ships. Fortunately sir Chaloner Ogle, with some of the largest ships under his command, was at the time of the hurricane upon a cruise.

A very great number of rich French and Spanish prizes were taken this year by our fleets and cruizers; so that at the conclusion thereof, the balance from Spain, since the commencement of the war with that crown, was one million nine hundred and thirty thousand pounds in our favour: and for this year, the first of the war with France, there remained a surplus on our side of seven hundred and seventy-three thousand pounds; and it was computed we had above eleven thousand French seamen prisoners in England. Many of our ships, however, were taken; and the British navy in particular sustained a considerable loss, by the capture and wrecking of several of its fine ships, particularly the Northumberland man of war of seventy guns, which was taken by three French ships of war and carried into Brest, after her commander, captain Watson, two of his lieutenants, and several of his men, had fallen in the engagement. The fatal loss of the Victory was followed by that of the Colchester of fifty guns, which was wrecked upon the Sands, between the Long Sands and the Kentish Knock, and forty of her crew perished, the captain and the rest being saved by boats from Harwich.

Let me now recapitulate the other transactions of this busy year. On the twentieth of June a pension of four thousand pounds per annum was

granted to Robert earl of Orford (late sir Robert Walpole) in consideration of his long and faithful services. He did not, however, long enjoy this mark of his royal master's esteem, dying in the March following. Though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the public treasure, his circumstances were not affluent. He was liberal in his disposition, and had many dependants to gratify; so that little was left for his own private occasions. The reader has already seen his character as a minister: as a private man, he was universally beloved and esteemed; and tho' he resigned his places, he never lost a friend. In his retirement he gave a noble proof of his gratitude and loyalty, by using all his interest to promote the service of his majesty, and never engaging in any opposition that could embarrass it.

This year was also distinguished by the deaths of several remarkable persons, particularly, of Sarah, duchess-dowager of Marlborough, relict of the famous John duke of Marlborough, who, if we except Catherine empress of Russia, was the greatest female favourite of fortune that her age produced; but the most extraordinary thing relating to her was, that though the more than princely estate she left was acquired wholly by the power of the Whigs, with whom both the duke and herself were constantly and closely connected, she was, to the day of her death, in her heart attached to the family of the late king James; and she had even brought her husband, in king William's time, under some difficulties on that account.

Street robberies were arrived to an enormous height towards the close of this year: the robbers marched in bands, armed with pistols, cutlasses, and bludgeons; and were so daring as even to plunder and maim people in broad day-light, till, by proper rewards and vigorous measures, a stop was put to such notorious villanies.

On the fourth day of December the marshal duke of Belleisle, and his brother the chevalier, happened, in their way to the imperial court, to stop at the village of Elbingrode, dependent on the electorate of Hanover, but which they, from misinformation, supposed to be in the territories of his Prussian majesty. There they were arrested by the bailiff of that place, and conducted as prisoners of war to Osterode, from whence they were removed to Stadt on the Elbe, and thence brought over to England, where they arrived on the ninth of December. They resided at Windsor till the summer of the ensuing year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel, which had been settled between Great Britain and France at Frankfurt, and released accordingly.

A similar accident happened this year to the earl of Holderneffe, who had been lately sent ambassador to the republic of Venice. His Excellency taking the route of Franconia, was stopped in the month of September by a party of Imperialists, within two posts of Nuremberg: upon which the earl wrote to the count de St. Germain, who commanded a large detachment of imperial troops at some leagues distance, complaining of the insult that had been offered to his character, by a power with whom his master was not at war. The French general replied, that his Excellency was at full liberty to proceed on his journey, provided he would give a letter of reversal, promising to return and submit to his arrest, in case the imperial court should

should adjudge him to be a prisoner of war. The earl agreed to the proposal; but the emperor, as soon as he was informed of the affair, ordered his letter of reversal to be returned, and the officer who stopped his Excellency to ask his pardon.

The British cabinet continued still to be agitated by violent dissensions among the members who composed it. The great influence which lord Carteret, the prime minister, enjoyed with his sovereign, raised the jealousy of those who were distinguished by the name of patriots; and the obsequious attention he manifested on all occasions to the views of the court, had ruined him in the good opinion of the populace. The duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pitt, who were possessed of a very powerful interest in parliament, engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the opposition, against the prime minister. This coalition, in compliance probably with the prevailing taste of the English, who are remarkably fond of distinguishing party epithets, was named "The Broad Bottom," to express its being established on a true constitutional basis, comprehending persons of all parties indiscriminately, whose talents and integrity seemed to fit them for the service of the public. This appellation, however, like most others of the same kind, was afterwards converted into a term of derision. Lord Carteret, who was by this time become earl of Granville, in consequence of his mother's death, foreseeing that his continuance in the ministry would only tend to the embarrassment of his majesty's service and his own continual disquiet, very prudently made a voluntary resignation of his employments. The seals of secretary of state were then given to the earl of Harrington. The duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the treasury; and the earl of Chesterfield, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general. Mr. Doddington was made treasurer of the navy; the privy-seal was returned to lord Gower: even sir John Hynde Cotton was favoured with a place at court, being made treasurer of the chamber. Mr. Lyttleton was admitted into the treasury; and sir John Phillips to the board of trade and plantations, though he soon after resigned this employment. The duke of Devonshire was made lord-steward of the household, in the room of the duke of Dorset, who succeeded the earl of Harrington as president of the council, on that nobleman's being made secretary of state. It was not till Christmas that these alterations were publicly known; and the nation quickly perceived it to be a change of men rather than of measures. The sovereign, however, found his ease and advantage in it, his views being no longer thwarted by an opposition in parliament.

In the mean while, the parliament assembling on the twenty-eighth day of November, his majesty opened the session with a speech to both houses, in which he recapitulated the transactions and events of the current year, such as have been already related. "He applauded the constancy and resolution of her Hungarian majesty, and the firmness and magnanimity of the king of Sardinia. At the same time he acknowledged, that the event of the last campaign had not entirely answered his wishes. Nevertheless, he declared himself determined, in conjunction with his allies, and with their effectual support, and the assistance of his

parliament, to carry on the war in such a manner as might be most conducive to a safe and honourable peace: and concluded with observing, that towards accomplishing the salutary purposes he had in view, nothing could be more effectual than the unanimity and dispatch of his parliament in conducting the public business."

The plan of removals and promotions being now fixed, there was the most perfect harmony in both houses, and there was scarcely a division heard of during the session. The usual patriot bills (as they were called) for the repeal of septennial parliaments, the purging the parliament of placemen, the remission of the most unpopular taxes, and the like, were indeed moved for, but met with their usual fate of being rejected; and nothing was wanting on the part of the new ministry to convince his majesty that they were in earnest to carry on the war. New levies for land and sea were ordered, and the commons voted six millions and an half for the service of the year 1745, to be raised by the land, the malt, and salt taxes, the sinking fund, and an additional duty on foreign wines.

In the beginning of the year 1745, the earl of Chesterfield set out on his embassy to the States-general, having in charge to persuade that phlegmatic people, if possible, to engage heartily in the war; a point in which his lordship almost despaired of succeeding; yet his eloquence and address was not wholly lost: for though he could not bring them to become principals in the quarrel about the Austrian succession, he brought them to settle their quota of troops, fleets, and subsidies.

The new ministry having agreed upon the expediency of carrying on the war in favour of the queen of Hungary, thought it was requisite to prosecute it in the most vigorous manner; and that for this purpose a general ought to be employed, who might be above all dread of ministerial power, and possessed of sufficient authority to direct the allies in their operations. On this occasion they cast their eyes on the duke of Cumberland, who had given unquestionable proofs not only of his courage, but likewise of his knowledge in the military art. Accordingly, on the twelfth day of March, his royal highness was constituted captain-general and commander in chief of all his majesty's forces.

Some little time before his majesty had acquainted his parliament of his having concluded a treaty of quadruple alliance, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary and the States-general. By this treaty, which was signed at Warsaw on the eighth of January, "the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, and promised to support it with all his forces. It was further stipulated, that, as the kingdom of Bohemia was actually attacked, his Polish majesty should send to its defence an army of thirty thousand auxiliary troops; that his Britannic majesty and the States-general should pay to that prince an annual subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; two thirds to be furnished by Great Britain, and one third by the United Provinces: that as soon as Bohemia and Saxony should be free from danger, his Polish majesty should march ten thousand men to the Netherlands, or to any other place within the empire, which the king of Great Britain and

and the States-general should think most proper: for which a subsidy of ninety thousand pounds should be continued to be paid, according to the former proportions: that if, in consequence of these measures, his Polish majesty should draw a war upon himself, he should be supported by all his allies: that no peace should be made without his consent, and without procuring for him proper satisfaction; and that the emperors of Russia, the republic of Poland, and all the other powers of Europe, should be invited to accede to this treaty, which was to continue after the war was concluded."

A great alteration was expected in the European system by the demise of the emperor Charles VII. which happened on the ninth of January. This occasioned his Britannic majesty to take a resolution of speedily visiting his German dominions, as his presence might contribute to the tranquillity of Europe, and re-establish the imperial dignity in the house of Austria. The parliamentary business being dispatched, his majesty on the second of May went to the house of peers, and concluded the session with a gracious speech from the throne, acquainting the two houses with his intention of going out of the kingdom for a short time.

Many excellent bills for the internal good of Great Britain passed this session, particularly, a bill to prevent excessive and deceitful gaming, and to restrain and prevent the excessive increase of horse races; another, to prevent the pernicious practice of smuggling, which of late years was arrived to such a height as bid defiance to all government; another for encouraging the British linen-manufacture; and another to prevent the importation of cambrics and French lawns. His majesty the same day nominated a regency to administer the affairs of government during his absence, and the day following (May 3) embarked at Gravesend on board the Caroline yacht for Holland, where he was convoyed by a squadron under the command of Mr. Anson, now created a rear-admiral, and landed at Helvoetsluys on the twelfth, from whence his majesty proceeded directly for Hanover.

In the mean time, in order to give an additional effect to the negociation of the earl of Chesterfield at the Hague, and to quicken the resolution of the States-general in favour of the common cause, his majesty was pleased to order the baron Schwigeldt, his Hanoverian minister at the Hague, to declare in his name, that he was willing to be considered as a principal in the war as elector of Hanover, and to furnish thereto his contingent of German troops, independent of the other succours he, as king of Great Britain, intended to give to the queen of Hungary.

This declaration of his Britannic majesty was the more magnanimous, as the events of the last campaign had proved so unfavourable to the house of Austria. Maillebois was still in Germany, at the head of a numerous army, with which he overawed the neutral princes, and oppressed the friends of her Hungarian majesty. The revenues of that princess were greatly exhausted, by the expence she had incurred by maintaining her forces. Her loss of territories in Silesia and Flanders was far from being compensated by the few advantages, and the subsidies she received from Great Britain

were altogether unequal to her necessities. On the other hand, France increased in power, in proportion as her difficulties increased: the money they had received from Spain, and the funds they had invented for increasing the royal revenue, had enabled them to make great preparations for continuing the war another campaign: but notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, the death of Charles VII. entirely disconcerted their plan of politics, and dissolved the league of Frankfort, which had hitherto served them, as an excellent pretext for prosecuting their ambitious purposes, under the mark of supporting the imperial dignity.

Upon the death of the emperor it was believed, that as the cause of the war no longer subsisted, peace would be restored to Europe. They could not offer the empire to the young elector of Bavaria, son of the deceased Charles VII. as he was then but seventeen years of age. However, the court of France continued to pay the subsidy to his electoral highness. The princes of Germany flattered themselves that the queen of Hungary would seek for peace, as the surest means of placing her husband, the grand duke of Tuscany, upon the imperial throne: but her majesty was determined, that her endeavours to procure the dignity for her consort should in no wise retard the military operations, which she was resolved to continue. The English ministry, who gave the law to their allies, by being the general pay-masters, thought they should be losers by a peace, and gainers by protracting the war. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon his son-in-law the infant Don Philip, in Italy, the young elector of Bavaria in Germany, or the king of Prussia, who was returned to his old alliance. Thus the general war continued, though the object of it was no longer the same.

The court of France now cast an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper person for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aspire to this dignity, but he might likewise render it subservient to the enriching his family with a part of the Austrian inheritance, which he had at first attempted to acquire by the sword: at least, by detaching him from his new alliance with that house, there was a probability of strengthening the king of Prussia, and of compelling her Hungarian majesty to accept of terms of peace: but that able minister, count Bruhl, who now managed the affairs of Saxony, clearly seeing thro' the delusive proposals of the French court, persuaded his master, the king of Poland, that he would find it very difficult, if not impossible, to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, as the republic of Poland would be afraid of having in him too powerful a chief; and his majesty would thereby run the risk of losing a throne which he might secure to his posterity; and that, after all, he was not sure of carrying his point in competition with the grand duke of Tuscany. In short, whether his Polish majesty thought himself not strong enough, or whether he was restrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dresden, and Warsaw, which had connected him with England and the queen of Hungary; or, lastly, whether he was convinced by the arguments of his minister, and terrified by the example of the late elector

elector of Bavaria, who was a tragical instance, that a grandeur not founded on intrinsic strength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation; instead of making any pretensions to the empire, he entered into a more intimate union with the queen of Hungary, and used his utmost endeavours to place the imperial crown on her husband's head.

France, disappointed on this quarter, would willingly have held out the imperial bait to his Prussian majesty, had she not been convinced of having irremediably incurred his resentment and indignation, by suffering prince Charles to repass the Rhine, and deprive him of all his conquests in Bohemia: she therefore, on the emperor's death, declared, that as the treaty of Frankfort was now dissolved, she was ready to agree to proposals for a general pacification, and not to intermeddle in the election of an emperor. But her Hungarian majesty, who still imagined she should be able at last to dethrone the king of Naples, to recover Silesia, and to beat the French in Flanders, would listen to no terms of accommodation; in which resolution she was not a little confirmed, by the inclination the English discovered for trying the event of another campaign, and the firm attachment their monarch shewed to her interests. The French had now no other resource left but in arms, and to await the issue of the different fluctuating interests which kept Europe in continual alarms.

Lewis XV. had taken the resolution to act upon the defensive in Germany, and upon the offensive in Flanders and Italy; and accordingly he undertook in person to finish the conquests in the Austrian Netherlands, in which he had been interrupted during the preceding year. In the month of February this year he married his eldest son, the dauphin, to the second infant of Spain, in order to cement his connections with that crown: and this young prince, who had not yet completed his sixteenth year, prepared to set out in the beginning of May along with his father. Before the king's departure, marshal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to consist of one hundred and six battalions, and one hundred and seventy-two squadrons, with seventeen independent companies; so that the whole army, had every thing been complete, would have amounted to ninety-eight thousand men; but as they were greatly deficient, the total amount did not exceed seventy-six thousand men. This army was provided with a train of one hundred and sixty pieces of heavy artillery.

Marshal Saxe, who commanded this army till the arrival of the sovereign, was the eldest of the natural children of the late Augustus II. king of Poland, by Aurora countess of Konigsmark, one of the most celebrated beauties of her age. The marshal had entirely devoted himself to the use of arms: he entered early into the service of France; and by his distinguished bravery justly attained to the highest step of military preferment. The reputation of this general, and the resolution of their monarch to make this campaign, invited the flower of the French nobility to take the field; so that the marshal found himself joined by the dukes de Chartres and Penthièvre, the prince de Dombes, count de Clermont, and count d'Eu; all five princes of the blood royal of France. He also found himself at the head of twenty-two lieutenant-

generals and forty-five major-generals, of the most distinguished rank, fortune, and reputation, eager to signalize themselves, being filled with the most sanguine hopes of success, from their great superiority over the allies, whose united forces amounted to no more than fifty-three thousand men.

The duke of Cumberland, as commander in chief, arrived at the Hague on the seventh day of April; and after holding a conference with the States, he posted to Brussels, where he found prince Waldeck, commander of the Dutch troops, and marshal count Konigsegg, the general of the Austrians. William duke of Cumberland was now entering into the twenty-fourth year of his age: he was by nature, brave; and by a close application to the study of the military art, had acquired those lights which others gain only by experience: endowed with sentiments worthy of his high birth, and blessed with the happy talent of conciliating alike the love and esteem of both officers and private men, the allies with pleasure invested him with the extension of the chief command over the whole confederate army. Full of that vivacity so natural to his years, his royal highness disdained the boasted superiority of the French, whose advantage indeed principally lay in the sagacity and experience of their commanders more than in their numbers.

Marshal Saxe having made several feigned marches, which kept the allies in suspense, and seemed sometimes to threaten Aeth, and sometimes Mons, all on a sudden sat down, on the twenty-fourth day of April, before Tournay, on the river Schelde, which was defended by a Dutch garrison of eight thousand men, commanded by baron Dorth. Tournay was one of the masterpieces of the great Vauban, and supposed to be one of the strongest places of the Dutch barrier. The raising of this siege, therefore, appeared to the confederates a point of the highest importance. Accordingly, his royal highness the duke of Cumberland marched immediately from Brussels to Soignies, in the province of Hainault, within twelve miles of Tournay; and continuing his route, encamped on the twenty-ninth of April at Brusseel, with his right at Bougnies, and his left at Montbray, within little more than musket-shot of the advanced posts of the French. Marshal Saxe had foreseen the intention of the allies, and had made the most excellent dispositions by entrenchments and batteries, in which he was greatly assisted by the nature of the ground.

The two armies were separated only by a rivulet, which lay on the left of the allies, and by copes and hedges on the right, which the French had lined with their Grassins, supported by several squadrons drawn up on a plain, that rose by a gentle ascent to their camp, which extended on the brow of the eminence from the village of St. Antoin towards the wood of Barri, which lay on their left; and was secured by lines filled with light troops. At St. Antoin they had erected a most dreadful battery; in their center was another battery; and between them lay the village of Fontenoy intrenched, and most formidably fortified: this latter village is situated about three miles S. E. of Tournay. The French monarch accompanied by the Dauphin, arrived in the camp before Tournay on the 28th of April.

The French king took his station at the bridge of Calonne, close by the village of St. Antoin; the bridge was lined with cannon, strengthened with entrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swifs, and three of militia, to facilitate the retreat of the king and the Dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. In a word, never was army better secured than that of the French; nor could any troops attack under more disadvantageous circumstances than those of the combined armies did.

The first object of the allies was to drive the French from all their little posts, so as to get into the plain, and this service fell to the share of the English. Accordingly on the 30th of April, six battalions and twelve squadrons, with five hundred pioneers, six pieces of cannon, and ten haubitzers, were detached from each wing for that purpose, and after an obstinate struggle the enterprise succeeded; the army were dislodged from all their posts, and repulsed to the heights near their camp, where they drew up afresh, and began to form new entrenchments. The confederate generals then went upon the ground from which the French had been driven, and, having carefully surveyed it, came to a resolution to attack the enemy early next morning, which was the first day of May.

The right wing, composed of English and Hanoverians, was ordered to form in four lines before the village of Vezon, on this side of Barri wood; the left wing, consisting of Dutch and Austrians, was commanded to advance in three columns; the first to march by the village of Vezon, the second through the heart of it, and the third to stretch into the plain between Fontenoy and St. Antoin. Prince Waldeck, with his Dutch, undertook to attack the former of these places. In order to facilitate these operations, the duke of Cumberland commanded brigadier Ingoldsby, with four battalions, and three six-pounders, to attack a fort in the front of the village of Vezon, which was mounted with cannon. Lieutenant-general Sir James Campbell was ordered to cover the infantry of the right wing, commanded by lieutenant-general Sir John (since earl) Ligonier; and Sir James had instructions to extend himself along the plain, from Barri wood towards the village of Fontenoy; an expedient which would have greatly forwarded prince Waldeck's attack: but the success of the whole depended chiefly upon Ingoldsby's carrying the fort at Vezon.

About nine in the morning the engagement began, at the very beginning of which Sir James Campbell's leg was taken off by a cannon ball, which put an end to his life. By the confusion occasioned by this accident, and the dreadful fire made by the enemy, the English infantry under Sir John Ligonier were left terribly exposed, but were, nevertheless, formed with the greatest dispatch; and the duke of Cumberland putting himself at their head, marched up to the attack of the left wing of the French at St. Antoin, while prince Waldeck, with the Hanoverians and twelve battalions of Dutch, moved at the same time to assault Fontenoy. The British infantry under their duke, drove the French beyond their lines. Upon this, count Saxe ordered his cavalry to advance, while the infantry, which had been formed a-new, opened a concealed battery that swept off whole ranks of our troops at a time; notwithstanding

which the English stood firm, and kept up their fire with an intrepidity that struck the enemy with astonishment: and had Ingoldsby succeeded in his attack upon Vezon, which he unfortunately missed by making so long delay in consulting with his officers in what manner it should be done, that marshal Saxe had time to strengthen the fort with a number of additional troops and cannon, the English must have carried the day, the ill success of which was in great measure owing to this delay; or had the Dutch under prince Waldeck done their duty, the French king and his son would, in all probability, have been taken prisoners; but the duke being obliged to march through a hollow-way, commanded by the fort that Ingoldsby should have taken, the English were thereby exposed to all the fire from that battery, as well as to a great number of cross fires, which plied them on all hands, and did prodigious execution. At the same time the Dutch behaved with the most shameful pusillanimity, and instead of supporting the Austrians in the attack of Fontenoy (to which prince Waldeck twice led them with the greatest courage) fled from the field with the utmost precipitation. To add to these disasters, the cavalry forbore to advance to cover the flank of the English infantry, so that his royal highness the duke, unable longer to stand the prodigious fire of the French batteries, to which he was now left exposed on all sides, was obliged to give back in some disorder.

He soon rallied his troops however, who, returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulsed the enemy to their camp with a terrible slaughter; but so great was the diminution of the British troops by the perpetual firing of the French artillery, which took them both in front and flank, that being wholly unsupported by the left wing, while the enemy brought up the Irish brigade, and household troops (who were fresh for action, not having yet engaged) to attack them in flank, they began to stagger, nor could support the violence of so rude a shock, and were obliged to retire a second time. The French cavalry endeavoured to break them in their retreat, but were so well received by the British guards, and major-general Zastrow of the Hanoverian troops, that the regiment of Noailles was almost destroyed.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the whole confederate army had orders to retire, which it did in such excellent order that the French did not dare to make the least attempt to disturb them, and they returned to their camp at Brussel; and quitting it the same night about eleven o'clock, marched directly to the camp at Lessines near Aeth, leaving their sick and wounded to the humanity of the victors.

Such was the decision of this memorable battle of Fontenoy, which answered no other purpose than to display the unfortunate bravery of the English and Hanoverians; the latter of whom, by their behaviour this day, silenced all the charges that had been brought against them for their conduct at Dettingen, while the Dutch disgraced all the glories which they had some years before acquired at the battle of Malplaquet, under the duke of Marlborough, where they had eight thousand men killed.

In this action the confederates lost seven thousand three hundred and forty-seven men, including

cluding a great number of officers; and among these lieutenant-general sir James Campbell, major-general Ponsonby, the colonels Carpenter and Douglass, and lieutenant-colonel Gee. However, from the number of officers killed and wounded on the enemy's side, their loss must be supposed to be much more considerable; there being four lieutenant-generals, four major-generals, and three brigadiers, killed; two lieutenant-generals, three major-generals, and twenty-two brigadier-generals, wounded, many of whom died soon after the engagement.

The reduction of Tournay was the necessary consequence of the victory of Fontenoy, though baron Dorth, the governor, maintained the place with the greatest bravery to the 21st day of June, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. The duke of Cumberland apprehending that the French would next make an attempt upon Ghent, sent a detachment of four thousand men to reinforce its garrison; but they fell into an ambuscade, when above one thousand were killed and taken. That very night Ghent was surprized by a detachment of the French army. Dendermond, Oudenarde, Nieuport, and Aeth, successively submitted to the victors, who, to crown their successes, made themselves masters of Ostend, after a short siege, on the 13th of August: and the French king, having thus subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned in the month of September to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

The confederate army lay all this time intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp, for the disparity between them and the enemy was too disadvantageous to suffer the allies to think of giving the least molestation to the French in their acquisitions. On the 12th of October his royal highness the duke of Cumberland left the confederate army, being called home to ward off the meditated stroke of a rebellion; of which an account will be given in its place. The combined forces soon afterwards took their winter-quarters in Brussels, Antwerp, and Mechlin; but the victorious marshal Saxe, making the most of his superiority, on the 29th of January following, invested Brussels; the garrison of which, consisting of ten thousand Austrians and Dutch under count Kaunitz, after a gallant resistance, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war on the 20th of February. This conquest terminated all the enterprising attempts of marshal Saxe till the returning spring, when Antwerp was expected to swell the number of his successes.

Maximilian Joseph the young elector of Bavaria was the third from father to son, whose cause had been espoused by France. She had restored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the Imperial crown for his father, and now made a fresh effort to support this young prince. Early in the spring the French king sent six thousand Hessians in the pay of France, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, to join the Bavarian forces under count Seckendorff; but these had defended the entrance of their country so ill, that in the beginning of April the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit Munich, the same capital from which his father had been so often expelled, and to seek shelter in Augsburg. Bavaria had been so much ravaged that it was not able to supply forage to the French troops who came to the elector's assistance, and count Brown declared to count

Segur, who commanded the French forces in Bavaria, that he would not march to meet the Austrians, and that all he could do was to wait for them. To complete the disgrace of the French, count Seckendorff, who commanded the Bavarian army, corresponded with the queen of Hungary, and was negotiating a secret accommodation between his master, the young elector, and the court of Vienna; whereby he defeated every thing that had been done by France. Seckendorff had been long in the service of the house of Austria, but upon some cause of distrust had been confined by Charles VI. the last emperor of this family, upon whose demise he quitted the queen of Hungary to enter into the Bavarian service; and being now disgusted with the court of France, for having refused him a sum of money he demanded for the payment of the Bavarian troops, he resolved to traverse all its projects.

While things were in this situation count Segur, who had only six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, French and Palatines, not having been able to effect his junction with the Hessians and Bavarians, was attacked by general Bathiani at the head of the Austrian army, within a few leagues of Donawert near a little town called Pfaffenhoven. All he had to do in this situation was to save his troops and the military chest; for this purpose he posted his men so well by covering them with a wood, and possessing himself of an eminence, that they maintained a most unequal and a most obstinate fight: the French alone lost about two thousand men killed and wounded; the Palatines, who were less exposed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions was made prisoners of war. The marquis de Crussol, who was entrusted with the care of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with such prudence and intrepidity, that even their enemies gave them the highest commendations.

This little army being obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers, retreated to Donawert, where they crossed the Danube, and joined the French under the command of marshal Maillebois in Suabia. This incident completed the destruction of the French in this part of the empire.

The retreat of the French general obliged the prince of Saxe Hilburghausen to retire with the Bavarian and Hessian troops towards Landsberg; but the latter, to the number of six thousand, being cut off, and surrounded in their retreat by a detachment commanded by general Bernklau, were obliged to lay down their arms, and to continue at Lechausen, till their fates were determined between the courts of Vienna and Cassel. These troops some time after passed from the service of the French into that of the English.

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Augsburg, devoured with the melancholy reflections of his own approaching misfortunes, and the past calamities of his unhappy family. The French king, however, was still defending his cause on all sides. Marshal Maillebois, at the head of a numerous army, was driving that of the Austrians, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover. The king of Prussia kept prince Charles of Lorraine employed, and Lewis XV. was himself on the point of making a most powerful diversion in Flanders. But all these considerations were super-
perfected,

perfeded, and the projects of France difconcerted by the prefent exigence of the young elector's affairs, the intreaties of the empress his mother, enforced by the interpoftion of his Britannic majefty; the advice of the elector of Cologne, his uncle; and of his general, count Seckendorff, who were inceffantly representing to him the ambitious defigns of France, and earneftly exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna, and confent to the accommodation which count de Colloredo, the Austrian minifter, was endeavouring to bring about at Tyrol. The minifters of the contrary party opposed thefe efforts, efpecially M. de Chavigny, count del Bene, and M. de Klingarff, the ambaffadors from the courts of France, Madrid, and Berlin, who perfuaded the elector to repair to Manheim, a city belonging to the elector-palatine, and had almoft feducd him to refufe entering into any accommodation. But at length he opened his eyes to the true intereft of his electoral houfe: he put off his defigned journey to Manheim, and fent orders to prince Furftenberg to conclude an accommodation with count Colloredo, who was come to Fueffen, on the Lech, for this falutary purpofe. Thefe plenipotentiaries foon terminated the differences between the ferene houfes of Austria and Bavaria, by concluding a treaty of amity and pacification, figned on the twenty-second of April.

By this treaty her Hungarian majefty agreed to acknowledge the imperial dignity, as having been vefted in the perfon of his father, to his own mother, as empress-dowager; to reftore his dominions, with all the fortrefses, artillery, ftore, and ammunition, which fhe had taken. On the other hand, he relinquifhed all claim to the fucceffion of her father, became guarantee of the pragmatic fanction, acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the perfon of the queen, and promifed to give his vote for the grand duke at the enfuing election of a king of the Romans.

Until this fhould be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldftadt fhould be garrifoned by neutral troops, and that Branau and Scharding, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, fhould remain in the queen's poffeffion, though without prejudice to the civil government or the elector's revenue. In the mean time, he difmiffed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were fuffered to retire without moleftation.

On the demife of the emperor, the elector of Mentz, as arch-chancellor of the empire, appointed the firft of June for the diet to afsemble, and proceed to the election of a new emperor. The grand duke of Tufcany had already declared himfelf a candidate for that dignity; and the court of Vienna had now engaged the votes of all the electors, except thofe of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. France however was determined, if poffible, to prevent the exaltation of the grand duke, and with that view exerted her utmoft endeavours to procure fuch an army in the empire as might intimidate the princes and neutral circles from electing a prince for emperor, whom fhe would gladly have fet at the remoteft diftance from that auguft dignity. The French army in Germany was therefore augmented to feventy thoufand three hundred men; and the prince of Conti was appointed to take the command, in the room of M. Maillebois, who fucceeded the prince in his command on the fide of Italy, after having, as I have already obferved,

obliged the duke of Aremberg, who made an irruption into the Palatinate in the beginning of this year, to repafs the Maine with his army of Austrians and Hanoverians, and afterwards to intrench himfelf behind the river Lohne, in expectation of reinforcements.

About the time that the prince of Conti arrived in Germany, marfhal Traun, who had fucceeded count Bathiani in the command of the Austrian forces in Bavaria (on that general's being appointed to replace the duke of Aremberg in Germany) received orders to advance towards the Maine to join the confederates, and drive the prince of Conti from the neighbourhood of Frankfort, that the electors might be left at liberty to proceed to the election, agreeably to the laws and conftitution of the empire. He accordingly marched from the Danube at the head of thirty thoufand men, and on the fourteenth of June effected his junction with count Bathiani at Wachterspach, upon the river Kintz, when the united armies confifted of feventy-four battalions and one hundred and ten fquadrons, in all fixty-nine thoufand men, who were foon after headed by the grand duke himfelf in perfon, who obliged the prince of Conti to evacuate the imperial territories, and repafs the Rhine at Nordheim with confiderable lofs.

The neighbourhood of Frankfort being thus freed from the prefence of the French army that had been pofted there, under the fpecious pretext of fecuring the freedom of the election, but with a real view to influence the deliberations of the electors; the firft conference was held for the election of a king of the Romans on the ninth of Auguft, at which affifted the minifters of the feveral electors of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, Bohemia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony: but the ambaffadors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate having protested againft every thing that could be done at thofe conferences, were not prefent. However, the electoral college afsembled on the fecond of September for the election of an emperor, when they chofe the moft ferene prince Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine and Bar, grand duke of Tufcany, and co-regent of the dominions of her majefty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia. On the twenty-fourth the new emperor, with his royal confort, made his public entry with great magnificence, and was crowned with the ufual ceremonies. Their Imperial majefties, after receiving the compliments of the chief princes of the empire, returned to Vienna, and the diet of the empire was removed to Ratifbon, the ufual place of afsembling under the Austrian emperors. The voting electors alfo entered into an afociation to defend the head of the empire, and the circles were required to furnifh a triple contingent for that purpofe.

This agreeable alteration in the affairs of Europe was effected principally by the firmnefs and authority of his Britannic majefty, who fpared no pains to reconcile the princes of the empire in defence of public liberty. He prevailed with the elector-palatine to be lefs fanguine in the caufe of France: he actually fucceeded in bringing the court of Hefle-Caffel to relinquifh its connections with Lewis XV. and to reftore the fix thoufand Heflians to Britifh pay.

The king of Pruffia, fmarting with his lofles fufained laft campaign, thoroughly difgusted with the court of France, and releafed from his engagements

ments of the treaty of Frankfort by the death of the emperor, seemed inclinable to embrace a pacific system; but the infatuation of the councils of Vienna would not permit him. Intoxicated with success, they thought of nothing less than stripping him of all he had acquired. This inveteracy roused all the military abilities of his Prussian majesty, which soon struck Europe with astonishment. The Austrians had already made themselves masters of Troppau, Jaggerdorf, Ratibor, and some other places of less note in Silesia: but Frederic, who had hitherto affected to act upon the defensive only, which had made his enemies imagine that he was both unwilling and unable to hazard an engagement, started suddenly into action, attacked the Austrians in his turn, and drove them from Troppau and Jaggerdorf as far as Moravia, whilst other parties of his troops possessed themselves of the castle of Glatz, where a body of six thousand Prussians, under general Lehwald, attacked twelve thousand Austrians commanded by general Helfrich, five hundred of whom were killed upon the spot, three hundred taken prisoners, and the rest completely routed. Ratibor, where was a garrison of three thousand Austrians, next fell into his hands. The defendants were all killed or taken prisoners, and the king entered Silesia in May, at the head of seventy thousand men.

These exploits, however, were but faint preludes to the rapid conquests which were soon to distinguish this young monarch as the first hero of the age in generalship and valour. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time joined the confederate army of Saxons, Hungarians, and Austrians, under the prince of Saxe Weissenfels, at Konigsgratz in Bohemia, which was now augmented to seventy-six thousand men, and from thence advanced in the latter end of May towards the mountains which separate Silesia from Bohemia, and on the third of June encamped in the neighbourhood of Friedberg. Upon the first motions of the confederates to enter Silesia, his Prussian majesty had drawn all the troops he had in Upper Silesia, except the garrison of Jaggerdorf, into Lower Silesia to reinforce his army, which was thereby augmented to eighty-four thousand men. This superiority determined Frederic to attack the confederates, who little expected any thing of the kind; for he had ordered his general du Moulin, with the vanguard of his army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, to post himself near Striegau, where the right wing of the allies was encamped, and to make the necessary dispositions to lead prince Charles into a belief that his majesty intended to retreat to Breslau. At their approach the confederates were the dupes of this artifice, and lulled into the most perfect security; when, on the fourth of June, at two o'clock in the morning, they found themselves attacked by the Prussians with a degree of fury that carried all before it. The Saxons and Austrians maintained the fight for a considerable time with a resolution that did them infinite honour; and prince Charles of Lorraine and the prince of Saxe-Weissenfels did every thing that could be expected from the most consummate generals and the bravest warriors, to turn the fortune

of the day; but all in vain: the amazing military genius of his Prussian majesty had led him to make such dispositions as must infallibly insure him the victory. In fine, the allies were totally defeated, with the loss of four thousand six hundred men killed, and five thousand three hundred taken prisoners, with all their artillery; and his Prussian majesty carried off from the field a prodigious number of colours, standards, kettle-drums, and other military trophies. The Prussians lost about eight hundred men killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. Such was the issue of the famous battle of Friedberg, which, for the valour and great conduct of the generals on both sides, but more particularly on that of the Prussians; the bravery and intrepidity of the private men; the general and long action, which lasted upwards of twelve hours, and the decisiveness of the victory, may truly be stiled the most memorable of the war begun in SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE.

The loss of the battle of Friedberg by the Austrians induced his Britannic majesty, who then resided at Hanover, and was employed as usual in studying every method to restore the peace of Germany, to enter upon a provisional treaty with his nephew of Prussia for that salutary purpose, to which the latter appeared to lend a willing ear. Accordingly, in the month of August a convention was signed at Hanover, wherein the king of Great Britain became guarantee of the king of Prussia's possessions in Silesia, as yielded by the treaty of Breslau; and that monarch promised to vote for the grand duke of Tuscany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation: but no sooner was it known at the courts of Vienna and Dresden, than it was rejected in the most peremptory terms. This so enraged Frederic, that he immediately published a declaration of war against the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, in which he accused that prince of having formed a design, in conjunction with her Hungarian majesty, to invade his territories, particularly the duchy of Magdeburg; and that for this purpose his Polish majesty had demanded of the czarina of Russia the succours stipulated by treaty between the two crowns. He then published a manifesto setting forth these particulars, and earnestly soliciting the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpose their good offices with the court of Petersburg to abandon that of Dresden. But without waiting to see the result of these apprehensions, he made a sudden irruption into Lusatia, took possession of Gortitz, and obliged prince Charles of Lorraine to retire into Bohemia.

Prince Anhalt of Dessau, the Prussian general, then enters Saxony towards the west, and makes himself master of Leipzig without opposition. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, flies from Dresden and takes refuge in Prague, the capital of Bohemia, whilst his generals collect his forces; and being joined by a detachment of Austrian cavalry under prince Lobkowitz, make a stand to oppose the rapidity of the Prussian conquests at Pima*. The latter, however, making themselves masters

* A small town of Misnia, in Upper Saxony in Germany, situated on the Elbe, over which is a fine stone bridge, and de-

fended by a strong castle. It lies four miles south-east of Dresden.

of Meyßen, attacked the confederates, though double their number, on the fifteenth day of December, and obtained as complete a victory as that of Friedberg, where, besides great numbers of the Saxons and Austrians left upon the field of battle, near four thousand were taken prisoners, with all their artillery. The city of Dresden, the capital of Saxony, no longer able to withstand the victorious arms of his Prussian majesty, submits. Frederic enters the place in triumph, and the whole country is laid under contribution.

The king of Poland, thus stripped of his dominions, was glad to accept of such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose. The queen of Hungary also, tired of a dispute in which she had nothing to expect but multiplied losses and disgrace, consented at length to give up her claim to Silesia; and a negociation being set on foot, under the mediation of the king of Great Britain, two treaties of peace were signed on the twenty-fifth of December, 1745; the one between the king of Prussia and the elector of Saxony, and the other between his Prussian majesty and the emperor and the empress-queen.

By the latter of these treaties the king of Prussia acknowledged the emperor, as did also the elector-palatine, who acceded thereto. The emperor confirmed in favour of the house of Brandenburg certain privileges *de non evocando*, granted to it by the emperor Charles VII. concerning certain provinces in the king of Prussia's possession not belonging to the elector of Brandenburg, and the treaty of Breslau was renewed. By the treaty concluded at the same time between the king of Prussia and the king of Poland, in quality of the elector of Saxony, it was agreed, "That all the contributions that electorate was to furnish to his Prussian majesty to the twenty-second day of December, 1745, inclusive, he should retain to his proper use: that a million of German crowns should be paid the next fair at Leipzig, with interest at five per cent. to be reckoned from the day of signing the treaty till the time of quitting the capital: that the subjects of his Prussian majesty who were interested in the state of Saxony should be punctually paid: that the king of Poland, in quality of the elector of Saxony, should make no innovations to the prejudice of the protestant religion in that electorate; and that the Saxon soldiers who had enlisted themselves in the Prussian service since the king's troops had entered that electorate, should remain therein."

Immediately after the ratification of these treaties, the Prussian forces evacuated Saxony; all hostilities between them and the Austrians ceased, and the peace of Germany was restored.

The campaign in Italy was far from proving favourable either to the queen of Hungary or her ally the king of Sardinia. Count Gages crossed the Appennine mountains in the month of April, in order to reach the state of Lucca, and pass from thence through the Genoese dominions, to join the army commanded by Don Philip in Lombardy. Prince Lobkowitz, who, upon the opening of the campaign, finding himself too weak to obstruct the progress of count Gages, had crossed the Panaro, and retired into the Modenese, no sooner heard of that general's march towards the Appennines, than he sent several detachments to incommode his route, who did great execution up-

on his rear. However, the Spanish general, with infinite trouble, penetrated through the mountains: but if any snow or rain had fallen during their march, the whole army must have inevitably perished before they had entered the territories of Lucca, where they arrived the tenth of May. The republic of Lucca, notwithstanding its avowed neutrality, was compelled to receive the Spanish general with civility, and even to furnish him with provisions.

Count Gages then proceeded by the eastern coast of Genoa to Leftrade Levant, while duke Philip, who had by this time received very considerable reinforcements from Catalonia, was permitted by the republic to approach through the western part of their dominions; and the two armies at length completed their junction on the fourteenth day of June, within a few miles of Genoa, where they encamped, and then consisted of sixty-eight thousand men. Soon after, the Genoese declared war against the king of Sardinia, and joined the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan forces with ten thousand men, and a large train of heavy artillery. Meanwhile, prince Lobkowitz departed from Modena, and encamped at Parma; but being recalled to serve in Bohemia, he was succeeded by count Schuylemberg, who made the best dispositions for defending the Milanese, the Parmesan, and the Plaisantin.

Don Philip, assisted by marshal Maillebois with forty thousand French and Spaniards, was to penetrate into the Milanese, and act against the king of Sardinia, who was posted with twenty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, while the duke of Modena and count Gages, with thirty-eight thousand men, acted against count Schuylemberg, who had assembled twenty-five thousand. Count Gages soon opened himself a passage into the Milanese by the reduction of Serravalle, and advancing on the side of Placentia, obliged the Austrian general to retire under the cannon of Tortona, to preserve a communication with the king of Sardinia. Don Philip, on his side, took possession of Acqui, Seva, and some other places, which opened a passage to Alexandria, where the Austrians and Piedmontese had united their force; but his Sardinian majesty and count Schuylemberg finding they were in danger of being inclosed between the two Spanish generals, retired beyond the Tanaro in the middle of July, wholly unable to resist the progress of the enemy.

Count de Gages then laid siege to and reduced Tortona, while the duke of Modena made himself master of the cities of Parma and Placentia, and recovered the dominions of the house of Farnese. Count de Gages, after the reduction of Tortona, took the city of Pavia by escalade; the rich city of Milan submitted to the Infant, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel. The Spanish general then marched to reinforce the army under Don Philip, who being now at the head of sixty-two thousand men, forced the passage of the Tanaro, and obliged his Sardinian majesty to quit the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and take shelter at Valenza, the capital of the Laumelin, on the other side of the Po.

The army of the three crowns finding nothing to oppose it, marched and laid siege to Alexandria, a considerable town on the Tanaro, which was surrendered within twelve days after its being invested.

invested. In the mean time, prince Lichtenstein was sent to take the command of the Austrian army in Italy, in the room of Schuylemberg: but all this new general or the king of Sardinia could do was to remain inactive spectators of the rapid successes that attended the arms of the Spaniards. Valenza Casal, the capital of the Montferrat, the important town of Asti, the castle of Gabiano, and Verrue, all fell into their hands with very little trouble; and in a word all Piedmont on both sides of the Po, almost as far as Turin, was reduced, and that capital threatened with a siege; so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the house of Austria in Italy were wholly subdued, and the king of Sardinia stripped of all his dominions. Nevertheless, he continued firm to his engagements, and refused to hearken to the specious proposals of the French for a separate accommodation.

The English navy in the course of this year performed several signal services. In the Mediterranean admiral Rowley had succeeded Mr. Matthews in the command. He had bombarded Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, and made prizes of several Spanish ships. The English privateers likewise met with remarkable success; but the most important achievement, and that most worthy of historical notice, was the reduction of Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton in North America, a place of great consequence, and which the French had fortified at an immense expence.

Cape Breton is an island of North America, in the Atlantic Ocean, separated from Acadia, or New Scotland, by the narrow streight of Canso. It is about one hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth, situate between forty-five and forty-eight degrees north latitude, and between sixty-one and sixty-two degrees west longitude. It is a country which produces hardly any corn or grass, but large quantities of wood; is excessively cold, being covered with snow in winter, and subject to great fogs even in summer. It has, however, several good harbours, with an excellent fishery on the coast. The knowlege which the French had of the great benefit of this fishery, conjunctly with those of the Banks of Newfoundland and on the coast of Acadia, and the hopes of one time monopolizing it made them, at the peace of Utrecht, stick at no terms to obtain Cape Breton to themselves: and they had no sooner effected this, but they immediately began to settle the island, to which they gave the name of l'Isle Royale. A new colony was set on foot in 1714, to consist of fishermen only: proper encouragement was given for establishing the settlement, forts were erected, and the town of Louisburg was built, and a garrison posted there for the protection of the island. The whole nation of France seemed to have their wishes entirely bent on the prosperity of this valuable colony; so that it annually became more populous, and the fishery flourished so fast, that they could and did afford to undersell the British nation at foreign markets. For the preservation of this trade the colony had yearly reinforcements and ships of war sent there from France, to visit and supply them, with orders to protect and defend not only their sea-coasts, but their vessels on the Banks of Newfoundland. This gave them a liberty of fish-

ing almost wherever they pleased, in which they gradually increased, so as to put the island in a formidable posture of defence.

The scheme of reducing this island is said to have been first suggested by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of admiralty in New England. It was recommended by their general assembly to our ministry here at home, and was approved by his majesty, who sent orders to commodore (afterwards sir Peter) Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and assist all in his power the forces of New England in this expedition.

A body of six thousand men was raised by the colonists themselves, and put under the conduct of Mr. Pepperell, a trader of Piscataqua, whose interest in that country was very considerable. He was indeed altogether ignorant of the military art; but this defect was amply made up by his amazing courage and resolution. In April this year Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war; and the troops of New England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape Breton, and landed on the thirtieth of the month in Gabaron Bay, about four miles from the fort of Louisburg. The ground between the place of landing and the ramparts of the town was extremely boggy, unequal, and almost impassable; but the assailants surmounted all these difficulties, and formed two several camps, which were to direct two different attacks. The one played from the south side of the harbour directly upon the town, and the other from the north part of it, to silence what was called the grand battery, which mounted thirty-five guns, of forty-two pounders each, and commanded the entry and the bay. Besides these, the enemy had a draw-bridge at the western gate of the town, where was a circular battery of sixteen guns, twenty-four pounders each, commanding the upper part of the harbour; at the mouth of which was the island battery, of thirty-four guns, forty-two pounders. The walls, ramparts, and bastions of the place, mounted sixty-four guns, besides sixteen large mortars; and the garrison consisted of twelve hundred regulars, under monsieur Chambon, the governor.

Dismaying as it might have been supposed such a formidable appearance of defence would be to raw and unexperienced troops; yet the New England men proved on this occasion, that natural courage and intrepidity may well supply the place of military knowlege or experience: they waited but for the commands of their leaders to fly to execute them, however dangerous or precarious: they assailed the grand battery with such vigour and resolution, that they compelled the enemy to abandon it; and the immediate seizure of it contributed not a little to the success of the enterprize. This passed on the northern side of the harbour; but the grand approaches were carried on upon the southern side, while the fleet blocked up the place by sea in such a manner as to prevent the introduction of any supplies. The Vigilante, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns, with several smaller vessels, carrying all manner of military and other stores for the service of the place, were intercepted by part of the commodore's squadron, while at the same time the camps of the besiegers were plentifully supplied with provisions from Boston.

Boston. The service on the southern side of the town was extremely laborious, the guns for mounting the batteries being dragged through bogs and incumbered places by the landsmen for above two miles. They succeeded, however, to admiration; and having erected several batteries on eminences that commanded the whole town, which they laid in ruin by their bombs and bullets, the governor, despairing of relief, capitulated on the fifteenth day of June, when the city of Louisburg and the isle of Cape Breton were delivered up to his Britannic majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged not to bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were conveyed to Rochfort in France. The natives of New England acquired great glory from this enterprize; the success of which, however, was in no small degree owing to the vigilance and activity of commodore Warren, as brave and experienced an officer as Great Britain could boast in her service.

The possession of Cape Breton was a most valuable acquisition to Great Britain: it not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but also effectually secured the English fishers on the Banks of Newfoundland from all apprehensions of being rivalled or encroached upon in that lucrative branch of trade: it freed New England from the terrors of dangerous neighbours; overawed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. His majesty appeared so sensible of the important service done him both by the land and sea commanders on this occasion, that he was pleased to confer the dignity of a baronet on Mr. Pepperell, and to raise Mr. Warren to the rank of admiral.

While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to several vicissitudes of fortune, Great Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels by a rebellion, the most daring, and, considering the little encouragement it met with, the most alarming of any that appears in the English annals; a rebellion which was as fatal in its event, as it was prosperous in its commencement; and which, notwithstanding its occasioning some few calamities, confirmed in the hand of the sovereign the sceptre it meant to shake.

As the various incidents which occurred while this rebellion lasted are recent in the minds of most of my readers, and are transmitted in a number of histories, some of which are in almost every body's hand, I shall not swell this work with a minute detail of particulars, but content myself with giving a brief and impartial account of the most material and interesting circumstances, which I shall carry down, without any interruption, to its conclusion in 1746.

I have already mentioned the miscarriage of the invasion projected in 1744; the ill success of which, and the unanimity the British nation then shewed in defending the person and government of the reigning monarch, had determined the pretender to lay aside all thoughts of resuming an enterprize of that nature; and he had even ordered his son Charles to follow his example. Charles, however, was of a different opinion from his father: burning with ambition, and animated with the hopes of ascending a throne, which he had from his

infancy been taught to look upon as the right of his family, he resolved to make one more effort. In this disposition he was encouraged by the extravagant representations of some needy fugitives, and by the persuasion of cardinal Tencin, the prime minister of France, who assured him of the most Christian king's protection and assistance, who, though he entertained a great indifference for the Stuart family, thought it politic, in the present situation of his own affairs, to give them some kind of countenance. Tencin had no small difficulty to persuade the old pretender to be concerned in this scheme. At last, however, he succeeded, but could never bring the rest of the French ministry to be of his opinion, they looking upon the whole to be an idle Quixotic enterprize. Nevertheless, in compliance with the seeming will of their monarch, the council determined that a ship of war should convoy Charles, in case he should chuse to undertake the enterprize.

Charles appears to have founded his hopes of success chiefly on the strength of his own personal interest and qualifications, in which he had been flattered by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition, and boldly assured him that the majority of the English nation was disaffected to the reigning family; and that the most considerable persons in the kingdom would cheerfully join him upon his first appearance. Cajoled by these soothing tales, and encouraged by the promise of powerful succours from France, he thought he had but to set his foot on any part of the British shore, and to succeed. Being furnished with a sum of money and a supply of arms by the court of Versailles, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Lazaro, on the coast of Brittany, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine and sir Thomas Sheridan, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers; and setting sail on the fourteenth day of July, was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war of sixty-six guns, as his convoy. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land on the western coast of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an English man of war of fifty-eight guns, commanded by captain Brett, who had been lieutenant of the Centurion under commodore Anson, a very obstinate battle ensued; and the Elizabeth being at length disabled, was obliged to return to Brest, while the frigate escaped, and continued her course so expeditiously, that on the 23d of July the young pretender found himself among the western isles of Scotland, where he continued cruizing till the twenty-sixth, between the islands of Barra and South Vista; but finding there was no probability of being rejoined by the Elizabeth, the frigate at last stood in for the coast of Lochaber, one of the maritime counties in the north-west of Scotland, principally inhabited by papists, and on the twenty-seventh of July landed the young pretender with his companions at Moidart, between the islands of Sky and Mull. The young adventurer went immediately to the house of Mr. Macdonald, of Kinloch-Moidart, where he remained for some time, before he was in any condition to make a public appearance.

While he was remaining in these parts, to wait the coming in of the chieftains of the clans affected to his service, the government received notice of such an attempt, aided by the French court; and

and a proclamation was published, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds for the apprehending and securing the eldest son of the pretender, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in any of his majesty's dominions. The regency also sent arms for the militia of Scotland and Ireland; but at the first beginning of the rebellion all intelligence of such an attempt was discredited, because it appeared too vain and audacious.

His Britannic majesty was in his German dominions when he received the first intelligence of the arrival of the young pretender in Scotland, which occasioned his immediate return to London, where he arrived on the thirty-first of August, to the great satisfaction of all his faithful subjects, who knew how seasonable his royal presence was at this juncture. Charles having declared himself in Scotland, soon found his party considerably augmented, both by the accession of several of the nobility and gentry, and the numbers they conducted to his standard; so that his army was quickly increased to 4000 men. In short, the rebellion soon wore too formidable an aspect to be disregarded. On September 5, his majesty sent notice to the lord-mayor of London (sir Henry Marshal) that the pretender's eldest son had landed in Scotland, and that several persons had assembled there, and broke out into open rebellion; upon which the city of London waited upon his majesty with a most loyal address, and the merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence. Orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness, to array the militia of Westminster, and instructions were sent to the same effect to the lords lieutenants of the several counties throughout the kingdom. Orders were likewise issued for the return of the three battalions of the foot-guards and seven regiments of foot from Flanders; and requisition was made of the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries.

Upon the first certainty of the young pretender's arrival in Scotland, sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what forces he could get together, and advanced against the rebels. The latter, however, found means to give Cope the slip; and marching southward, took possession of Perth on the fourth of September, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain, by the name of James III. There his son, the young adventurer, was joined by the titular duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallern, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers; and the rebel army, now augmented to near five thousand men, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, of which they took possession on the seventeenth of September, all opposition to them hitherto being weakly or wickedly managed.

By this time general Cope, who had, for greater expedition, in his return southward after the rebels, embarked his troops, was arrived at Dunbar, eighteen miles east of Edinburgh; and having landed his forces, and received a reinforcement of two regiments of dragoons which he had left behind him on his going northward, began his march towards that capital. The rebels did not wait to be attacked by him, but came out to meet him; and on the twenty-first of September, at day-break,

they set upon his little army at Preston-pans, seven miles east of Edinburgh, and totally defeated it, making most of his infantry prisoners. The dragoons made their escape to Berwick with little loss, save that of the brave colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. From this victory the young pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was supplied with a train of field artillery and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers.

These advantages spread a general consternation throughout England; but all orders and ranks vied with each other in displaying their loyalty. Several noblemen raised regiments at their own expence (which however were afterwards paid for by the public) and many associations were entered into for the support of his majesty's crown and dignity, and the constitution in church and state. The success of the rebellion, and dread of a threatened invasion from France, having caused a great run upon the Bank, above eleven hundred merchants and eminent tradesmen met, and subscribed their names to an agreement not to refuse Bank notes in any payment to be made to them. In Ireland every vigorous and salutary method was also pursued, to prevent any abetting of the rebellion there by the friends of France and popery; and a reward of fifty thousand pounds was published, in pursuance of the address of the Irish parliament, for apprehending the pretender's eldest son. It must also be observed, that although the rebels had made themselves masters of Edinburgh, yet the castle, which is a very strong fortress, was secured by general Gueft, an officer of experience and capacity, who had a good garrison under him; and upon the first news of the rebels advancing towards the city, he had taken care to secure all the small arms he could lay hold of, which, with the money of the two Banks, were removed into the castle. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, the six thousand Dutch troops, and three battalions of guards, with the seven regiments of infantry, now arrived from Flanders, were ordered to begin their march northward, under the command of field-marshal Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which marched to Newcastle; but the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue that the English veterans had undergone in the campaign in the Netherlands, occasioned a general indisposition and a great mortality among the men. This obliged the marshal to continue at Newcastle, where his army was gradually reinforced by several new-raised regiments of volunteers to 14,000 men.

The parliament meeting on the sixteenth of October, his majesty made a speech to both houses, in which he gave them to understand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland; and that he relied upon their affections to him, and their care and concern for the public safety, to take such steps as might enable him to extinguish this rebellion effectually, to prevent any foreign power from assisting the rebels, and to restore the peace of the kingdom. Both houses returned the most dutiful and zealous addresses to his majesty; so that the whole southern part of the united kingdom

was

was preparing for defence. A general sense of the national danger had diffused itself through every rank of people, and united them as one man, to repel the common calamity with which they were threatened. The commons suspended the Habeas Corpus act; and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruizers took several ships carrying soldiers, officers, and ammunition, for the service of the young pretender in Scotland.

This enterprising youth, after having made some unsuccessful attempts to cut off the communication between the castle and city of Edinburgh; and finding his army now increased to eight thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the west border, on the sixth day of November: on the twelfth he invested Carlisle, which surrendered in less than three days. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Great Britain. Field-marshal Wade had indeed put himself in march to relieve the place; but when he had advanced as far as Hexham he heard of its surrender. On the twenty-fourth the rebels, without any molestation, arrived at Lancaster, and on the twenty-ninth took possession of Manchester, where they formed a regiment of those who had joined them in England, giving the command thereof to Mr. Townley.

By this time the duke of Cumberland was arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. On the twenty-sixth of November his royal highness set out to take upon him the command of the army, then on its march into Lancashire. In the beginning of December the rebels left Manchester, passed the river Mersey, and advanced to Congleton, as if they intended to meet and engage the duke, whose advanced guard was then at Newcastle-Under-Line; but suddenly they turned off to the left, and marched into Derby, seeming to have an intention to slip by the duke, and take their way directly to London, where, when the news arrived, it occasioned inexpressible consternation. The troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were ordered to march, and form a camp upon Finchley common. The run upon the Bank grew more pressing, and all the public funds fell in their prices. On the fourth of December the rebels entered Derby; and soon after, contrary to all expectation, began to retreat northward by the route they came. As soon as his royal highness the duke got notice of their retreat, he set out in pursuit of them with all the cavalry in his army, and one thousand of his infantry, mounted on such horses as the country afforded. Marshal Wade,

who had marched southward as far as Wakefield after the rebels, detached a considerable body of horse, under the command of major-general Oglethorpe, for the same purpose, and returned with the rest of his army to Newcastle. On the eighteenth of December the duke came up with the rear of the rebels at Clifton in Northumberland, and after a smart attack drove them from the village with some loss. On the thirtieth his royal highness retook Carlisle, after a siege of nine days, making their rebel garrison prisoners, their main army having now reached Scotland: the duke then returned to London. Thus the matter stood at the close of the year 1745.

On the fifth of January, 1746, the rebels, who had been some time before reinforced by a small body of French and Irish under the duke of Perth, who had a commission as general of those auxiliaries, closely invested the castle of Stirling*, in which major-general Blakeney commanded: but being so very little used to enterprizes of this kind, they made little progress in their operations. By this time a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of lieutenant-general Hawley, who resolved to relieve Stirling castle, and advanced to Linlithgow, on the thirteenth day of January. Next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels lay encamped at Torwood. On the seventeenth they marched to attack the king's forces; and an engagement was fought on Falkirk moor, in which the forces under Hawley, though much superior in numbers to the rebels, were shamefully defeated, and Hawley retreated to Linlithgow, and the next day to Edinburgh, leaving part of his tents and artillery to the victors, who resumed their attempt against Stirling-castle.

Upon this misfortune at Falkirk, it was thought expedient that the duke of Cumberland should take upon him the command of the army in Scotland. His royal highness accordingly hastened thither, and put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and fifteen hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell. On the last day of January his royal highness began his march towards Stirling; but the rebels, instead of waiting for him, retired with the greatest precipitation northward; the duke, with the royal army, following them as fast as the season, and excessive bad roads, would permit. He did not arrive at Aberdeen, however, till the twenty-seventh of February. The Hessians under their hereditary prince arrived on the eighth at Edinburgh; for the Dutch troops, it was now discovered, could not act, as they consisted of part of the garrisons of Menin, Ypres, &c. which had engaged not to serve against France; and accordingly they were soon after sent home.

* Sterling, Stirling, or Striveling, the capital of a county of the same name in Scotland, and a royal burgh, stands on the declivity of a steep rock, at the foot of which runs the river Forth, with a strong castle inclosed with a wall, except towards the north, where it is bounded by the Forth, which is crossed by a bridge of hewn stone. This castle commands the passes be-

tween the north and south of Scotland, was the residence of Scottish kings, and parliaments were formerly held here. The Highlanders in the rebellion of 1715 endeavoured to possess themselves of this castle, but were prevented by the late John duke of Argyll. Stirling lies thirty miles north-west of Edinburgh.

Mean while, the rebels reduced the castle of Inverness and Fort Augustus, and laid siege to Fort William, and Blair-castle of Athol, but failed in both those attempts. They had the advantage in several skirmishes with the king's troops in the Highlands, which however was counterbalanced by the loss they sustained in the capture of their ship the Prince Charles (formerly the Hazard sloop, surprized by them in the harbour of Montrose) which they had fitted out and sent to France for money and arms; in her return with which she was seized by a party of lord Loudoun's men, with all her crew and cargo. The duke was obliged to wait at Aberdeen for a reinforcement from England, and till the river Spey should become fordable; the Hessians, with some British regiments, taking post at Perth.

On the eighth of April his royal highness, with the army under his command, marched from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth passed the Spey without opposition, the rebels retiring upon his approach, though they might easily have obstructed his passage: but indeed, from this, and many other parts of their conduct, they appear to have been under a total infatuation. His royal highness then proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. In the mean while, the earl of Cromartie and his son, who, with two hundred and eighty of their men, had been in Caithness to raise money and recruits for the rebels, were attacked by the earl of Sutherland's militia, routed, and Cromartie and his son, eighteen officers, and one hundred and eighty-five private men made prisoners.

While the duke was resting in his camp at Nairn to refresh his men, the rebels, in the night of the fifteenth, marched with an intention to attack the royal army by surprize before day-light; but their design proved abortive, by reason of some mismanagement amongst them; whereupon they returned to Culloden, resolving in that station to wait for the duke, who on the sixteenth of April decamped from Nairn early in the morning; and after a march of nine miles, perceived the rebels drawn up in order of battle, to the number of five thousand only, as they had not been able to assemble all their forces together, for want of money and provisions. The royal army, which was much more numerous, much better clothed, fed, and disciplined, was drawn up in excellent order, and about two o'clock in the afternoon the engagement began.

The rebels, with their usual fury, attacked the left wing of the royal army, by which some regiments of the first line were put into disorder: but those regiments being supported by the second line, and the right wing of the rebel army not being properly supported by their left, the whole fell into confusion; and his royal highness obtained a complete victory, with a very small loss. Twelve hundred rebels were slain on the field and in the pursuit; and the road, as far as Inverness, was strewn with dead bodies. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the field of battle; the lord Balmerino surrendered himself a few days after; the marquis of Tullibardine followed his example:

but the most extraordinary part of the prisoners were four ladies, who had been very instrumental in procuring friends for the Pretender, and one of them in particular, the lady Mackintosh, though her husband was at that time an officer in the king's army, had forced a great many of her clan to join the young pretender.

The victory of Culloden put a final end to the rebellion; but the duke continued with the army some time, to give proper orders for securing the tranquillity of the country, till having received the submission of almost all the clans and chieftains, he returned at length to London, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people.

As for the vanquished adventurer, upon his retreat from the field of battle, he had a conference with some of his principal adherents; but finding his affairs desperate, he desired each of them to consult his own safety, while he himself, assuming various disguises, wandered from place to place among the mountains and western islands, often without any attendant, till two ships sent on purpose from France to the coast, took him and about thirty of his followers on board, and landed him about the middle of August at Rescourt, near Morlaix in Brittany, after he had endured, for near four months, a series of greater hardships and calamities than perhaps any other person ever survived.

The rebellion thus happily terminated, and peace and security restored to these kingdoms, addresses poured in from all quarters to his majesty, felicitating him upon the success of his arms, in support of his rightful and just cause, against the insolent attempts of a proscribed popish pretender. The two houses of parliament led the way in these congratulations, and also voted their thanks to his royal highness for his great and eminent services, and soon after settled twenty-five thousand pounds per annum on him and his male-issue.

It was now necessary, that those who had violated their fidelity and allegiance to their sovereign, and involved their country in such calamity and confusion, should expiate their crimes, by satisfying the demands of national justice: the sacrifices made to this claim, however, were as few as could be expected. An act was passed for attaining the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie; and the lords Balmerino and Lovat were tried, and found guilty by their peers. Cromartie was afterwards pardoned as to life, and Kilmarnock and Balmerino were beheaded on Tower-hill the eighteenth of August. Lovat underwent the same punishment the spring of the succeeding year. Charles Ratcliffe, esquire, commonly called the earl of Derwentwater, was also beheaded on the eighth of December, by a rule of the court of King's Bench, in pursuance of a sentence passed upon him in 1715, for being concerned in the rebellion in that year. As to the inferior agents in that unnatural attempt, a very inconsiderable number were executed, but a much greater transported to America; and notwithstanding all the outcries of Jacobitism, strict justice demands the acknowledgement, that no government ever shewed more mercy on such an occasion. A public thanksgiving was held on the ninth of October for the suppression of the rebellion, which was observed with every species of public rejoicings that a grateful people could exhibit.

Having

Having thus connected into one view what relates to the rise, progress, and extinction of this rebellion, I shall now take a retrospect of the other remarkable events, as well foreign as domestic, of the year 1746.

We have already observed, that his majesty opened the session of parliament on the sixteenth of October, 1745; the primary proceedings of which related only to the domestic affairs concerning the rebellion; but as the suppression of that commotion was speedily expected, the parliament began to give their attention to the general state of Europe; and on the fourteenth of January, 1746, the king went to the house of peers, and in a speech from the throne gave his parliament to understand, that the States-general had made pressing instances for his assistance in the present conjuncture, when they were in such danger of being oppressed by France in the Netherlands: that he had promised to co-operate with them towards opposing the further progress of their enemies, and even concerted measures for that purpose. He declared, that it was with regret that he asked any further aids of his people: he exhorted them to watch over the public credit; and expressed his entire dependence on their zeal and unanimity.

To this speech both houses returned the most loyal addresses, replete with the warmest expressions of duty and affection: but just as the grand affair of the supplies came upon the carpet, a violent commotion happened in the ministry, who, on the tenth of February, were all about to resign their places, as the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Harrington, the two secretaries of state, actually did; and the earl of Granville was appointed pro tempore secretary of state. However, after bringing their royal master to their own terms, the former persons again resumed their several functions; and the quiet of the cabinet being again restored, the house of commons provided for forty thousand seamen, nearly the same number of land forces, besides fifteen regiments raised by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thousand marines. They settled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England, as well as for the subsidy to the landgrave: they granted three hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia; four hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thousand pounds to defray the expence of eighteen thousand Hanoverians; about thirty-three thousand pounds in subsidies to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and five hundred thousand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his majesty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to seven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was raised by the land and malt taxes, annuities on the additional duties imposed on glass, spirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking fund, and exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be granted in the next session of parliament.

With regard to the proceedings of this session, they were so unanimous as scarce to produce a single debate, and therefore are best known by the titles of the acts that were passed. By one of these, the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum was added to the revenue of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, for his gallant be-

haviour in suppressing the rebellion; and the thanks of both houses was voted him upon his gaining the battle of Culloden. By another, the government was empowered to summon all suspected persons in Scotland to appear at Edinburgh, or wherever it should be judged expedient, and oblige them to find sureties for their peaceable deportment. By a third, the earl of Kellie, the viscount Strathallern, the lord Pittligo, and several other Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, were declared attainted, unless they surrendered themselves to a justice of the peace before the twelfth day of July 1746. By a fourth, the exercise of the episcopal religion was prohibited in Scotland, except by such ministers or pastors as qualified themselves according to law, by taking the oaths to the government; an act which was deemed the more necessary, as most of the episcopals in that kingdom were professed Jacobites. A fifth act was passed for effectually disarming the Highlands of Scotland, and preserving the peace of that part of the country; for restraining the use of the Highland dress, which was supposed to keep up party-distinctions; for indemnifying such persons as had acted in defence of his majesty's person and government, during the continuance of the unnatural rebellion; and for obliging the masters and teachers of private schools in Scotland to take the oaths to his majesty, his heirs and successors.

As to the war upon the continent this year, it raged with double violence, notwithstanding the election of an emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire. The acquisitions made by France in the Netherlands after the battle of Fontenoy, were equally dreadful to the surrounding nations, who expected that the remaining part of those important provinces would be speedily over-run. The Dutch in particular were overwhelmed with consternation, as, after all their temporizing and dastardly submissions to the French court, they saw the uplifted arm of the ambitious Lewis ready to tear from them their whole barrier; for, taking advantage of the rebellion in England, which had occasioned the recall of so many of our troops from the Netherlands, he had made a rapid progress in his conquests. His general, M. Saxe, in the beginning of February this year, laid siege to the town of Brussels; and though the place was defended by a garrison of ten thousand men, yet he compelled it to surrender after fifteen days open trenches, and made the garrison prisoners of war: in fine, the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, a few fortresses excepted. The Dutch looked for nothing less than an immediate invasion of their province of Zealand: the Orange party called aloud for an augmentation of their forces; and that the republic, shaking off the lethargy under which it had so long remained, should pursue every vigorous measure to repel the approaching danger: the common people echoed back the cry; they demanded a chief to lead them to the field, and to fix the divided councils of the state; they insisted that the prince of Orange should be made stadtholder, and even mingled menaces with their demands. In this dilemma the States-general sent count Boetslaer to London, to represent the imminent danger which threatened the republic; and to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of his Britannic majesty, that the allies might have

a superiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The king was well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the dissensions in his cabinet, had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy. An answer to this purport was given to the Dutch ambassador. At the same time, the friends of the prince of Orange failed of success in their attempt to get him elected stadtholder; and the command of the few troops that remained for the defence of their country, was conferred on prince Waldeck, a foreigner.

The confederate army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, on the twenty-fourth day of March, by marshal Bathiani, who had only four battalions and nine squadrons of the British troops, thirty-five squadrons of the Dutch, ten battalions and sixteen squadrons of Austrians, with sixteen battalions and twenty-six squadrons of Hanoverians; in all, forty-four thousand men, under his command, though a large reinforcement was speedily expected, when prince Charles of Lorraine was to appear at the head of the army; but till then Bathiani was obliged to entrench his little army behind the Demer, about ten miles from Antwerp, and fourteen from Brussels, where marshal Saxe was assembled with the army of France, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men. The French, with their monarch at their head, took the field on the 24th of April, and immediately bent their march towards the confederates; and on the first of May obliged them to abandon their advantageous situation, and to retire to Antwerp, from whence they were also obliged to recede on the sixth of May, when they retreated to Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, after leaving a garrison of two thousand men in Antwerp.

The French king immediately invested this place, which, unable to stop the progress of such a formidable force, surrendered on the ninth of May; but the citadel sustained a siege of seven days, when the garrison submitted on honourable terms. Encouraged by this success, Lewis ordered the prince of Conti to invest Mons with a strong detachment, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and eighty mortars. Though the garrison consisted not of more than four thousand men, they continued for some time to make a resolute defence; but on the twenty-seventh day of July were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The reduction of Mons was followed by that of St. Ghislain and Charleroi. By the taking of these places the French monarch found himself absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault; and now he issued an edict, re-annexing to his crown for ever that part which formerly belonged to them by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and which the French had been constrained to relinquish by the treaty of Utrecht; and his majesty granted the administration of the re-united country to monsieur Gerardine.

All this time the allies continued impotent spectators of the rapid conquests of the enemy, who had now only one formidable town from the sea to the bishopric of Liege, unreduced by their army: this was Namur, capital of the province of that name, situate at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese; and this place they were determined to

bring to their obedience. The confederate army, however, being at length reinforced by the Hessian troops from Scotland, and a fresh body of Austrians under count Palfi, so as to amount in the whole to about eighty thousand men; they resolved to take the field, and make head against the enemy. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had now taken the command, foreseeing the storm that was preparing against Namur, came to the resolution of marching to the protection of that important city, and on the eighteenth day of July took post in an advantageous situation in that neighbourhood, and in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours.

Here he continued till the eighth of August, when a detachment of the enemy, under count Lowendahl, seized upon Huy, where they found a large magazine belonging to the confederates, whose communication with Maestricht was thus cut off: upon which prince Charles found himself under the necessity of quitting his advantageous post, of abandoning Namur to its own strength, and retiring on the north side of the Maese, to draw his supplies of provision and forage from the duchies of Limberg and Luxemburg. Namur was immediately invested by thirty-five thousand French, under the count de Clermont, who caused the trenches to be opened on the second of September; and on the twenty-third the French, after the loss of four thousand men (from the vigorous defence made by the Austrian garrison) took possession of this important city. Mean while, the allied army lay posted at Maestricht, where they were joined by sir John Ligonier, with three British battalions, and by two battalions of Bavarians, being a part of five thousand men which that elector, since his accommodation with the queen of Hungary, had granted to be taken into the pay of the confederates. Prince Charles then resolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he crossed the Maese, and advanced towards them: but marshal Saxe, apprised of his design, had posted himself so advantageously at Tongres, twelve miles from Liege, that the confederates were obliged to return to Maestricht. But marshal Saxe being reinforced by the body of troops under the count de Clermont, after the reduction of Namur, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement, who had repassed the river Jaar in their retreat. He accordingly crossed that river after them on the tenth of October, N. S. encamping within a league of them, who were now convinced of the marshal's intention to attack them; and therefore taking possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, the confederate generals drew up their forces in order of battle.

The French advanced in three columns, with a large train of artillery in their front; and about noon a terrible cannonading began, which lasted till two, with great execution on both sides. Prince Waldeck, who commanded the left wing, was then attacked with great fury, and after an obstinate resistance, obliged to give way. The villages were assaulted in columns by brigades, who were continually replaced as they were repulsed by those who were posted there; till at length, superiority of numbers prevailing, the allies were constrained to abandon those posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, among whom, however, were reckoned very few officers; and

and the French purchased the honour of the day at an expensive rate, having lost upwards of nine thousand men in the action, with a great number of eminent officers, and without obtaining any material advantage, since they could not prevent the confederates from making good their retreat to Maestricht. With this battle the campaign closed in the Netherlands. The allies passed the Maese, and took up their winter-quarters in the duchies of Limberg and Luxemburg, and the country along the Lower Maese, while the French disposed of their troops in their newly-conquered places.

In Italy victory changed sides this campaign; after having favoured the combined army of France and Spain, she now declared herself for the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. By the peace of Dresden, which the court of Vienna had concluded with the king of Prussia, it had been enabled to send, without interruption, several large reinforcements to the troops in Lombardy, which turned the balance on the side of the empress queen: prince Lichtenstein was at the head of 40000 Austrians, his Sardinian Majesty commanded a body of 36000 of his own troops, while the joint armies of France and Spain, including the duke of Modena's troops, did not amount, in the whole, to above 73000 men. The timely arrival of succours from Germany, to make a powerful diversion on the side of the Mantuan, obliged the French and Spanish generals to bend their force to that quarter; and this not only relieved the city of Turin from a bombardment, with which it was threatened, but encouraged his Sardinian majesty to open the campaign with new spirit and resolution. In February, baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese general, invested and took the strong fortress of Asti; he afterwards obliged the Spaniards to retire from before the citadel of Alexandria, which they had kept blockaded all the winter, and made 1000 of them prisoners in this town. Casal fell next into his hands, and he recovered Valenza; whereupon M. Maillebois retired with the remainder of his forces from Tortona, into the neighbourhood of Genoa, by which all the Montferrat was freed from an enemy.

Don Philip met with equal disgraces on his side, being obliged to abandon Milan, the capital of his projected empire, on the 8th of March, and to retire to Pavia, whither he was closely followed by prince Lichtenstein, who had sent a detachment to retake Guastalla, which was immediately recovered; and the marquis of Castellaer having abandoned Parma, that city, with its artillery, and a large magazine, fell into the hands of the Austrians. Don Philip and count Gages, alarmed at the near approach of the enemy, retired under the cannon of Placentia, where they were joined, on the 3d of June, by the French forces under Maillebois, and by the little detached army under Castellaer.

In the mean time, his Sardinian majesty, having recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses, and driven Maillebois into the Milanese, entered that duchy, to invade the territories of Genoa; where, on the 31st of May, he reduced Novi, 25 miles north from Genoa, and then advanced towards the Po, with an intention to join the Austrians, and bring the Spaniards and their auxiliaries to an engagement. Before this junction could be effected, however, the army of the three crowns attacked the Austrians in their camp at St. Lazaro, which brought on a most desperate battle, in which

Count de Gages and M. Maillebois acquitted themselves with the greatest intrepidity, and had actually forced the entrance into the Austrian intrenchments, and seized some cannon which defended the lines; yet it all proved ineffectual; the better fortune of the Austrians prevailed, the combined forces were routed, and fled with the utmost precipitation to Placentia, whither the victors did not think proper to pursue them. The combined forces had nine thousand men killed and wounded, and near six thousand taken prisoners, while the Austrians lost only four thousand three hundred men.

A short time after the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese, the king of Sardinia assumed the chief command, and prince Lichtenstein being obliged to quit the army, to recover his health, was replaced by the marquis de Botta. Gages and Maillebois, leaving the marquis de Castellaer with four hundred men, to defend Placentia, intrenched themselves between the Lambro and the Adda: from this post his Sardinian majesty, who was now at the head of sixty-four thousand men, resolved to dislodge them; which he accordingly effected by the battle of Rotto Freddo, fought on the ninth day of August, when the enemy was obliged to retreat, in great disorder, to Tortona, with the loss of eight thousand men, a considerable number of colours and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. The Austrians however suffered considerably, having four thousand men killed outright, among whom was the gallant general Bernklau. Immediately upon this victory Placentia surrendered, and its garrison of nine thousand men were made prisoners of war. Don Philip continued his retreat into the territories of Genoa; but his army was, by this time, reduced to less than thirty thousand men: so that, unable to maintain his ground, he put his troops again into motion, and returned into Provence. The court of Madrid, enraged at the ill success of its arms, and thinking, by changing its general, to change its fortune, recalled count Gages from the command of the Spanish forces, which was again bestowed upon the marquis de las Minas.

In the mean time, the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa, on the fourth day of December: the senate finding itself abandoned by its allies, and unable to make any resistance, were obliged to deliver up the gates of their city to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition. The marquis de Botta was left in the subjected city, with sixteen hundred men; but this general, exacting the most severe contributions, and otherwise behaving in a haughty, and even cruel manner to this subjected people, irritated beyond farther sufferance, they flew to arms; and being joined by the peasants of all the neighbouring villages, and privately instigated and encouraged by the senate, they became so formidable, as, in a few days, to drive the Austrians out of the territories of the republic, after having killed and made prisoners great numbers. On the other hand, marshal Brown, with an Austrian army, passed the river Var, and took possession of Venice, the first town on that side in France. The French troops under M. Belleisle, who had been sent to supersede Maillebois, in their retreat, made the whole country a desert.

During these transactions, an event happened, which had some influence on the affairs of Europe; this

this was the death of Philip of Spain, in the sixty-third year of his age. He had received, a little before his death, a letter from count Gages, with an account of the battle of San Lazaro; the loss of which, that general attributed to the peremptory orders which had been sent him from the court of Madrid, where the queen of Spain managed every thing as she pleased; and this circumstance, it was supposed, hastened the king's end. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Maria Louisa Gabriela, sister to the king of Sardinia. The same month (July) was remarkable for the death of Christian VI. king of Denmark, who was succeeded by his son Frederick V. who had married the princess Louisa, youngest daughter to king George II.

The naval transactions of this year redounded very little to the honour of the British nation. The reader may remember, that commodore Barnet was sent in the year 1744 with a squadron to the East Indies, where he made some considerable captures: upon the intelligence of which, the French monarch granted a commission to monsieur de la Bourdonnais, who had the command of a French squadron in those parts, constituting him commander in chief, as well of the ships of war belonging to France in those seas, as of those belonging to their East India company. Monsieur de la Bourdonnais having received this commission, applied his whole attention how to oppress the British company; and as the most effectual way determined to attempt the reduction of Madras or Fort St. George. Barnet, the English commodore, died in the Indies, and was succeeded in command by captain Peyton, who had under him six ships of war, from sixty to forty guns, which was more than a match for the French commodore. Nevertheless, upon the latter's appearing before Madras, Peyton declined an engagement, and abandoned that important settlement, which was taken without opposition by la Bourdonnais in the beginning of September. The French afterwards made an attempt upon St. David's, another of our settlements in the East Indies; but by the valour of the garrison, and the arrival of commodore Griffin from Europe, with a strong reinforcement of ships of war, the enemy were obliged to abandon their enterprize.

Nothing of importance happened in America this year, though it was a scene that seemed to promise the greatest success to the arms of England. Indeed our ministry, encouraged by the reduction of Cape Breton, had projected the conquest of Quebec, the capital of Canada, situate on the river St. Laurence. With this view a powerful squadron was fitted out at Portsmouth in the beginning of April, and commissions were sent to the governors of the British colonies in North America, empowering them to raise companies to join the armament from England, which was to be commanded by admiral Lestock and general Sinclair; but by some unaccountable delays, the departure of the fleet was postponed till it was no longer the season to risque the great ships on the boisterous coast of North America. On the other hand, the court of Versailles were as little successful in their operations by sea; for having sent a formidable squadron, under the duke d'Anville, with three thousand land-forces on board, to the West

Indies, as a convoy to a large fleet of merchant ships bound to that part of the world, and afterwards to undertake somewhat of importance against our settlements in North America, they met with such storms, and were afflicted with such a sickness, upon their voyage to Chebucto harbour in Nova Scotia, where they cast anchor on the sixteenth of September, that they could undertake nothing, and returned in a shattered and miserable condition to Europe, after having lost the duke their chief commander.

The British ministry, not willing that the expensive armament they had fitted out for the reduction of Quebec, should be wholly useless to the nation, resolved it should attempt a descent upon the coast of Brittany; if possible, to make themselves masters of port l'Orient, the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East-India company. The squadrons destined for this expedition, consisted of sixteen great ships, eight frigates, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by Richard Lestock, Esq; who, since his acquittal by his court-martial, had been made admiral of the blue; eight battalions of land troops, with a detachment of matrosses and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of lieutenant general St. Clair; and the whole sailed from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September, steering directly for the coast of Brittany, which they made on the seventeenth, and at night anchored in the road of Polduc.

The appearance of so numerous a fleet, occasioned unspeakable terror among the inhabitants of the coast, as the best of its militia had been either sent to Flanders and Italy, or to America, with the duke d'Anville; so that if the British forces had immediately landed, nothing could have prevented their surprising the city of Port l'Orient; but as they did not make their descent till the twentieth, in the afternoon, the French took the advantage of this delay, to put themselves in as good a posture of defence as time and circumstances would allow. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour; new works were raised with surprising expedition; the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were assembled from all parts; so that our forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country. General St. Clair however caused a small battery to be built, and began to open trenches before the place; but the fire from the town was so greatly superior to that of the English, and still continued to encrease; and admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that in such an advanced season of the year, he could not, nor would not, continue with the great ships on that dangerous coast; St. Clair found there was nothing left for him but to retreat, which he effected in good order, and reembarked with his troops on the twenty-eighth. Ashamed, however, to quit the enemy's coast without doing something, the fleet sailed to Quiberon Bay, where they destroyed the Ardent, a French ship of the line, and afterwards made a descent on the peninsula, while the little islands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. This, however, was an enterprize as ill concerted as that against Port l'Orient had been executed; for these being almost desert islands, the taking of them

them could answer no purpose. About the middle of October our fleet sailed from the French coast, and returned to England. Thus this great armament, twice baffled in its enterprizes, produced nothing but blunders and laughter; whereas every other part of the war was too serious and too terrible.

The parliament meeting on the eighteenth of November, the king made a speech to both houses; in which, after taking notice of the signal success which had attended the arms of his good allies the empress-queen and the king of Sardinia in Italy; and that an irruption was now actually making into France, by which that kingdom must be greatly distressed; he acquainted them, that having had some intimations of the enemy being inclined towards a pacification, he, to show his sincere disposition towards the same, had consented to the holding conferences at Breda; but that, in the mean time, he thought it highly necessary to take proper measures for pursuing the war with vigour; and for that purpose, that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be seasonably augmented. He said, he was sorry to be obliged at the same time to acquaint them, that by reason of the unavoidable accidents and consequences of war, the funds appropriated for the support of his civil government had for some years past fallen greatly short of the revenue intended and granted by parliament; and therefore he relied on their known affection to him, to find out some method to make good this deficiency.

The conductors of the former opposition in the house of commons being now almost all of them concerned in, or connected with the administration, that house breathed only the most affectionate and complying addresses, which they enforced with a liberality that almost exceeds the bounds of credibility; for when they came to consider the supply, they voted four hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds to the empress-queen of Hungary, and three hundred thousand to the king of Sardinia: they granted four hundred and ten thousand pounds for eighteen thousand Hanoverians, and one hundred sixty-one thousand six hundred and seven pounds for six thousand Hessians: they continued the subsidies to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and gave five hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to carry on the war with advantage: in a word, the whole of the supply amounted to no less than nine millions four hundred and twenty-five thousand two hundred and fifty-four pounds. This was raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; by transferable annuities, at an interest of four, and a premium of ten per cent. and by new duties on houses and windows, on coaches and wheel-carriages.

The king, in return for this liberality of his commons, and to convince his people in general that he was desirous, by every possible means, to reduce the public expence, sent a message by Mr. Fox, secretary at war, to the house of commons, signifying his majesty's consent to the reduction of three regiments of horse into dragoons, and proposed the disbanding the third and fourth troops of his own life-guards; by which reduction about seventy thousand pounds a-year would be saved to the public; and, in case of necessity, a more numerous body of troops might be furnished for the same money. This proposition was received by

the commons with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and thankfulness, which they expressed by a most loyal and affectionate address. The enemies of England, however, affected to consider this instance of oeconomy in her king as a proof of his inability to prosecute the war: but their rejoicing on this account soon received a deadly damp, on hearing that the commons of Britain, who were chiefly to be affected by the expence, had voluntarily, and almost unanimously, voted a larger sum than had ever been granted in any one year for carrying on the war.

The spirit and zeal in the English parliament were in great measure owing to the pride and arrogance of the court of Versailles. The States-general had received a public memorial in the year 1745 from the French monarch, inviting them to hold a general congress; to which they consented: but the hard and unacceptable conditions proposed by Lewis to their High Mightinesses, rendered the negociation unsuccessful. However, it gave rise to the opening of conferences in this present year, 1746, at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the earl of Sandwich, the British plenipotentiary, and the marquis de Puisieux, the plenipotentiary of France, met count Wassenaer, the Dutch minister, on the eighteenth of September, each of them being commissioned to enter upon a treaty for preventing the calamities of so ruinous a war: the count de Harrach was also sent as a plenipotentiary from the court of Vienna. The conduct of the French, however, soon evinced their little inclination of coming to an accommodation. The first proposal made by the earl of Sandwich was, that a cessation of hostilities should immediately take place: but the French minister would consent to no armistice, without the allies would accept of such conditions as should be dictated by the court of Versailles. He even declared, that he had no power to admit of the title of Imperial majesty, assumed by the court of Vienna, unless his court was indemnified for the extraordinary expences of the war occasioned, he said, by the obstinacy of the queen of Hungary, and unless that princess would give full satisfaction to all the allies of France. He added, that he had instructions to admit of no mention, in the preliminaries, of the house of Stuart as having no right to the crown of Great Britain; because his most Christian majesty would be entirely free and unrestrained in respect to that house. From these arrogant declarations, which were more suitable to an absolute conqueror than a negociator, it evidently appeared that the French were far from being heartily disposed to a peace: on the contrary, they were resolved to try the event of another campaign, during which they hoped they should be able either to draw off the Dutch from their connections with the allies, or at least to make themselves masters of the whole of their country. The conferences therefore immediately broke up, and the ministers returned to their respective courts.

Ferdinand, the new king of Spain, immediately upon his accession to the throne, took such measures as seemed to indicate a disposition to peace, and to promote the felicity of his subjects, by relieving them from all the perplexities of war. He not only manifested a resentment against the French ministers, whom he charged with having

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sacrificed the true interests of his father, but actually made several overtures for terminating the differences between his crown and that of England. The British ministry hereupon sent the marquis de Tabernega, a Spanish nobleman, who was, or pretended to have been, formerly a favourite of the new king, when prince of Asturias, and who had long resided in England, to Madrid, and entrusted him with proposals to his Catholic majesty; but from the course of the proceeding, it did not appear that this nobleman retained the least degree of influence with Ferdinand, or was ever permitted to return into his presence. Nevertheless, the negotiation went so far, that the king of Portugal, as being the most proper power in Europe, undertook the office of mediator, and sir Benjamin Keene was sent to Lisbon on the part of Great Britain; but the influence of the queen-mother and the French party, with whom she acted in the strictest concert, predominated in the councils of the court of Madrid: and this pacific scheme, however promising in appearance, proved in the end abortive.

This disappointment, together with the rejection of a pacification at Breda, seem to have inspired the British cabinet with a more than common martial spirit. The earl of Sandwich was sent to the Hague to settle the contingencies of the war in the most effectual manner, and to bring the Dutch, if possible, to act upon the same plan as was pursued in the confederacy between England, Holland, and the house of Austria, against Lewis XIV. The conclusion of the last campaign, and the arrogance of the French in their late negotiation, had by this time convinced their High Mightinesses, that nothing less than the revival of such a confederacy could oppose the irresistible force of France, or preserve their own liberties. Obligated, therefore, to consult their own security in that of their allies, lord Sandwich found them in a disposition to embrace his proposals, and to adopt the most vigorous and resolute measures; and a convention was entered into, by which Great Britain was to furnish forty thousand men, the States-general the like number, and the empress-queen sixty thousand; in all, one hundred and forty thousand; these were to be exclusive of garrisons: and her Imperial majesty also obliged herself to maintain ten thousand men in the duchy of Luxemburg, to effect a junction of sixty thousand Austrians and thirteen thousand Piedmontese, for the purpose of making an irruption into France on the side of Provence: and, lastly, to employ a separate body of fifty thousand men on the Panaro, to keep in awe the king of the Two Sicilies, who, tho' he had re-embraced his neutrality, still kept a considerable body of troops in pay. The Dutch being at length brought to act with resolution, the duke of Cumberland set out for Holland about the beginning of December, to concert with marshal Bathiani the plan of operations for the next campaign, in which he was to act as commander in chief of the confederate forces.

Before I conclude the events of this year, I must take notice of the dismissal of the gallant admiral Vernon from his majesty's service. The great merits of this naval officer were universally acknowledged; but he had a warmth in his disposition which frequently hurried him into excesses of resentment which in his cooler moments he must certainly have condemned. He had thought himself ill used

in several instances by the board of admiralty, to whom he had therefore set himself in open opposition, and had even, in defiance of their authority, exerted several privileges which belonged alone to that board. The lords commissioners expostulated with him thereupon. Their mildness had the contrary effect from what was intended by it: it begat in the admiral a contempt of their power, who, he thought, were afraid of displacing one so popular as himself. He answered their remonstrances in the most harsh and indecent terms: he even went so far as to publish several letters that had been sent to him from that board, as well as from the ministry; many of which were such as, in strictness of honour, as well as in point of prudence, ought not to have been exposed to view. Such a procedure was certainly not to be overlooked by any government that was willing to retain the least shadow of authority. Mr. Vernon having openly avowed his being the publisher of those letters, the lords of the admiralty were forced to send for him, and to inform him that his majesty had commanded them to strike his name out of the list of the admirals; and the command of the squadron for Channel service was bestowed upon vice-admiral Martin, who was very active in suppressing the French privateers.

It was in this year that the court-martials on the admirals Matthews and Lestock unanimously acquitted the latter, and declared Mr. Matthews incapable of serving in the royal navy for the future. It deserves to be recorded, to the great honour of our constitution, that this court-martial having come to some insulting resolutions upon a process being served upon one of their members from the court of Common Pleas, tending to defame lord chief-justice Willes, who presided in that court, were compelled to ask pardon in open court of that magistrate, and to publish a recantation in the London Gazette.

The cruizers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were extremely active during the whole course of this year; and though we lost a greater number of ships, this difference was more than compensated, by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. From the French we took three ships of war, thirty-eight privateers, two Guinea ships, and ninety-four vessels from St. Domingo and Martinico: and from the Spaniards, thirteen privateers and forty-seven merchant vessels, including six register ships, and several other vessels, amounting in all (of both nations) to one hundred and forty-three. But war was not the only enemy to the opulence of Spain: its calamities were aggravated by the visiting hand of heaven; and Lima, the capital of Peru, was swallowed up by a most tremendous earthquake, which began on the seventeenth of October, and continued till the tenth of November in very frequent and dreadful shocks, when it ended, after causing the total destruction of a populous city, six miles in circumference, as well as the fine port of Callao, and upwards of eighteen thousand inhabitants, together with the public treasure, to the amount of three millions of piastres, or about seven hundred thousand pounds of our money, which had been accumulated there since the commencement of the war, and was not to be conveyed to Europe till the conclusion of a peace.

France,

France, notwithstanding all her acquisitions in the Netherlands, was so debilitated by her extraordinary efforts, that she had only one violent push to make to ensure her the full completion of her extensive projects. She could no longer depend on the king of Prussia, who had declared for a neutrality, as had also the princes of the empire. She was now destitute of the imperial name, authority, and troops: the forces of the elector-palatine and the landgrave of Hesse no longer acted on her side; and the king of Naples had been obliged to recall his troops into his own dominions; so that she was reduced, only with the assistance of Spain and Genoa, to make head against the forces of the English, Dutch, Austrians, and Piedmontese, which in a short time must inevitably overpower all the resistance she could make. In this situation, it was resolved by the council of Versailles to make greater efforts than ever had been done in any former period. His most Christian majesty proposed to open the campaign in person, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men in the Netherlands; and sixty thousand were ordered to take the field in Provence. To give the greater effect to this immense armament, the French king revived in the person of marshal Saxe, the title of marshal de camp general, which empowered him to command not only the marshals of France, but princes of the blood; an honour which had not been possessed by any person since the time of the great Turenne.

The duke of Cumberland had made excellent dispositions for taking the field early in the spring; and accordingly, in the month of February 1747, though the season was then remarkably severe, he began to draw the troops from their cantonments, and towards the latter end of March they took the field in three several bodies. His royal highness fixed his head-quarters at the village of Filberg, eleven miles from Breda, with eight thousand English, eighteen thousand Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians; the Dutch were assembled at Breda, under prince Waldeck; and the Austrians, with four thousand Bavarians, were collected in the neighbourhood of Venlo, on the eastern side of the Maese, under the command of marshal count Bathiani: but though the whole army should have consisted of one hundred and forty thousand men, they did not amount to more than one hundred and twenty-six thousand. Besides, the confederates, through the inexcusable negligence of the Dutch and Austrians, were ill provided even with the common necessities of life; and were obliged, notwithstanding their early appearance in the field, to continue inactive for six weeks together; while marshal Saxe, in the mean time, kept his troops in their cantonments, between Antwerp, Bruges, and Brussels, where they were furnished with plenty of provisions, and exempt from all kind of labour and fatigue. By keeping his troops in this good condition, he had leisure to form a plan of operations which, if steadily pursued, bid fair to do credit to his new dignity. This was no other than to carry the arms of France into the very heart of the United Provinces, by instantly attacking Dutch Brabant. He transmitted his plan to the ministry at Versailles, where a council was held to take it into consideration; and being strongly supported by cardinal Tencin and his party, and countenanced by the approbation of the monarch, it prevailed against the less sanguine, but more

prudent, part of the members; and orders were immediately dispatched to the marshal to begin his operations without delay, who had provided a large train of artillery at Ghent ready for the enterprise.

As a previous step to this invasion, a declaration was drawn up in the name of the French monarch, and communicated to the States-general by the abbé de la Ville, his most Christian majesty's minister at the Hague. In this declaration great complaint was made of the States having afforded an asylum in their dominions to the enemies of France; and thereby given them an opportunity of disturbing the territories which she had conquered from the queen of Hungary. The memorial farther imported, that the French king was obliged to take this step by the necessity of war; but that his most Christian majesty, to shew the tenderness and regard he still retained for the republic, had given the most peremptory orders that his troops should observe the strictest discipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. He likewise declared, that the countries and places, of which his army might be obliged to take possession, should be considered as no other than a pledge, which, as soon as the republic should give him a sufficient assurance they would no longer assist the enemies of his crown, he would readily restore.

Their High Mightinesses had scarcely perused this famous memorial, when, to their terror and amazement, they found the French bursting open their barrier. Marshal Saxe had entrusted the execution of his military operations against Dutch Flanders to count Lowendahl, who was his intimate friend and relation: and this general, assisted by the marquis de Contades, marched from Ghent and invested Sluys, at the head of twenty-seven thousand men. This fortress, formerly of considerable consequence, but now in a declining condition, surrendered in a few days. The same was the fate of Sas Van Ghent, and of several other places of less importance, before the end of the month of April. The next place that Lowendahl invested was Hulst; to the assistance of which the confederates sent a detachment of three English battalions, under general Fuller. Part of these battalions being posted in the fort of Sanberg, which covered Hulst, continued to defend the place for some time with great resolution, and even success; but at length, overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat to Welsthoorden, and leave the French to form the siege. The duke of Cumberland did indeed advance at the head of nine battalions, and made a surprising expeditious march, to save this important fortress; but just as he arrived in sight of the town, it was infamously surrendered by the Dutch governor, though, it is said, he had certain intelligence that these succours would be there the very day he gave it up. But he was a mercenary hireling of France, as many more of his countrymen were at that time; and the first intimation the duke received of this event was by a general discharge of the artillery from the fortifications upon his troops; by which a great many lives were lost, and his royal highness's own person in the most imminent danger. Lowendahl continuing his rapid progress, soon after completed the reduction of all Dutch Flanders.

This successful invasion of their dominions by so powerful an enemy, at length roused the Dutch to such a degree as procured a sudden change in their government. The populace rose in all parts of the United Provinces, exclaiming that they were now in a worse condition than when invaded by Lewis XIV. in 1672; that they had been betrayed by their governors; and therefore, that it was high time to take the administration out of their hands, and vest it in those of a stadtholder; and that this stadtholder should be no other than the head of the house of Orange. The name of this prince was William-Henry Friso, prince of Nassau-Diets, who had been left by William III king of England, successor to the hereditary dominions of the house of Orange. The present prince, as hath been already observed, had espoused the princess Anne, eldest daughter to his Britannic majesty. The states of Zealand were the first who, giving way to the national voice, and duly attentive to the interests of their country, appointed him their captain-general and admiral. Their example was followed by Rotterdam, and the whole province of Holland; and on the second day of May his serene highness was invested with the power and dignity of stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral, of the seven United Provinces. This alteration in the Dutch government was productive of the most beneficial consequences to the republic, to her allies, and indeed to all Europe. All commerce and contracts with the French were now prohibited; the peasants were armed and exercised; a resolution was made to augment the army with thirty thousand men; the city of Amsterdam began to raise eighteen companies of militia, of one hundred men each; and several other cities followed their example. A council of war was established for examining into the conduct of those governors who had too hastily given up the frontier towns; and orders were issued for commencing hostilities against the French, both by sea and land.

In order also to counterbalance the great superiority which the French possessed upon the continent, his Britannic majesty formed a resolution of engaging a body of Russians in his service. This measure had been some time in agitation; and the czarina, who had no reason to be satisfied with the court of Versailles, seemed extremely well disposed to agree to such an expedient. The negotiation, however, was attended with considerable difficulties; but at length her czarian majesty signed a treaty with our court, whereby, in consideration of an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds, she engaged to keep on foot during the war, upon the frontiers of Livonia, a body of fifty thousand foot, and forty or fifty galleys upon the coasts of that province, to act in such manner as his Britannic majesty should require in assistance of his allies. The States-general had been called upon early in this year, to take their share both of the engagement and expence: but so dilatory had been their measures, that this provision was not stipulated till the summer; by which the advantages expected from this alliance were rendered ineffectual for this year's campaign.

So close a connection, however, had now been established between Great Britain and the States-general; and so sensible were the latter of the danger to which they were exposed, that they were

willing to co-operate heartily with the former in prosecuting the war: but as the Dutch had no good opinion of the sitting parliament of Great Britain, which had worn so many various complexions, and which had concurred in such various measures and oppositions, they insisted upon its being dissolved, previous to their fully exerting themselves. In order to remove all their doubts, his majesty, notwithstanding the seeming harmony subsisting between him and this great assembly of the nation, resolved, with the advice of his council, to dissolve the present parliament, though it had not as yet sat above six years. Accordingly, when the business of the session was dispatched, the king having given the royal assent to the several acts they had prepared, dismissed them on the eighteenth of June, with a speech filled with the most warm, the most tender, and the most grateful acknowledgements of the loyalty, zeal, and tenderness, he had experienced from them in the most critical emergencies of government: a conduct, he said, that must for ever endear the memory of this parliament to posterity. But, he observed, that as this parliament would necessarily determine in a short time; and as nothing would give so much weight and credit to our affairs abroad in the present conjuncture, as to shew the dependence he had on the affections of his people, he had judged it expedient speedily to call a new parliament, not in the least doubting to receive new proofs of the same loyalty and affection of his faithful subjects in the choice of their representatives. In consequence of this declaration, the parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for summoning a new one. Among the laws passed this session was an act for taking away and abolishing the heritable jurisdictions and tenor of ward-holdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal sources of those rebellions which had broke out since the Revolution.

While count Lowendahl and the marquis de Contades were extending the French conquests in Dutch Flanders, marshal Saxe, with their grand army, remained in their cantonments. The confederates, about the middle of April, began to rouse from that state of inaction, in which they had now continued above fourteen weeks, and formed a design to retake Antwerp: but this city was so effectually covered by the French grand army, and so well fortified and garrisoned, that they soon found the enterprize impracticable: upon which his royal highness the duke thought proper to take post between the Great and Little Nethe, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht. In the month of May the French king arrived at Brussels; and his general, marshal Saxe having called in his detachments, made the whole army quit its cantonments, in order to dislodge the confederates from the siege of Maestricht. With this view, he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates perceiving his aim, put their army into motion also, to take post between that town and the enemy. On the twentieth day of July they took possession of their ground, when the duke drew the army up in order of battle, placing his right at Beilen, and his left at Wirle; having in the front of the left wing the village of Val, or Laffeldt, in which he posted five battalions of British and Hanoverian infantry. The French had taken possession of the heights

heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies, and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening.

By day-break, on the twenty-first of June, the French marshal put his troops in motion; and by nine o'clock the confederate generals discerned the enemy's infantry marching down the hill, in a vast column, of ten battalions in front, and as many in depth, and advancing directly towards the village of Val, being a small inclosure with five houses in it, and which the confederates had strongly fortified. It must be acknowledged, that no troops ever made an attack under more disadvantages than those of the French, on this occasion. The situation of the ground was particularly against them; for, from several little eminences which commanded the face of the hill of Herdeeren, the English had placed batteries so as to play full upon their infantry, as well as upon the squadrons of horse, their right and front flanks, during their descent. Add to this, that a cold rain, which had fallen almost incessantly for twelve or fourteen hours, had rendered the ground so slippery that the troops could hardly keep their feet. Notwithstanding these obstacles, and the heavy fire of the confederates, which did terrible execution among the French, they bore still forwards with amazing resolution, and about twelve o'clock began their attack against Val with great vigour and intrepidity; and were received with equal courage, and their first brigades dispersed with prodigious loss, as were their second, third, and fourth divisions; but fresh troops still succeeding these with invincible perseverance, the confederates, overpowered by numbers, were obliged finally to abandon the village, after it had been lost and recovered four several times. The action was chiefly confined to this narrow spot, which was in a manner choaked with the bodies of the dead and wounded.

The duke of Cumberland perceiving how gallantly the British and Hanoverians behaved in the village, ordered the left wing to advance upon the French. The center likewise began to advance under prince Waldeck, who was at the head of the Dutch the whole day; and marshal Bathiani brought up the Austrians towards Herdeeren, to annoy the flanks of the enemy. The French on their side prepared to receive the confederates, whose dispositions, however, had been so well concerted as to ensure them the victory, in all human probability, when their plan was entirely overthrown, and the fortune of the day suddenly changed to their prejudice, by the dastardly behaviour of some Dutch squadrons, who, perceiving the infantry before them pressed hard upon by the French, instead of sustaining them, turned their backs, and went off a full gallop to the right about, and in their flight overthrew five battalions of infantry of the confederate corps de reserve, that were coming from the right towards Val. The French cavalry taking advantage of this confusion, rushed furiously in among these scattered troops, whom they trampled under feet, and penetrated through and divided the lines of the combined army. The duke of Cumberland, who had rode to the head of the Dutch cavalry, and endeavoured, but in vain, to rally them, with difficulty rejoined the left wing; and in all probability the confederates would have sustained a total defeat, had it not been for the exemplary bravery of sir John Ligonier, who, by charging

at the head of some British regiments of dragoons and a few squadrons of imperial horse, the whole line of the French cavalry, with such irresistible fury as gave a check to their pursuit, enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. Sir John himself was taken prisoner in this gallant attack; but the regiment he commanded retired in excellent order. Besides sir John Ligonier, major-general count d'Yffembourg, major-general Bland, colonel Conway, and lieutenant-colonel lord Robert Sutton, were some of them wounded, and all of them made prisoners: in a word, almost the whole loss of the allies, amounting to six thousand men, fell upon the English, Hessians, and Hanoverians, they having in a manner opposed the whole French army, the share of the Dutch and Austrians in the engagement, as well as their loss, being too inconsiderable to be named. Notwithstanding that the allies were compelled to yield the victory to the French, it was not till they had purchased it by the loss of upwards of ten thousand of their best troops, several standards, and several pair of colours, with seven hundred prisoners taken, including sixty officers, some of them persons of distinction. After the battle, the garrison of Maestricht was reinforced by two English, three Austrian, and five Dutch battalions; and next morning the allied army passed the Maese at Maestricht, and extended themselves towards Vist, in the duchy of Limberg, with their head-quarters at Heer, the French still continuing at Tongres.

His most Christian majesty, in order to make the most of his late success, determined to form the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, the honour of conducting which he was pleased to confer on count Lowendahl, who, at the head of a detachment of thirty-six thousand men, presented himself before the place in the beginning of July. Bergen-op-Zoom is one of the strongest fortresses in Dutch Brabant: it was generally deemed impregnable, and had obtained the name of the Maiden Fortress, from its having never been reduced, though frequently besieged by very considerable armies. It could not be blocked up by sea; so that vessels with provisions and ammunition could sail in and out of the harbour every day unmolested, while an army of twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons, detached by the States-general, under the prince of Saxe Hildburghausen, was so stationed as to be able to relieve the garrison, consisting of three thousand men, with fresh troops at will. All these difficulties appeared so considerable, that it was the opinion of most people, even very good judges of the military art, that the French, by investing it, had committed a very rash action; and the general to whom the operations had been consigned would, in this enterprize, forfeit all the glory he had hitherto acquired. This was more particularly the belief of the people in England and Holland, who exulted before-hand in the mortification and disappointment of the French king, which they looked upon as infallible: but the abilities, experience, and resolution of count Lowendahl, and the ardour of his troops, warmed by his example, and fighting in a manner under the very eye of their sovereign; joined to the negligence, inattention, and numberless faults of a superannuated governor, effected what appeared to be, in the common course of such affairs, impracticable.

Old baron Cronstrom had been by the stadtholder appointed governor of Dutch Brabant, and had assumed the command of the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom, some little time before the French laid siege to the place. He was grown grey in the field, and his character stood unimpeached as to fidelity and courage. When count Lowendahl, on coming before the town, summoned him to surrender, he replied, that he would suffer himself to be buried under the ruins of the place before he would give up the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn. However, though an old commander may, by his advice and experience, prove of infinite service in a council of war; yet the case is quite otherwise, when such an one is to give life and movement to a numerous body of troops, and direct the operations of a garrison, besieged by a powerful and expert commander. Lowendahl was all fire and activity; Cronstrom all phlegm and deliberation.

The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this siege, the most important and the most bloody (for the time it lasted) that had happened during the whole course of the war. From the sixteenth day of July, N. S. to the fifteenth of September, every day, nay, almost each hour, was marked by some dreadful scene of horror and destruction, effected by the springing of mines on each side, by the desperate sallies of the garrison, and by the unremitting attacks of the besiegers: the latter, however, were always the principal sufferers; and we may presume the siege would have been extended to a much greater length of time, had it succeeded only by the common methods practised on such occasions: but M. de Lowendahl having given out that he intended to make himself master of the several forts which defended the town before he should make his grand attack, old Cronstrom gave completely into the snare that was spread for him; and knowing that all those forts were still as tenable as ever; and presuming that the dreadful execution made by his mines would at length damp the courage of the assailants, he gave himself up to an indolent security, which in the end proved fatal; for in the morning of the sixteenth of September, the French general having thrown a prodigious quantity of bombs into the ravelin of Dedim, as soon as those had their effect, the besiegers threw themselves into the fosse, and mounted the breaches, burst open the sally-port of Fallenius, mounted four breaches in the bastions of Pucelle and Coehorn, where they forced the intrenchments, drove all those of the garrison they found in their way from their posts, spread themselves from right to left on the curtains, formed in order of battle, and came down into the town before the body of the garrison could be assembled. Baron Cronstrom had so little apprehended an attempt of this kind, that he had not taken a single precaution against it; and was actually slumbering out the indolence of age quietly in his quarters, where he would have been surprised and made prisoner by the enemy, had it not been for the amazing bravery of a body of Scots Highlanders, commanded by lord John Murray, who fell like lions upon the French who had surrounded his quarters, and fought until two thirds of them were killed upon the spot, and the remainder brought off the old governor, in spite of all the opposition of the enemy, to whom the place was now abandoned; while the troops that were

encamped in the lines retreating with the utmost precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French king thought the conquest of Bergen-op-Zoom so important, that he made Lowendahl a marshal of France immediately on the news being brought him. He also appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, and then returned to Versailles elated with triumph. In a little time after this transaction, both armies retired into winter-quarters, when his royal highness the duke of Cumberland returned to London, where he arrived on the thirteenth of November. Thus terminated the campaign of 1747, on the side of the Netherlands; a campaign replete with glory to the French; productive of infinite prejudice to the confederates; and particularly inglorious to the Dutch, by the loss of their Maiden Forts, which had never till now been violated by a foreign embrace.

I left the Austrians and Piedmontese, at the close of the last year, pursuing the fugitive French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, into the territories of Provence, under the conduct of count Brown, who had assumed the chief command on the absence of his Sardinian majesty, seized with the small-pox. M. Belleisle, who had succeeded Maillebois in the command of the French army, being greatly inferior to the Austrian general, was not able to oppose his progress, who sent baron Roth, with twenty-four battalions, to undertake the siege of Antibes by land, while the British squadron under vice-admiral Medley was to assist him by sea.

Antibes is a well-fortified town, situate in the Mediterranean, fifteen miles south of Nice, and sixty north-east of Toulon. It was now defended by the chevalier de Sade, with a garrison of eighteen hundred men; and all the necessary preparations were made for a vigorous defence. The British squadron having bombarded the town severely for some time, baron Roth on the twentieth of January opened his trenches before it, while count Brown lay with the main army at Frejus, to cover the siege. One half of the town was reduced to ashes; but the governor made a gallant defence, till M. Belleisle, who had by this time received such reinforcement as gave him the superiority in the field, effected the passage of the Argens, and was advancing with a full resolution to attack the Austrian general: but count Brown finding it impossible to continue his operations without exposing his whole army to the most imminent danger, immediately raised the siege of Antibes, and repassed the Var in the beginning of February, without suffering any considerable loss from the enemy.

Belleisle having thus compelled the imperial general to abandon Provence; and receiving continual reinforcements till his army amounted to sixty thousand men, made himself master of Nice, Montalban, Villa Franca, and Ventimiglia, while the Austrians were forced to retire towards Final and Savona, in the dominions of Genoa, which were in the possession of his Sardinian majesty. In the meantime, another large body under count Schuylenberg, who had succeeded the marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa.

The French ministry were too well acquainted with the importance of this republic to their cause, to neglect any measure that could contribute to its security. Large sums of money were remitted to the senate: engineers and officers were sent to discipline their troops and repair their fortifications. The duke de Boufflers was appointed by his most Christian majesty his ambassador-extraordinary to the republic, the better to animate them to a vigorous resistance; and a large body of troops was detached from Belleisle's army to co-operate with their forces: but these falling in with the British fleet, were either taken or driven back to France.

The operations of general Schuylenberg were retarded for a considerable time, by the severity of the weather and badness of the roads; but these obstacles being removed, the Austrian general presented himself before Genoa on the thirty-first of March, at the head of forty thousand men. Before he commenced hostilities, he used all his endeavours to persuade the Genoese to submit to the clemency of her Imperial majesty; but they rejected his propositions with the utmost indignation, and declared their unanimous resolution to be buried in the ruins of their capital rather than ask for quarter, or submit to the Austrian mercy, whose effects they had already so severely felt. In the beginning of May Genoa was invested on all sides; and Schuylenberg carried on his operations with such skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he seemed for some time in the fairest way to succeed in the reduction of the place. The duke de Boufflers, besides his character of ambassador to the republic, acted likewise as commandant of the troops that were in Genoa; while M. Belleisle continued at Ventimiglia, with a view to penetrate into Piedmont and Lombardy, and compel the Austrians to abandon the siege. It was chiefly owing to this latter general that the Genoese were delivered from the calamities that threatened them: for though Schuylenberg was successful in all his attacks upon the city, and had even made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; yet he was obliged to desist from his enterprize, and raise the siege on the tenth day of June, to return into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian majesty and count Brown, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the effects of M. Belleisle. The Genoese, immediately on finding themselves at liberty, with the assistance of the French and Spaniards in the city, made irruptions into the Parmesan and Placentia, where, in spite of all the precautions of the duke de Boufflers, they committed the greatest violences and cruelties, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone from the enemy. Soon after, they had the misfortune to lose the duke de Boufflers, who died at Genoa in the latter end of July, and was succeeded in his command by the duke de Richelieu.

Mean while, M. Belleisle committed the execution of his project of an irruption into Piedmont to the chevalier de Belleisle his brother, who set out on his expedition at the head of thirty-four thousand French and Spaniards, and arrived on the sixth day of July at the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiné, situate on the north side of the river Doria. His Sardinian majesty, apprized of the enterprize which the chevalier had undertaken, had committed the defence of this important post to the count de Bri-

queras, with ten battalions of Piedmontese and four of Austrians, who had formed an encampment behind the lines, while divers detachments were posted along all the passages of the Alps.

On the eighth of July the chevalier attacked the Piedmontese intrenchments with incredible bravery, but was constantly repulsed, with extraordinary loss, during an engagement that lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening. This valiant general, however, determined not to survive a miscarriage, made one last effort to animate his dispirited troops by his own glorious example, in which he emulated the bravest of the ancient Romans. Snatching a pair of colours from the hand of an ensign, he called on those nearest him to follow his steps; and advancing with incredible intrepidity, amidst a most furious discharge of musquetry from the enemy, he planted the colours with his own hand on the intrenchments: at that instant he received two musket-shots, one in the head, and the other in the body, which laid him dead on the spot. The French immediately gave way, and fled with precipitation, after having four thousand eight hundred men killed, and six hundred wounded. The consequences of the defeat at Exilles were, the abandoning of Ventimiglia by M. Belleisle, and frustrating all his hopes of penetrating into Piedmont by the way of Ceva. The marshal now retreated towards the Var to join the troops from Exilles, and prevent any invasion on Dauphiné by the king of Sardinia. The excessive rains, however, prevented the execution of any design of importance on either side, and about the middle of October the two armies were put into winter-quarters. Thus ended the campaign of 1747 in Italy; and in this manner had the French king the mortification to find all his projects in that country entirely baffled.

Nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations, our sea commanders having, in the course of this year, given the enemy several remarkable specimens of their skill and bravery. The council of Versailles, sensible how much it behoved them to recover to their crown the important settlement of Cape Breton, as also to put M. de la Bourdonnaye in a condition to improve his successes in the East Indies, dispatched two squadrons of ships of war from Brest harbour, as soon as the season of the year would permit, in order to accomplish this double view. The British ministry did not long remain strangers to the destination of this equipment, and made the necessary dispositions to intercept both squadrons. Vice-admiral Anson and rear-admiral Warren were ordered out with a strong fleet to cruise off Cape Finisterre on the coast of Galicia. On the third of May they fell in with the French squadrons, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere and M. de St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels, equipped by their East India company, having under their convoy 29 ships laden with merchandize. The British fleet consisted of 12 sail of the line, 3 frigates, and 2 sloops. Notwithstanding this great superiority in their disfavour, the French commanders did not decline the engagement; but having sent away the armed vessels with the merchant ships, maintained the battle with their six ships of war with great spirit and conduct, till, overpowered by numbers, they were compelled

compelled to strike their colours. About seven hundred of the French were slain in this action. The English lost no less, and among them captain Grenville, of the *Defiance*, a young commander of the most promising talents. Several of the enemy's merchant ships were afterwards picked up by our privateers. By this defeat the designs of France against our possessions in North America and the East Indies were totally frustrated. The French lost a million and an half sterling, of which a considerable sum was found in bullion on board the prizes, and four thousand of their prime sailors were locked up in our prisons. Great rejoicings were made for this important success; and soon after Mr. Anson was created a peer, and Mr. Warren was honoured with the ribband of the order of the Bath.

On the twenty-sixth day of June captain Fox, of the *Kent*, cruising with five other ships of war off Cape Ortugal in Galicia, fell in with a fleet of homeward-bound *St. Domingo* men, consisting of one hundred and seventy sail, under the convoy of commodore de la Motte, and four large ships of war. On discovering the British squadron, La Motte abandoned his convoy, and sought his safety in a precipitate flight, our ships being too foul to come up with him. However, forty-six of the merchant ships fell into our hands, having one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight sailors on board, with a very valuable cargo of sugar, indigo, cotton, &c. which furnished rich dividends for our valiant British tars.

But the French marine suffered another more important loss in the month of October. Our government had received information towards the close of the summer, that a very large fleet of merchant ships, bound from the ports of France to the West Indies, were collecting together at the Isle of Aix, and that a strong squadron of ships of war was to escort them. Rear-admiral Hawke was therefore dispatched to intercept them; and after cruising some time upon the coast of Brittany, on the fourteenth of October, being in the latitude of Belleisle, about eight in the morning, he saw a great number of ships, but so crowded that he could not count them: this was the French fleet, consisting of nine sail of the line, and several frigates, commanded by M. de l'Estanduaire, a chef d'escadre, with two hundred and fifty-two merchant ships under his convoy. Admiral Hawke had with him twelve sail of the line, and two frigates of fifty guns each. The French commodore, as soon as he could distinctly make the British squadron, threw out the signal for the trade to make the best of their way, with a sixty gun ship and a frigate for their protection; and followed this by another signal for his ships of war to form the line of battle. Admiral Hawke, on his side, finding that he lost time in forming his line, while the French were standing away, at eleven made the signal for a general chase. By twelve both fleets were engaged, and maintained a very bloody fight till night, when all the French ships, except two, struck to the English flag. The enemy behaved with remarkable bravery; nor did they yield till their ships were all disabled. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred, and about three thousand of them were made prisoners. Of the English there fell about one hun-

dred and fifty, among whom was captain Saumarez, of the *Nottingham*, a gallant and experienced officer, who had served under lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Rear-admiral Hawke arrived on the thirty-first of October with his six prizes at Portsmouth, into which port the whole flower of the French navy had been triumphantly conducted, within the space of five months. Admiral Hawke was created a knight of the Bath for his gallant behaviour; but captain Fox, of the *Kent*, had the misfortune to incur the censure of a court-martial, for some instance of neglect during the engagement, and was dismissed from his command: however, as he remained perfectly clear from any imputation of cowardice, his majesty was pleased, in about two years afterwards, to promote him to the rank of a rear-admiral.

I have already taken notice, that admiral Medley in the Mediterranean was particularly active and vigilant in his station: he blocked up a Spanish squadron this summer in Carthage, assisted the Imperialists in the operations in Italy, and intercepted succours that the French were sending to the assistance of the Genoese republic: but death terminating the services of this deserving commander on the fifth of August, the conduct of the squadron devolved on admiral Byng, who had been sent to reinforce him, and who proceeded on the same plan of operations.

The affairs of the English in the East Indies still continued to wear a very indifferent aspect: the enemy had taken and held from us Madras, without Mr. Griffin, who had succeeded Peyton, being able to attempt any thing towards its recovery. Nevertheless, he blocked up Pondicherry for a considerable time, and reduced it to great difficulties, tho' the French squadron was superior to his. Our East India company, sensible of the critical situation to which their affairs were now reduced, bestirred themselves so effectually with the ministry, that rear-admiral Boscawen, an officer of approved capacity and valour, was ordered to the East Indies this year, with a squadron of six ships of the line, besides smaller vessels, having two thousand marines on board, to reinforce Mr. Griffin (now made a rear-admiral) and return the French visit to Madras, by an invasion of Pondicherry: but this squadron did not leave England till the month of November; and after making an unsuccessful attempt against the French at the island of Martinico, four hundred miles to the east of Madagascar, the whole squadron arrived safe at Fort St. David on the twenty-ninth of July, 1748. Their subsequent transactions will fall within the narrative of the naval operations of that year.

In the West Indies rear-admiral Knowles, with a squadron of eight ships and two frigates, attacked Fort Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, which, after a short but vigorous defence, was surrendered. After this, he made an attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, in which he was baffled, and obliged to return to Jamaica. The blame of this disappointment he cast upon Mr. Dent, one of his captains; but a court-martial, which was afterwards held upon that gentleman in England, acquitted him with honour.

In September, Mr. Knowles being upon a cruise off the Havannah with seven ships of the line, fell in with a Spanish squadron of nearly the same strength,

strength, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola, when an engagement ensued, which was maintained with great warmth on both sides, and ended in the loss of two of the enemy's capital ships, the rest of their fleet getting safe into the Havannah. Here again Mr. Knowles arraigned some of his captains of misbehaviour, whose conduct, on their return to England, was strictly examined by a court-martial. Two of these captains were censured; nor did the admiral himself escape without reprimand for some neglects he had been guilty of in the course of the action. This was made a kind of party quarrel amongst the gentlemen of the admiral's squadron, which ended in the death of captain Clark, who was shot by captain Innes in a duel fought between them in Hyde-Park: but it appearing by unquestionable evidence that captain Clark had given the challenge, his majesty was pleased to extend his royal clemency towards his antagonist. In the course of this year the British cruizers were so alert and successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loss on our side did not exceed five hundred and fifty. In a word, the superiority of the naval arms of Britain was now so conspicuously evident, that she had not an enemy to contest her sovereignty of the ocean.

When states and empires make the most forcible efforts to display their strength, it is then generally found that they are the most in need of, and most inclined to a respite from their operations. Not one of the belligerent powers at this time could dissemble his hearty wish for a speedy peace.

France, notwithstanding the rapid conquests she had lately made in Germany, languished amidst her successes, and beheld with deep concern the ruin of her commerce, the most valuable branch of which had been destroyed by the rupture between her and the Dutch. Lewis XV. had by his ambition brought ruin upon his people, and desolation upon his country. Hemmed in as he was by a train of flatterers and parasites, the voice of public distress found a way to his ear; and not a week passed without the mortification of receiving the most pathetic, and at the same time the most spirited, remonstrances from his parliament and his trading companies, upon the dismal effects of those disputes he had raised and kept alive.

The court of Vienna saw herself disappointed in the flattering hopes she had formed from the success of her arms in Italy: her finances were almost exhausted, her armies ill supplied, and most of her provinces desolated, by a long and bloody war. Cogent motives these, to be desirous to see an end of it, especially as the house of Austria had succeeded in establishing the imperial dignity in the person of the archduke, consort to her Hungarian majesty.

Spain carried on the war with equal inactivity and ill success. The evils it had intended against the British nation were all fallen on its own head; and notwithstanding its rich possessions in each hemisphere, it saw itself still farther than ever from being in a condition to enforce its ambitious and extravagant claims on the Austrian dominions, and had of late adopted the appearance of greater moderation.

England, during this whole war, had sustained by far the greatest expence of any one of the con-

tending powers; not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise in giving subsidies to almost all the powers of Europe; and the scrupulous fidelity with which her illustrious monarch adhered to his engagements with his allies, and to the desire of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, had occasioned the shedding of torrents of blood both by sea and land, and drained the national treasure to satisfy the incessant cravings of greedy foreign mercenaries: but now she had nothing to hope from the continuance of the war, as the French and Spanish marine were in a manner annihilated; and her ministry were sensible that they could not carry it on another campaign without loading the people with new impositions.

The Dutch, who had been in a manner compelled to engage as principals in this war, much against their inclination, and were much fonder of negotiating than fighting, wished for nothing so much as to see their barrier freed from the French yoke, and themselves delivered from those troublesome friends, who, under the pretence of protecting them, laid waste their most fruitful provinces, and stopped up the sources of their beneficial commerce. The prince of Orange, as stadtholder, warmly attached as he was to the common cause, had many strong and weighty reasons to wish for an end to the present troubles: the unsettled state of his family-affairs; the powerful opposition he encountered from the French party in Holland; and the difficulty he found in raising money, made him naturally wish for an opportunity of establishing his authority upon a solid foundation. In fine, all the contending powers seemed, towards the close of this year, to be inspired with the same pacific views and inclinations; and it required no consummate skill in politics to foresee that the war could not be of much longer duration.

His most Christian majesty had, immediately after the battle of Val, in a personal conference with sir John Ligonier, given broad intimations of his desire of a pacification. He had also, after the reduction of Bergen-op-Zoom, ordered his minister, the abbé de la Ville, to transmit from the camp of Hamel, near Tongres, a declaration to the States-general on the same subject. France also repeated her pacific applications at the court of London: in consequence of which, the contending powers agreed to the holding another congress, which was actually opened in March following (1748) at Aix-la-Chapelle, an imperial city in the duchy of Juliers, formerly the capital of Germany, when Charlemagne swayed the imperial sceptre. The earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson were nominated plenipotentiaries on the part of his Britannic majesty; as was the count de St. Severin de Arragon, for France; with count Bentinck, the baron de Wassenaer, and M. Hasselaer, on the part of the United Provinces.

With these appearances of a speedy termination of the unspeakable calamities incident to war, his Britannic majesty assembled his new parliament on the tenth of November, when the commons again chose Arthur Onslow, esq. their speaker, who had presided in the chair during the two former sessions. His majesty on the twelfth returned again to the house of peers, where the commons waited on him with the speaker; after which his majesty opened

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the first session with a speech, congratulating the two houses on the signal successes of the British navy, and the happy alteration of the government of the United Provinces. His majesty gave them to understand, that a congress would speedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the success of this negotiation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings.

The new elections had gone every-where in favour of the court. The duke of Newcastle, and his brother Mr. Pelham, who were absolutely predominant in the cabinet, found but an immaterial opposition in the parliament. Such addresses were therefore presented, in return to his majesty's speech, from both houses, as made the government perfectly secure of having their most sanguine wishes fulfilled, their most extensive demands gratified; and indeed never did parliament make good their professions with greater punctuality than the present. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land-forces, besides eleven thousand nine hundred marines; the subsidies to the queen of Hungary, the czarina, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the prince of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle; the sum of two hundred thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds was granted to the provinces of New England, to reimburse them for the expence of reducing Cape Breton; five hundred thousand pounds were given to his majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants in lieu of their jurisdiction. In a word, the supplies for the year 1748 fell very little short of nine millions; six millions and an half of which were raised on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage exacted from all merchandize imported into Great Britain, which was subscribed for immediately on opening the books, and above two millions more offered, and rejected; an extraordinary instance of public spirit and national credit. The rest was raised by continuing the land tax at four shillings in the pound, the malt-duty, and one million to be taken out of the sinking fund.

Some material debates were agitated in parliament this session. A bill was brought into the house of commons "for a general naturalization of foreign protestants." Many shrewd arguments were advanced in favour of this measure, which would tend, it was said, to supply the great waste of people which the war had occasioned, and to introduce new manufactures into the kingdom, as many industrious individuals in foreign parts would be thereby encouraged to settle in England. Nevertheless, the city of London viewed this affair in so very different a light, that on the 4th of February, 1748, the sheriffs of that city presented a petition against it to the lower house, setting forth, "That it would occasion a decrease, if not a total loss, of the duties of package, scavage, portage, and balliage of the goods of foreign merchants: that it was more likely to increase the poverty than to add to the wealth of the nation; for that neither rich nor industrious foreigners needed such inducement, as the latter never wanted encouragement, nor the former the very privilege in question, when

they applied for it to parliament: that a like law had been attempted in the reign of king William, but had been rejected on such national considerations as, it was presumed, would never escape the attention, nor lose the regard of the house: that a law having been actually passed for that purpose in the reign of queen Anne, it was found so detrimental to the public interest, that it was soon afterwards repealed, and not without some severe reflections on the conduct of those who had promoted it: that, as a naturalization could not convey to foreigners a true knowledge of our happy constitution in church and state, or give them such a zeal and affection for it as might be requisite for maintaining and defending it; and as those who had grown up under arbitrary government might be fittest to answer arbitrary purposes, too much caution could not be used in a matter of so great importance; and therefore it was hoped that the house would not think proper to pass a bill which was liable to such insuperable objections." This petition was warmly supported; and Mr. Pelham, who was now the acknowledged minister, fearing that the bill, if passed, might hurt his influence in the city of London, which at that time was very high, agreed to drop it for that time.

The pernicious practice of insuring French ships in England, which prevailed to a shameful degree about this period, occasioned bitter complaints on the part of the fair dealers, and was indeed an abuse which called aloud for parliamentary redress. Though the commerce of France was in a very declining condition, it could have been further decreased, even to a state of absolute ruin, had it not been supported by their insurances in England. In this practice France found a perpetual support amidst all her mercantile losses. On this all the remains of the French trade entirely subsisted. Many of the most opulent captures from the French, particularly two exceeding rich prizes from the South Sea, taken by the Royal Family privateer, under the command of captain Talbot, in 1745, were insured in England, which occasioned the national gain to be no more than the price of the premium, which was usually from twenty to twenty-five per cent. and if the insured ships were destroyed, there was a clear national loss to the English of the whole value, after deducting the premium. Besides, this practice was the more pernicious, from the very nature of the end for which it was calculated, because the insurers had strong temptations to contribute to the escape of the ships which they had insured. Therefore, while the British admiralty, and proprietors of private ships of war, were exerting the maritime force of the state, totally to ruin the commerce of France, the British insurers frustrated their endeavours. These, among many other cogent reasons, convinced the legislature of the necessity of prohibiting this practice. Accordingly, a bill was brought into the house of commons, "to prohibit insurance on ships belonging to France, and merchandize and effects laden therein, during the present war with France;" which bill met with universal approbation, passed quickly through both houses, and soon after received the royal assent.

As the parliamentary contentions were very considerable, the business of the senate was dispatched

patched with very little interruption, and several acts were passed, extremely salutary to the national interest *. On the thirteenth of May the king put an end to the session, after having acquainted both houses in his speech, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, his majesty set out for his German dominions, after having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; he was convoyed by a squadron commanded by lord Anson, and arrived at Helvoetsluys on the twenty-second of May. He proceeded directly to Maeslandsluys, where he was met by her royal highness the princess of Orange; and after a short conference, his majesty set out for Utrecht, where he had an interview with his serene highness the stadtholder, and prince Frederic of Hesse, and then proceeded to Hanover.

I shall here take notice of some transactions, as well foreign as domestic, particularly relating to Great Britain, which fell out during the sitting of this session of parliament, that I may be more at liberty to pursue uninterrupted the more important events of this year, till the final conclusion of the peace. On the twentieth day of January a pardon passed the great-seal for lord Mac-Cleod, eldest son of the earl of Cromartie, who had been drawn by his father into the rebellion. On the twenty-ninth, the prison of Kinsale in Ireland was consumed by fire, and fifty-four French prisoners confined therein perished in the flames. On February 6, the earl of Chesterfield resigned the seals of his office as one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and was succeeded by the duke of Bedford. On the thirteenth an order of council was published, directing the condemnation of several ships our Mediterranean cruizers had taken from the Genoese; which prizes amounted to two hundred thousand pounds. On March 25, a most dreadful fire broke out in Exchange-alley, Cornhill, which proved more hurtful in its consequences than any conflagration since the fire of London, 1666. The flames spread three different ways; and, notwithstanding every possible assistance, near one hundred houses in Cornhill, Birchin-lane, Exchange-alley, George-yard, and the courts adjacent, &c. were consum-

ed: and though many goods, &c. were saved by the vigilance of the magistrates, yet the loss was excessive great; and the consternation in the city, during this dreadful calamity, can scarcely be expressed.

Accounts arrived from New England in the month of April this year, of a great tumult which happened at the close of the last year at Boston, the capital of that province, occasioned by admiral Knowles impressing several of the inhabitants and seamen belonging to the outward-bound ships for the service of his fleet; a practice which it should seem our American brethren have no very favourable opinion of. But by the vigorous behaviour of the assembly, after many acts of violence, this dangerous riot was quelled. It was, however, succeeded by a much greater calamity, which befel that capital on the twenty-third of December, when the Court-house was consumed by fire, and the province records, &c. destroyed therein, to the almost irretrievable detriment of the whole colony.

The smugglers in England were become amazingly audacious in their illegal practices at this period, having, amongst other enormities, broke open the king's warehouse at Colchester, and conveyed away a great quantity of tea: upon which a proclamation was issued of pardon, and a reward of a hundred pounds, for the discovery of each of the parties concerned in that outrageous transaction.

About this time several promotions were made both in the army and navy, and the rank between the land and sea officers, whose mutual disgusts arising from their continual disputes about precedence in points of command had done infinite prejudice to the public service, was established by his majesty's order in council in the following manner:

Admirals and commanders in chief to rank with field-m Marshals.

Admirals with their flag on their main-top-mast-head with generals of horse and foot.

Vice-admirals with lieutenant generals.

Rear-admirals with major-generals.

Commodores with broad pendants with brigadier-generals.

Captains of three years standing with colonels.

Younger captains with lieutenant-colonels.

Masters and commanders with majors.

Lieutenants with captains.

* Amongst the most public was an act 'for granting to his majesty a subsidy of one shilling poundage upon all goods and merchandizes to be imported into the kingdom of Great-Britain, and for raising a certain sum of money by annuities and lottery, to be charged on the said subsidy, and for repealing so much of an act made in the twentieth year of his present majesty's reign, as enacted that prize goods and merchandizes might be exported without paying any duty of custom or excise for the same.' And this act, than which none could be of greater importance, was carried without a division. The act of parliament for preventing vexatious suits and arrests for small debts, expired on June 1, 1747, and left all the avenues open to private animosity; but on the eighteenth of February, 1748, an act was passed 'to revive and make perpetual two acts of parliament, one made in the twelfth year of king George I. intitled, An act to prevent frivolous and vexatious arrests; and the other made in the fifth year of his present majesty, to explain, amend, and render more effectual the said act.' The royal assent was also given to 'an act for per-

mitting tea to be exported to Ireland and the British plantations in America, without paying the inland duties charged thereupon by an act of the eighteenth year of his present majesty.' Also to 'an act for encouraging the making of Indigo in the British plantations in America', for which commodity the English paid the French about two hundred thousand pounds a year: and as the preliminaries for a general peace had been adjusted, his majesty passed an act 'for the relief of insolvent debtors;' by which all debtors for five hundred pounds, or under, were discharged; all fugitives who were abroad on the first of January last, were entitled to the benefit of this act, on delivering up all their effects, except wearing apparel and tools, not to exceed ten pounds: but all bankrupts not obtaining their certificates; attornies retaining their clients money; persons indebted to the crown, and former insolvents, were excepted; and creditors of those continuing in gaol, were authorised to compel them to give an account upon oath of their effects.

An order was also issued, requiring all his majesty's sea-officers, from the admiral down to the midshipman, to wear an uniformity of cloathing; for which purpose pattern-coats for dress'd suits, and frocks for each rank of officers, were lodged at the navy-office, and the several yards, for inspection.

The allies had resolved to open the campaign in the Netherlands with an army of a hundred and ninety thousand men, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered; but the dilatory conduct of the Dutch and Austrians prevented the execution of this measure. The people of Holland were so highly incensed at the behaviour of their rulers, that they rose in tumults in all the capital cities. They plundered the farmers of the revenue, abolished the taxes, and insulted the magistrates: so that the States General, seeing their country at the brink of ruin, committed the government entirely into the hands of the prince of Orange, whom they constituted hereditary stadtholder and captain-general of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the Upper Quarter of Guelderland; and the East India company chose him director and governor-general of their commerce and settlements in the Indies. Thus invested with an authority unknown to his ancestors, he exerted himself with equal industry and discretion, in new-modelling, augmenting, and assembling the troops of the Republic. The administration of government was now chiefly invested in the prince, partly as stadtholder, and partly as captain-general and admiral in chief; the states alone had the power of making war or concluding a peace, of entering into foreign alliances, of raising taxes, and coining of money; but the prince had the disposal of all military commands both by sea and land, in time of war by his own commission; in time of peace by that of the states: as stadtholder or governor, he represented the supreme civil magistrate; in which capacity he pardoned offenders and nominated magistrates, the towns presenting him the names of three, out of which he chose one. In him resided the dignity of the state: he had a palace, a court, his guards, and all the other marks of external grandeur incident to princes: to him foreign ministers paid their court, as did every one who was inclined to serve his country in the fleet or army: in the council of state he had a seat and a decisive voice, but not in the assembly of the States General, though nothing could be transacted there without his knowledge or against his consent.

The conferences at Aix la Chapelle were opened on the eleventh of March; but as those kind of negotiations are frequently rendered fruitless by the affected obstacles and difficulties thrown in by artful discontented ministers, and by the unavoidable delays resulting from sending and receiving dispatches from their respective courts, his most christian majesty, in order to accelerate the proceedings, had given positive orders to M. Saxe to form the siege of Maestricht, a strong city and fortress on the river Maese, and the key of Holland on that side. The manœuvres of this great general, to deceive the confederates, as to his real intent, have been justly esteemed a masterpiece of the kind by all judges of the military art: by his various marches and counter marches he so puzzled the allies, that apprehending he designed to make

an attempt upon Breda, or Luxembourg, they precipitately abandoned the strong posts they occupied in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, and marched to cover the places they thought most in danger; when, to their no small confusion, they learned that the French had formed the investiture of Maestricht on the third of April.

The garrison consisted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with great spirit and resolution. He annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies; but, determined to overcome all opposition, they carried on their approaches with incredible perseverance and bravery: they attacked the covered way, in which they actually made a lodgment; and Maestricht was on the point of falling into their hands, when hostilities were suddenly interrupted by the arrival of a courier from the duke of Cumberland, who commanded the allied army, with the news that the preliminary articles of peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the nineteenth of April: upon which marshal Saxe and the governor agreed to a cessation of arms for two days. A messenger was sent to the duke of Cumberland, who sent another to marshal Saxe; and the world was now informed that, for the glory of his most Christian majesty's arms, the pacificators had agreed that the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it should be restored, with all the magazines and artillery. Marshal Saxe accordingly entered the place on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and a suspension of arms immediately ensued.

Several difficulties had been raised in the course of the negotiations at Aix-la-Chapelle, in regard to the different pretensions of the contending parties; but these were speedily adjusted, and the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, convinced that, as soon as they should be agreed, the other parties would find themselves under a necessity of subscribing to their decisions, signed the preliminary articles for a general peace on the evening of the nineteenth of April, at the house of the French plenipotentiary. By these articles, the French and the English conjointly, with their allies, agreed immediately to evacuate the several places they had conquered from each other during the war; and that Don Philip, Infant of Spain, should be invested in the duchies of Parma and Placentia, to enjoy the same in full sovereignty, until the decease of his Catholic majesty the king of Spain, when he would succeed to the throne of the Two Sicilies; in which case the aforesaid duchies were to revert to the house of Austria.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid were very unwilling to accede to the preliminaries, and even entered protestations against them, both of these powers pretending to be greatly injured thereby; the empress queen, in particular, complained heavily, that instead of having an equivalent for Silesia, her dominions had been dismembered; and that what was restored to her was left at the mercy of the first invader, by the demolition of the fortifications that should protect them. She complained also, that after having, out of an excess of complaisance to the British nation, refused some very advantageous terms of peace that had been offered her

her by the court of France, she was now left to bear all the calamities that would ensue from so long and bloody a war.

The Spanish government had flattered itself that one of the conditions of these preliminaries would have been, the obliging the court of Great Britain to restore to her Gibraltar; whereas not the least mention was made thereof, either in the preliminaries or the treaty: this therefore was the subject of discontent to that power.

His Sardinian majesty was also unwilling to give his accession, because he found himself disappointed in the hopes of obtaining the possession of Final: but the public benefit getting the better of private interest, all parties at length were prevailed upon to accede. Count Kaunitz, the Austrian plenipotentiary, on the fourteenth of May, signed the act of accession of the empress-queen of Hungary to the preliminary articles. The Sardinian minister, and the plenipotentiary for the duke of Modena, signed their accession on the thirty-first of May; and the Genoese and Spanish plenipotentiaries did the same on the seventeenth of June.

Thirty-seven thousand Russians, under the command of prince Repnin, granted by the czarina to the assistance of the confederates, had been advancing since the beginning of the year from Livonia; and on their entrance into Germany were met by general Mordaunt and colonel Durand, who were appointed by his Britannic majesty to conduct them to the Netherlands. After a march of seven hundred miles, in the month of June they reached the borders of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, the French king declaring, that, should they advance farther, he would destroy the fortifications of Maëstricht and Bergen-op-Zoom. The matter was referred to the decision of the British, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries at the congress, who, on the twenty-second of August, concluded a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should march back to their own country, and that the French king should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they remained till the spring, when they returned into Livonia. In the mean time, thirty-seven thousand French troops were recalled from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies continued inactive till the conclusion of the definitive treaty; but the war was open for a longer continuance in Italy.

The French and Spaniards began early to reinforce their troops in the state of Genoa. Several convoys arrived in that port from Antibes and Monaco, and landed their men with little interruption; so that the French, Spaniards, and Genoese, had an army of thirty thousand men in the heart of the republic, commanded by the duke de Richelieu, exclusive of independent companies, the militia, and armed peasants: but general Brown, at the head of forty-eight thousand Austrians, was preparing to enter the eastern Riviera, and again lay siege to Genoa. M. Belleisle was extending his army, which consisted of fifty thousand French and Spaniards, for the security of the western Riviera, which was also threatened with an invasion by general Leutrum, at the head of forty thousand Austrians and Piedmontese: but before the commencement of hostilities, an insurrection happened

in Sardinia, spirited up by the French and Spaniards, which however was happily terminated.

Count Brown, after several skirmishes on the borders of the republic of Genoa, penetrated into the eastern Riviera; and general Nadaſti made an attempt to surprize Voltri, where he was defeated, with the loss of four hundred men. During this time, M. Belleisle and general Leutrum had intelligence of the preliminary treaty; upon which the cessation of hostilities between the French and Piedmontese in the western Riviera was settled, and limits set to both armies. On the thirtieth of May general Brown received a letter from the duke de Richelieu, with a copy of the act of accession of the empress-queen to the preliminaries, which produced some conferences between the generals, who, on the fourth of June, agreed to a suspension of arms, the river Vara, in the eastern Riviera, being the limit between the two armies.

The naval war in the East Indies was suspended by rear-admiral Griffin, till the arrival of rear-admiral Boscawen, with the reinforcement of ships and men for the service of the British company. The French, in the mean time, were permitted to supply their settlement at Pondicherry with every thing necessary for defending the place against the siege, which was expected on the coming of Mr. Boscawen into those seas. This gentleman arrived at Fort St. David's on the twenty-ninth of July this year, and assumed the command, while rear-admiral Griffin was preparing to return to England. Mr. Boscawen's squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, besides two frigates, a sloop and two tenders, having three thousand five hundred and eighty sailors on board; so that it was determined immediately to undertake the siege of Pondicherry. The admiral himself marched over land from Fort St. David, with a small army of four thousand Europeans and about two thousand natives of the country, while the management of the fleet was left to captain Lisle, of the *Vigilant*, who had orders to anchor with the whole squadron two miles to the southward of Pondicherry, and remain there till farther orders. Thus, by the tenth of August, the place was invested by land, and blocked up by sea.

The garrison of Pondicherry consisted of two thousand Europeans and three thousand Indians. Monsieur Dupleix the French governor, and Mr. Paradis the chief engineer, had taken the most seasonable and best precautions for the defence and security of this settlement. Having had intelligence of the destination of the British squadron, long before the arrival of admiral Boscawen in the Indian sea, they had erected several additional fortifications about the town: they had put the fort of Aria Coupan, situate on the side of a river from whence it takes its name, at about three miles distance from the town, in a defensible condition; and, in fine, seemed to apprehend very little danger from the enterprize carrying on against them.

The British admiral, however, prosecuted his operations with great judgment and spirit: he took the fort of Aria Coupan; after which he made his approaches to the place, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping: but the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the engineers so much more expert in their profession than ours, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage. At length,

length, his army being reduced by sickness, and the rainy season approaching, the admiral ordered the artillery and stores to be re embarked; and raising the siege on the ninth day of October, returned to Fort St. David, without being molested in his march by the enemy. Thus terminated this expedition, with the loss of seven hundred and fifty-seven soldiers, forty-three artillery-men, and two hundred and sixty-five seamen, to the besiegers; and about five hundred Europeans among the French. This was the last action of importance in this part of the world during this war; for all hostilities were soon after discontinued, by the arrival of intelligence of the cessation of arms, and the conclusion of a general peace: but admiral Boscawen had the mortification to see several ships of his squadron, and above twelve hundred of his sailors miserably perish in a dreadful hurricane on the coast of Coromandel.

Nothing happened this year in the Mediterranean more material than the interception of the French and Genoese barks by admiral Byng, who received a letter from the duke of Newcastle, dated the eleventh of July, whereby he was informed of the signing of the preliminaries, and received orders to put a stop to all hostilities on that account, and to return to England, leaving only seven men of war in the Mediterranean. He accordingly arrived at Spithead on the thirteenth of October, and six ships of the line were sent to reinforce the squadron he had left behind him on the coast of Italy, which was commanded by rear-admiral Forbes.

The British cruizers and privateers made some valuable captures this year, both in the European and American seas, having taken in Europe from the French 254 ships, amongst which were three men of war and three East Indiamen. We also took from the French in America two hundred and eighteen ships, the chief part of the number being St. Domingo and Martinico ships, making the whole of the captures taken from the French during this year amount to four hundred and seventy-two.

The prizes taken this year from the Spaniards in the European seas amounted to twenty-five, amongst which were seven regular ships. Their loss in America was seventy-three, of which three were men of war, and forty-three register ships; so that the whole number of Spanish vessels taken this year amounted to ninety-eight; and the whole united loss of the French and Spaniards together for this year amounted to five hundred and seventy ships.

Both those powers, however, made some considerable captures from Great Britain this year, the French having taken in Europe one hundred and thirty-one, and in America two hundred and four ships; in all, three hundred and thirty-five. The Spaniards also took in the European seas fifty-two of our ships, and in America one hundred and six; in all, one hundred and fifty-eight; so that the whole number of the prizes taken from the English this year, by the French and Spaniards together, amounted to four hundred and ninety-three, being seventy-seven less than the prizes taken from them this year by the English.

To conclude, the Spaniards since the commencement of the war had lost one thousand two hundred and forty-nine ships, and the French two

thousand one hundred and eighty-five, being three thousand four hundred and thirty-four together: the English lost one thousand three hundred and sixty ships taken by the Spaniards, and one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight taken by the French, making together three thousand two hundred and thirty-eight, which was one hundred and ninety-six less than those taken by the English during the whole course of the war. Several of the Spanish prizes were immensely rich; a great number of the French were of considerable value, and so were many of the English; but the balance was almost two millions in our favour.

The ministers at Aix-la-Chapelle were all this time assiduously employed in adjusting all the articles of the definitive treaty, in which many difficulties occurred, and great debates happened. In the mean time, however, the prohibition of commerce with Spain was taken off at London by proclamation. This occasioned some murmuring, as British vessels were not admitted into the ports of Spain till some months after. In like manner, all other prohibitions in trade were taken off; and at last, all difficulties being surmounted, the definitive treaty was signed on the seventh of October, by the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson, on the part of Great Britain; by the count de St. Severin and the marquis de la Porthune Thueil, on the part of France; by the marquis de Soto Major, on the part of Spain; by the count de Kaunitz, on the part of her Imperial majesty; by Don Joseph Offorio and the count de Chavannes, on the part of Sardinia; and by count Bentinck and the other plenipotentiaries, for the Dutch; by the count de Monzone for the duke of Modena; and by the marquis Doria for the Genoese.

As this famous treaty has been the subject of much dissension, I shall here give the substance of its contents. The preamble, which is very extensive, recites the original motives which occasioned the late war, &c.

Article I. consists of solemn promises and assurances to observe religiously the peace concluded, &c.

Art. II. Every thing that has passed during the war on all sides to be buried in a general and eternal oblivion.

Art. III. The treaties of Westphalia, Madrid, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, Baden, Hague, the quadruple alliance, and the treaty of Vienna, are all confirmed, that they may not be derogated from by the present treaty.

Art. IV. The prisoners made, and the hostages given, during the war, to be restored on all sides without ransom, and set at liberty in one month after the exchange of the ratification; but to be obliged to pay all debts they have contracted, and all the ships of war and merchantmen which have been taken since the time stipulated by the cessation of arms, to be restored.

Art. V. All the conquests made during the war to be reciprocally restored.

Art. VI. The restitutions and cessions to be made in six weeks after the ratification; the artillery found in the conquered places to be restored in the same condition they were in at the time the towns were taken; nevertheless excepting that at Menin, Aeth, Mons, Charleroi, and Oudenard.

Art. VII. The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, to be ceded to the Infant Don Philip, under an express clause, that those states shall return

turn to the present possessors, in case that prince die without male-issue, or he, or any of his descendants, shall succeed to the throne of Spain or the Two Sicilies.

Art. VIII. Commissaries to be appointed immediately on all sides, to assemble at Nice and Brussels, to effectuate the respective restitutions and cessions.

Art. IX. The king of Great Britain shall send to France two noblemen of the first distinction, by way of hostages, who are to remain there till certain advice is received of the evacuation of Cape Breton, and all the places which may have been taken in the East Indies.

Art. X. Means as commodious as possible for the troops and inhabitants to be taken in the general evacuation.

Art. XI. All the papers and records found in the towns to be restored, expressly naming the archives of Mechlin.

Art. XII. The king of Sardinia to be maintained in the possession of all his estates, principally those ceded to him in 1743, excepting that part of the Plaisantin he possesses, which he cedes to the infant Don Philip.

Art. XIII. The duke of Modena to be re-established in all his estates, and justice done him in respect to the allodial effects which he possessed in the duchy of Guastalla.

Art. XIV. The republic of Genoa to be re-established in all the possessions she enjoyed before the war; the money they had in the banks of Vienna and Turin, and which was confiscated, to be restored; and the payment of the interests to commence from the day of the exchange of the ratifications.

Art. XV. Things to remain in Italy on the same footing they were before the war, excepting the cessions made to the king of Sardinia and the Infant Don Philip.

Art. XVI. The Affiento treaty is confirmed, and permission granted to send to the Spanish West Indies, for four years, a ship extraordinary for the non-enjoyment of that privilege during the war.

Art. XVII. The fortifications of Dunkirk to remain as they now are on the land side; but former treaties to be observed with regard to the port and the works on the sea-side.

Art. XVIII. The differences on the subject of the sums which the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, declared to be due to him, to be amicably adjusted, and the affair of the abby of St. Hubert to be regulated at the same time.

Art. XIX. The article of the treaty of quadruple alliance, which secures the succession of the crown of Great Britain to the house of Hanover, is confirmed in all its points.

Art. XX. All his Britannic majesty's German dominions are guarantied by the contracting powers.

Art. XXI. They guaranty likewise, in the most solemn manner, the pragmatic sanction, that it may not be derogated from by the present treaty.

Art. XXII. They guaranty in like manner Silesia, and the county of Glatz, to his Prussian majesty.

Art. XXIII. As also the execution of all the articles of the present treaty.

Art. XXIV. The exchange of ratifications to be made at Aix-la-Chapelle, within one month, by the ministers of the contracting powers, and in six

weeks by those of the powers which acceded thereto.

There were two other articles also in this treaty; the first of which imports, That no consequence is to be drawn from the titles and precedency which the contracting parties may have taken in this treaty; and the second, That no advantage is to be taken from the use of the French language.

As the sixteenth article of this treaty, relating to the Affiento contract adjusted with the court of Spain, may not be perfectly intelligible to some part of my readers, it will not, I believe, be unacceptable to give them a just idea of that contract; in order to which, it will be necessary to trace it from its original, and explain the motives which gave rise to it.

The necessity the Spaniards found themselves under of having negroes from Africa, to be employed as slaves in the mines of the Spanish Indies, gave room to the conclusion of a treaty on the twenty-seventh of August, 1701, between the kings of Spain and France, made with the royal company of Guinea, for introducing into the countries, terra firma's, and isles, belonging to his Catholic majesty in America, the number of forty-eight thousand negroes, of both sexes and all ages, during the space of ten years, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred each year; which convention subsisted to the end of the term for which it was concluded, viz. the month of May, 1712, when the French Guinea company, not having found the advantages they expected in that traffic, thought proper to discontinue it. The English South Sea company having offered, in 1713, when the negotiations for peace were set on foot at Utrecht, to undertake the negro contract on the same conditions made with the French company, the Affiento treaty was concluded on the twenty-sixth of March in the same year, between queen Anne and king Philip V. of Spain, for the term of thirty years, viz. from the first of May, 1713, to the same day of the year 1743, the conditions and advantages of the treaty being drawn up in forty-two articles, besides an additional article, by which the king of Spain granted to the English company the permission of sending every year, during the said term of thirty years, a ship of five hundred tons, with merchandize to dispose of at the fairs in New Spain, on condition that his Catholic majesty should enjoy a fourth part of the profit arising from that annual ship, as well as from the negro treaty, and receive five per cent. besides of the other three parts belonging to England. Now the war with Spain, which begun in 1739, having ceased in this year 1748, by the signature of the preliminaries of peace, there appears nine years non-enjoyment of the traffic, though but four of the treaty; and therefore an indemnification to the term of its expiration only was agreed to, till such time as the respective powers should think proper to renew it.

Upon the whole, no peace ever gave less satisfaction than this of Aix-la-Chapelle, the principal parties concerned having gained nothing but the experience of each other's strength and resources. The precipitation with which the preliminary articles had been signed, made the English accuse their plenipotentiaries of having studied rather to gain a reputation for address and dispatch, than to render their work firm and lasting; especially when they found that the right of English subjects to navigate

navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned in the treaty, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great Britain and Spain. A few specific explanations, touching the limits of the English and French possessions in Acadia, would have prevented the unhappy disputes which afterwards arose concerning these limits. How our English plenipotentiaries came to pass so important an article over unprovided for, is not easy to ascertain. The French indeed might purposely neglect it, as it furnished their nation with an opportunity to renew the war whenever they should find it for their interest. It is true, the plenipotentiaries on both sides referred this, and all other disputes, to the discussion of commissaries; but we shall soon have occasion to shew that this reference proved the source of continual disputes and evasions, by which, in the sequel, the destructive flame of war was again rekindled in Europe.

His Britannic majesty sent the earl of Suffex and lord Cathcart to France, to remain there as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton (agreeable to the ninth article of the definitive treaty) who were presented to the French monarch at Versailles on the twenty-eighth of November. This step was highly exclaimed against here at home, as being a national disgrace, though it was certain the thing was not without precedent, even in the reign of the great Elizabeth; and later, in that of Lewis XIV. of France, who agreed to send hostages to the duke of Savoy. The two noblemen above-mentioned were detained in France till the surrender of Louisburg to the French in July 1749, which was returned in a better condition than when it was taken from them: but as for Madras, the seat of the British presidency in the East Indies, as the French had no hostages at the English court, this important settlement was left entirely to their generosity, of which they gave a shining instance, by leaving it to the English in a most desolate and ruinous condition. In short, the national disgust against this peace discovered itself every day more and more; and the popular writings against it were so vehement, that many, even of the warmest friends to the government, seemed to have very little besides necessity to plead in favour of the treaty.

It would lead me into too minute and circumstantial a detail to recount all the particulars relating to the recal of the British forces, and the mutual restitution of places: suffice it to say, that every thing was effected with the utmost regularity, and without the intervention of any remarkable incident.

In pursuance of the nineteenth article of the late treaty, the duke de Gesvres, governor of Paris, did, by the French king's orders, declare in form to the young pretender, That however well intentioned his majesty stood towards him, the present circumstances would not permit him to consent to his longer continuance upon the territories of his kingdom; and that his majesty would be pleased to see him conform to such necessity, by retiring to any place he should think proper, out of the dominions of France. To which the young adventurer answered with great haughtiness, "Sir, if this message from the king is the result of his having contracted with the maritime powers, I must give you to understand, that his majesty has also con-

tracted with me; and, Pardie! I will not stir out of Paris." There appears to have been some truth in the young man's allegations: for Lewis, instead of contradicting it, wrote him a letter with his own hand, in the most soothing and persuasive terms. Charles, however, continued obstinate in his resolution not to depart out of France; and even after the arrival of the earl of Suffex and lord Cathcart, who were sent as the British hostages to Paris, he appeared publicly on all occasions, and affected to be treated in their presence with all the distinctions of a prince. The two noblemen complaining of this conduct, the French king found himself under the necessity of having recourse to more serious measures. Accordingly, in the beginning of December he caused him to be arrested as he was going into the opera-house, by twelve serjeants of the guards in disguise, and without the least bustle. He was immediately conducted, with all his retinue present, in three coaches, to the castle of Vincennes, and from thence to the frontiers of the kingdom. It was said, but upon what authority is uncertain, that as soon as the young adventurer was arrested, one of his servants delivered to him a letter from the old pretender his father (which he should have done several days before) expressing his surprize and great concern at his behaviour towards the court of France; complaining of his reservedness and undutifulness, and of his following the opinions and persuasions of bad counsellors; exposing the folly of his attempt to resist the intentions of his most Catholic majesty; commanding him, upon the duty he owed to his father and to his king, immediately to obey the directions of his best friend the king of France; and urging the disgrace and difficulties a contrary behaviour must bring upon him.

This forcible expulsion of the eldest son of the pretender to the crown of Great Britain from the dominions of France, was considered as a great sacrifice to the glory of England. Reciprocal compliments passed between the two courts; the earl of Albemarle was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the French king, and the marquis de Mi-repoix arrived at London in the same capacity.

In the mean while, his Britannic majesty was visiting the most remarkable places of his electoral dominions, and was every where received with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection. He had lately established an university at Gottingen, which he had the satisfaction to see in a flourishing condition. It was the twenty-third of November before he arrived in England, after a tedious and dangerous passage. On his arrival at London, he was complimented by that city on the peace in a very warm and dutiful address.

On the twenty-ninth of November the parliament was opened by a speech from his majesty, in which he acquainted the two houses of the definitive treaty being signed by all parties concerned; and "that he had made the most effectual provision for securing the rights and interests of his subjects, and for procuring to his allies the best terms and conditions that the situation of affairs would admit: that he took much satisfaction in being able to tell them, that he had found a good disposition in all the parties engaged in the war to bring this negociation to a happy conclusion: that from these circumstances they might promise them-

selves a long enjoyment of the blessings of a peace, provided they made a right use and improvement of it: that as great a progress had been made in reducing the public expences as the nature of the case would allow; and he only desired them to grant him such supplies as might be requisite for the current service of the year, for their own security, and for fulfilling such engagements as had been already contracted and laid before them: that times of tranquillity were the most proper for lessening the national debt, and strengthening themselves against future events; and he must recommend to them, as the most effectual means for these purposes, the improving of the public revenue, and the maintaining the naval force of the kingdom in due strength and vigour: that those brave men who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country, were certainly proper objects of parliamentary favour and protection; and he hoped they would deem it their duty, as well as interest, to convert their most serious attention towards the advancing of commerce and the cultivating the arts of peace."

This speech was answered by loyal and affectionate addresses from both houses, though that of the lower was not carried without a violent opposition; the members of which bitterly arraigned the conduct of the ministry for concluding the peace before the arrival of the Russians: and they even threw out intimations that they should set on foot a strict enquiry into the causes which had rendered the events of the war so little answerable to the prodigious expence the nation had been at, and the known bravery of the troops she had employed. The motion for the address, however, was at length carried without a division.

Notwithstanding the re-establishment of peace, and the reduction that had been made, as well in the land as in the sea forces, it was found impossible, at least for some time, to diminish proportionably the public expences. When the commons proceeded to consider the supply, they examined the sums that would be absolutely necessary for making good the engagement of the parliament to his majesty, and the services performed in the prosecution of the war, discharging debts, supplying deficiencies, and providing for the current service of the year; and found that the whole supply of this year would amount to near eight millions sterling: an immense sum! which gave occasion to the opposition to treat Mr. Pelham with great severity, as the author of all the debts and incumbrances with which the nation was loaded. He was, however, powerfully supported by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Murray, his majesty's solicitor-general, now lord Mansfield, and chief-justice of the King's Bench, and the supply was granted without a division. This point being settled, the commons turned their attention to matters of another nature.

A bill was prepared for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act, the laws relating to his majesty's navy. One intention of the bill was, to render half-pay officers subject to martial law, in the same manner as if they were upon full pay. The gentlemen of the navy immediately took the alarm. Sir Peter Warren, who was at this time member of parliament for the city and liberty of Westminster, and in great reputation for his integrity as well as courage, presented a petition to

the house against the bill on the twenty-fourth of February, 1749, which was signed by no less than three admirals and sixty-four captains, who were not members of the house. Many of these repaired to the admiralty, and threatened to throw up their commissions, should the clause pass into a law. It was therefore thought advisable by the ministry to drop it. There was another clause in this bill which also met with vehement opposition: this was to oblige the members of a court-martial to take an oath not to disclose at any time, or upon any account, the opinions or transactions of such court. Many and plausible were the objections raised to this clause. It was in particular observed, that it was possible for the members of a court-martial, from private or particular considerations, to commit the most flagrant injustice; and that it was impossible for parliaments (by this clause) to apply redress, because it was impossible to discover the facts, which this oath absolutely and eternally sealed up. For these and other reasons, an amendment was proposed, empowering a member of a court-martial to reveal, if required by either house of parliament, the opinion of such court in all cases, in which the courts of justice, as the laws then stood, had a right to interfere. This amendment, however, was rejected; and the question being at last put, was carried in the affirmative by a considerable majority.

But the most obstinate and longest debate this session was induced by the mutiny-bill, and particularly by the last clause of it, which was entirely new, importing, "That as it might be otherwise doubted, whether the officers and persons employed in the trains of artillery, or the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces or marines on the British or Irish establishment on half-pay, were within the intent and meaning of this act, for punishing officers and soldiers who should mutiny or desert his majesty's service, and for punishing false musters, and for payment of quarters; it was hereby enacted, that the officers or persons employed, or that should be employed in the several trains of artillery, or the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces or marines on the British and Irish establishment of half-pay, should be at all times subject to all the penalties and punishments mentioned in this act, and should, in all respects whatsoever, be held to be within the intent and meaning of it during the time of its continuance." Such a clause, it was said, was replete with the most alarming danger to the very constitution of this land, inasmuch as it would increase the number of officers depending upon the crown, and subject to military law, who consequently would always be the ready and compliant instruments of carrying into execution all schemes adopted by the ministry, however repugnant to the laws, or to the liberties and privileges of the people." The clause, however, was strongly supported by Mr. Pitt; and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. A bill was afterwards brought in for limiting the time of service in the army; but upon a division, it was put off for two months, which was equal to being rejected; because it was understood that the parliament before that time would be prorogued, it being then the latter end of April.

The abuse of paper-money all over the British plantations and colonies in America was by this

time grown to so great an height, that at the motion of Mr. Walpole, auditor of America, a bill was brought in "to regulate and restrain paper bills of credit in the British colonies and plantations in America, to prevent the same being legal tenders in payment for money:" but this bill was so strongly opposed by several eminent merchants, as well of North America as of London, that it was dropt for this session.

The next object that engaged the attention of the commons was a bill for extending and improving the trade to the coast of Africa; the preamble of which remarks, "That the trade to and from Africa being very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the supplying her plantations and colonies with a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates, ought for that reason to be free and open to all his majesty's subjects. It was therefore enacted, that it shall be free and lawful for all the king's subjects to and from any place in Africa, between the port of Sallee in South Barbary, and the Cape of Good Hope, without any restraint whatsoever, except as herein expressed; and that all his majesty's subjects so trading, &c. should be united under certain regulations into an open company, by the name of "the company of merchants trading to Africa," without any joint stock or power to trade as a corporation; and that the forts and settlements should be put under proper management and direction," &c. &c.

Thus this very considerable branch of the British commerce again assumed a new appearance, after having passed through several other different constitutions and various conditions; this bill passed the lower house, but was stopped in the upper till the end of the session. Nevertheless, it was carried in the course of the succeeding, and finally confirmed by the royal sanction. What was by this act established still remains in being, and with general approbation, though there are not wanting some who still think, that so important a trade ought to be under a stricter government, and even in a joint stock corporation, as in former times; of which opinion, time and experience of the traders to that extended coast must determine the validity.

Several other bills were introduced in the course of this session; but as none of them were attended with any remarkable debate, nor brought to maturity till the succeeding year, they will come to be more properly explained among the transactions of that period. On the thirteenth day of June his majesty closed the session with a speech, in which he said, That the terms and conditions of the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been carried into execution by the several contracting parties with great punctuality and good faith, so far as the time and distance of the places would admit. He hoped, he said, that at the next meeting they would be able to perfect what they had now begun, for advancing the trade and navigation of his kingdoms; particularly, by rendering our naval force the most serviceable and useful. He then expressed his satisfaction at seeing the public credit in so flourishing a condition, at the end of an expensive, though necessary war. And, lastly, after returning them thanks for their supplies, and recommending unanimity to them, he dismissed them.

As the French were put into the repossession of Cape Breton, it was natural for the British ministry

to fix their attention on the cultivation and improvement of their long neglected settlement of Nova Scotia, where, by a proper colonization of protestants in so valuable a tract of territory, more than an equal participation of the profits of the French fishery would fall to the English; a potent barrier would be erected for the security of the British provinces in North America; and a perpetual seminary of sailors would be established.

The earl of Halifax, then first lord of trade and plantations, was the principal promoter of a scheme so highly advantageous to the national interest, in which he was assisted by many considerable persons; and a plan was proposed for establishing a civil government in Nova Scotia, by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragements to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed from the land and sea-service as should be willing to settle in that part of the world. The king having considered the said proposal with his usual coolness and discernment, was pleased to honour it with his royal approbation; and the lords of trade and plantations, by the command of his majesty, gave notice in the Gazette, and other public papers, on the seventh of March, 1749, that proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his majesty's land and sea-service, as were willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle with or without families in the province of Nova Scotia. A grant of fifty acres of land in fee-simple was promised to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of quit-rents or taxes for the term of ten years; at the expiration whereof, no person was to pay more than one shilling a year for every fifty acres so granted; and an additional grant of ten acres was promised to each private soldier or seaman having a family, for every person, including women and children, of which his family should consist. A grant of eighty acres, upon the like conditions, was offered to every officer under the rank of ensign in the land-service, and that of lieutenant in the sea-service; and to such as had families, fifteen acres more for every person of which their family consisted. A grant of two hundred acres, on the like conditions, was offered to every ensign, three hundred to every lieutenant, four hundred to every captain, and six hundred to every officer above the rank of captain in the land service; as also the like quantity of four hundred acres, and on the same conditions, to every lieutenant in the sea-service, and six hundred acres to every captain; and to such of the above-mentioned officers as had families, a further grant of thirty acres was offered, over and above their respective quotas, for every person of which their families consisted: it was also promised, that the land should be parcelled out to the settlers as soon as possible after their arrival, and a civil government established; and that proper measures should also be taken for their security and protection: that the colonists should be subsisted during their passage; as also for the space of 12 months after their arrival; and that they should be furnished with arms and ammunition, as far as would be judged necessary for their defence, and a proper quantity of materials and utensils for husbandry, clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, carrying on the fishery, and such other purposes as should be necessary for their support: carpenters, shipwrights, and such other artificers as were necessary for husbandry and building, were

to be gratified with the same quantity of land as private soldiers: a civil government was to be established among them as soon as possible, by which they were to enjoy all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of his majesty's other subjects in America; and care was to be taken for their security and protection.

This excellent and patriotic scheme met with the success it so well deserved. By the beginning of May no less than three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons and families had engaged themselves to go as settlers to this new colony, and were embarked on board transports for that purpose. The government of this infant colony was bestowed on the honourable Edward Cornwallis, esq. who accompanied the colonists in their voyage. The whole fleet arrived safely at Nova Scotia; and on the twenty-first of June anchored in the bay of Chebucto, in the very center of the southern part of the province, having Annapolis on the left, and Canso on the right. A town was now planned out at the head of Chebucto harbour, which was soon built, fortified, and divided into lots, and called HALIFAX, in honour of the noble lord who principally assisted in promoting the establishment of this colony, which soon wore an auspicious aspect, promising not only greatly to over-balance the expence of the government, but to exceed all the real and imaginary advantages that might have resulted from the possession of Cape Breton; and it is at this day become a flourishing and important settlement.

Few affairs of any importance occurred on the continent of Europe this year. Don Philip took possession of Parma and Placentia, pursuant to the late treaty. The court of Russia having entertained some suspicions that the Swedes intended to change the form of their government after the death of their king, which her interest obliged her to preserve inviolate, marched a body of her troops towards Finland, in order to be ready to act on the first warning, in case of such an event, which was every day expected. Various declarations were now made on both sides; and his Prussian majesty, alarmed at the conduct of the czarina, wrote a letter to the king of Great Britain, earnestly intreating him to co-operate with him and the king of France in preserving the peace of the North. With this request his Britannic majesty, little reason as he had to be satisfied with the court of Stockholm, most generously complied. It appeared in the sequel, that her czarish majesty's apprehensions were altogether without foundation, and that the senate of Sweden had no intention to alter the form of government.

The French, according to all accounts, were prosecuting with the greatest vigour a plan for restoring and encreasing their marine, which had been so roughly handled in the late war; and, according to a scheme of monsieur de Rouillé, they were in the space of eight years to have one hundred and eleven ships of the line, twenty-two bomb-ketches, and twenty-five fire-ships, ready to put to sea at the first notice. In the mean time, encouraged, as it should appear, by the submission of the British ministry in sending hostages to Paris, they thought they might practise their old intrigues in America; and though by the late treaty, and those upon which it was founded, the islands in the West Indies, commonly called the Neutral Islands,

were to remain unsettled and unfortified till the right of sovereignty was determined; yet scarce had the definitive treaty of peace been ratified, when the French ministry sent orders to the marquis de Caylus, their governor of Martinico, to take possession of Tobago, one of the neutral islands, in the French king's name, though Mr. Grenville, governor of Barbadoes, had given the French inhabitants upon that island a regular notice to quit the same in thirty days, under pain of military execution. In contradiction to this, the marquis de Caylus, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1748, published a proclamation, asserting the sovereignty of France to Tobago and the other neutral islands, declaring that he would protect the inhabitants of Tobago, and prohibiting their having any correspondence with the British, Dutch, or Danish colonies. This proclamation was followed by the sending two French ships of war, with one hundred and fifty soldiers, besides settlers, to fortify Tobago, where they arrived and erected some batteries. Upon this, governor Grenville dispatched captain Tyrrel, who commanded a British squadron on the Barbadoes station, with a forty and a twenty gun ship, and a sloop, to observe the motions of these encroachers: but this commander had only the mortification of perceiving the French fortifying the island, and preventing the English from cutting wood there, while he was unable to impede their operations, being unprovided with proper powers. Intelligence of these proceedings of the French being transmitted to our ministry, a courier was dispatched to Versailles to colonel York, the British resident there, to make remonstrances on this subject; and soon after our ambassador at the court of France acquainted our court, that the French king disclaimed all knowledge of such proceedings, and had sent orders to evacuate that island: but this appears to have been a shameful evasion, the marquis de Caylus afterwards declaring, that he had positive directions from the French ministry concerning his conduct at Tobago.

As to the other powers of Europe, very little interesting happened among them that could injure Great Britain. The empress-queen and the czarina made a farther alliance with each other, in order to be the better able to oppose the king of Prussia, who still kept a numerous army on foot, and of whose designs those two sovereigns were become very jealous. In the South, the king of Sardinia, who still continued dissatisfied with the empress-queen, entered into a defensive treaty with France and Spain, the king of the Two Sicilies, the duke of Modena, the republic of Genoa, and the duke of Parma; by which he was secured in the quiet enjoyment of all the estates which he at present possessed, or should afterwards acquire; and by which their Catholic and most Christian majesties engaged to furnish thirty thousand men to such of the contracting powers as should want their assistance. But lest the concluding this treaty should give umbrage to England, his Sardinian majesty declared, by his minister at London, that he was determined punctually to observe all his engagements with the king of Great Britain and the empress-queen.

In the course of this summer an accident happened which gave the court of Great Britain some uneasiness. A corsair of Algiers, one of the piratical states of Barbary, made prize of the Prince Frederic

Frederic packet-boat from Lisbon, detained her near a month at Algiers, and confiscated all the money and jewels found on board her, to the amount of upwards of ninety thousand pounds, under the pretence of its being the property of the Jews and Portuguese. Hereupon commodore Keppel was sent with seven ships of war before Algiers, to reclaim the ship and treasure; but he was obliged to return without success. Soon after an Algerine ambassador was sent with some presents to England, and the affair was compromised.

Of the domestic transactions in Great Britain during the course of the year 1749, the following are the most deserving of notice. In the month of January, a special commission was opened at Chichester in Suffex, for the trial of a number of smugglers for the barbarous murder of one Galley, a custom-house officer, and another person, his friend, when seven of the villains were convicted, and received sentence of death; and one dying in gaol, the other six were soon after executed. In February the declaration of a general peace was proclaimed at the usual places in London and Westminster; and in April a most magnificent firework was played off in the Green-Park, in commemoration of that event. It was honoured by the presence of his majesty and the royal family, both houses of parliament, and all the principal persons of London and Westminster; but it miscarried in the execution by the sudden blowing up of a part of the structure; and so the great pains, time, and expence bestowed upon it, were rendered fruitless.

Murders and robberies still continuing to be very frequent in and about the cities of London and Westminster, a proclamation was published, offering a reward of one hundred pounds, over and above all other rewards, to be paid by the lords of the Treasury, upon the conviction of any murderer or robber in those cities, or within five miles thereof. Violent riots and tumults also prevailed throughout the kingdom at this period, evidently owing to the numbers of unprovided persons discharged from the army and navy. The most dangerous of these happened at Bristol, where great numbers of people from Gloucestershire and Somersetshire assembled, cut down the turnpikes, and committed various other outrages. Many of them were well armed, and bid defiance for some time to the magisterial power. At length, six troops of dragoons being sent down against them, soon obliged them to disperse, and restored quiet to the country.

The attention of the public was likewise engaged much about the same time, by another disturbance of a very singular nature. Some young Oxonians, of an irregular and dissolute turn, had for some time taken it into their heads, in all companies, and on all occasions, to be guilty of many idle and insolent reflections upon the present government, and even publicly to toast the young pretender's health. The vice-chancellor of the university, and the heads of houses, had done their utmost to check the licentiousness of these sparks, but in vain; therefore, in order to disculpate themselves, they published a declaration, expressing their utmost abhorrence of such factious and seditious practices, and likewise their firm resolution to punish, according to the utmost severity

and rigour of the statutes, all persons, of what state or quality soever, who should be convicted of such offences. Nevertheless, as no punishment was inflicted on the delinquents by the university, the government ordered three of the most audacious of them to be taken into custody; two of whom, Dawes and Whitmore, were tried in the court of King's Bench; and being found guilty, on the clearest evidence, were sentenced to walk through the courts of Westminster, with a paper affixed on their foreheads denoting their crimes, to pay a fine of five nobles each, to be imprisoned for two years, and to find security for their good behaviour during seven years more. Some severe censures were passed upon the university itself on this occasion; the principals of which were strongly suspected of being tinctured with Jacobitism.

The university of Cambridge, on the other hand, had recommended herself greatly to the government, by the many signal instances it had given of her attachment to revolution principles and the protestant succession. The duke of Somerset, who had been many years chancellor of that university, being lately deceased, the heads made choice of the duke of Newcastle to succeed him, whose acceptance thereof is said to have given great umbrage to the prince of Wales, who himself had some desire to be made chancellor. The duke, however, at his majesty's command, was installed, and this was made a handle of to create a breach in the royal family.

On the twenty-second of June prince George (his present majesty) the margrave of Anspach, the dukes of Bedford and Leeds, and the earls of Granville and Albemarle, were elected knights of the garter; and on the twenty-sixth, sir Peter Warren, sir Edward Hawke, sir Charles Howard, sir Charles Amand Poulet, sir John Mordaunt, and sir John Sackville, were installed knights of the Bath, in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster-abbey.

This year was distinguished by the death of several very eminent personages, viz. Charles Seymour, the great and magnificent duke of Somerset; that humane and generous nobleman, John duke of Montagu; field-marshal Richard Temple, viscount Cobham; John Lindsay, the brave earl of Crawford; admiral sir John Norris; and sir Watkyn-Williams Wynn, so famous for his opposition to the Walpolean administration.

On the sixteenth day of November the parliament met, when his majesty opened the session with a speech, in which he said, That it was with particular pleasure that he now met them, at a time when the re-establishment of a general peace had restored to his people the blessings of quiet and tranquillity: that the good effects resulting from hence were already apparent in the flourishing condition of commerce, and the rise of public credit, which naturally laid the surest foundation for an increase of strength, and of lasting prosperity to his kingdoms: that he had not failed, during the course of this summer, to avail himself of every opportunity to cement and preserve the peace; and it was his firm resolution to do every thing in his power to preserve it inviolable, and religiously to adhere to the engagements he had contracted. Very dutiful addresses were presented in answer to this speech by both houses; and these addresses received as cordial a return.

The

The resolutions of the committee of supply were in the main the same as passed last session, though the total of the sum granted was not so great. They voted one hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and thirty-two pounds for making good the engagements into which his majesty had entered; one million forty-five thousand five hundred and ninety pounds towards discharging the national debt; four hundred and sixty-three thousand fifty-two pounds for supplying deficiencies; two hundred forty-nine thousand nine hundred and thirty pounds for defraying extraordinary expences; one hundred twenty-two thousand two hundred and forty-six pounds for reimbursing the inhabitants of North America the money they had expended in making preparations for an expedition against Canada, and for supporting the colony of Nova Scotia; thirty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-six pounds towards maintaining those colonists for the space of a twelvemonth; and two millions one hundred ninety-nine thousand eight hundred fifty-five pounds for the ensuing year. The whole supply amounted to upwards of four millions. The land-forces were fixed at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven men, and the number of marines at fifteen thousand.

As the proceedings of this session were many of them of a nature that does not admit being particularized here, and others of them of the same nature with those that the reader has already seen, I shall avoid a minute detail of all that passed, confining myself only to the most important.

In the rank of which we may place the act for the reduction of the interest upon the national debt, from four per cent. to three and a half, and afterwards to three per cent. by which an addition of near six hundred thousand pounds per annum was begun to be gradually made to the sinking fund. The public debts, which bore four per cent. stood as follows:

1. The principal sum payable	l.	s.	d.
at the Exchequer, of -	312000	0	0
2. Capital Bank-stock -	8486800	0	0
3. Certain annuities transferable at the Bank -	18402472	0	10
4. Capital stock of the East India company -	3200000	0	0
5. Capital South Sea stock, and old and new South Sea annuity-stock -	27302203	5	6½
Total	57703475	6	4½

Mr. Pelham, who took upon himself the whole stress of the debate on this important subject, so clearly demonstrated the expediency and utility of this scheme, and that nothing can so effectually contribute to make trade flourish, as the lessening the public debts and incumbrances with justice and public faith, that the house came to the following resolutions, which they caused to be printed by way of advertisement, in the London Gazette of November 29, 1749, for public information, and imported, "That all the proprietors of the said public debts incurred before Michaelmas 1749, who shall, on or before the twenty-eighth of February, 1750, subscribe their names, or signify their consent to accept of an interest of three per cent. per annum, to commence from the 25th of

December, 1757, shall be entitled to four per cent. till the 25th of December, 1750, and from thence to 3 l. 10 s. per cent. until the 25th of December, 1757; and no part of the same (except what is due to the East India company) shall be liable to be redeemed, until the said 25th of December, 1757."

This is what was called the first subscription, because all the proprietors of the above-named debts did not come into this proposed subscription within the time limited by this act, although the major part of them did; and although the second subscription to that reduction was enacted till the spring of the year 1750; yet, for connection's sake, I shall here give the substance of an act of this same session, "for giving further time to such of the proprietors of the before-named annuities to subscribe the same upon the terms therein mentioned, and for redeeming (i. e. paying off the principal sums) of such of the said annuities as shall not be subscribed; and for empowering the East India company to raise certain sums by transferable annuities." It recites, "That great part of those before-named annuities had been subscribed on the terms of the first named statute: it was therefore hereby enacted, that such proprietors as have not so subscribed, and who shall, on or before the thirtieth day of May, 1750, accept of an interest of three per cent. to commence from the twenty-fifth of December, 1755 (in the meantime to have the same terms in other respects as the former subscribers have) shall not be redeemable till the said twenty-fifth of December, 1755, may subscribe on or before the said thirtieth of May, 1750; and such as shall not subscribe on or before that day shall be redeemed and paid off." Thus the said second subscribers had a reduction of their interest from three and a half per cent. to three per cent. two years sooner than those of the first subscription; and such as remained determined not to subscribe at all, who however were not very many, were paid off their principal sums out of the sinking fund. Lastly, the East India company were empowered, by consent of the commissioners of the Treasury (if they subscribed their three millions two hundred thousand pounds stock, and their one million annuities, by the thirtieth of May, 1750) to borrow any sums not exceeding four millions two hundred thousand pounds, by sale of annuities, viz. three millions two hundred thousand pounds, after the several rates of interest in the terms of this second subscription, and one million more at the rate of three per cent. per annum; with which that company accordingly complied.

In the course of this session the mutiny act received some considerable alterations. The members of a court-martial were freed from the oath of secrecy, upon their being required by a court of justice to give evidence as witnesses in the due course of law, and the sentence of a court-martial was declared to be revisable no more than once.

A spirit of resentment had for some time been growing up among the people of England against the Dutch, who had first disgusted them by their lukewarmness and double-dealing in the common cause, during the whole of the late war; and the great cry was, to wrest out of the hands of the Dutch the fishery for herring on the British coast, which that people had for many years usurped, and by which they had acquired immense riches. As our ministry were desirous of indulging the public

in whatever should be thought for its advantage, a committee had been appointed last session to consider the state of the British fishery, when, after some time taken up in making the proper enquiries, general Oglethorpe, chairman of the committee, reported, as their resolution, "That the carrying on the British herring and cod-fisheries will be of eminent advantage to the trade and navigation of these kingdoms, and is highly worthy the consideration of parliament, and deserves proper encouragement." A bill was ordered to be brought in on these resolutions; but on account of the lateness of the season, it was put off for that time.

Soon after the opening of this session, the affair was again revived; and the spirit of the nation, as well as the attention of the legislature, still farther stimulated by a petition to parliament from the inhabitants of Southwold and Leostoff, who declared that the Dutch had for about eight years fished so near the shore, that their nets swept the ground, and by that means prevented the inhabitants from fishing, as an hundred Dutch fishing vessels had frequently been anchoring at once in their harbour in two or three fathom water; and that when the inhabitants complained of this unwarrantable encroachment, the Dutch had threatened to sink their boats, or tear their nets in pieces.

The commons having referred this matter to a committee, they came to the following resolutions, which were reported by general Oglethorpe on the fifteenth of February, 1750, and agreed to by the house, viz. "That the carrying on the British white herring and cod-fisheries would be of great advantage to the trade and navigation of these kingdoms; and that every impediment to such trade ought to be removed with all convenient dispatch: that, as a further encouragement to all persons to engage in these fisheries, a bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be granted and paid out of the customs to all new vessels from twenty to twenty-eight tons burthen, which should be built for that purpose, and actually employed in the fisheries: that in order to induce adventurers to employ their money in these fisheries, a society should be incorporated, under the name of the Free British Fishery, by a charter, though not exclusive, with power to raise a capital not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds; and that three and a half per cent. should be granted and paid out of the customs to the proprietors for fourteen years, for so much of the capital as should be actually employed in such fisheries."

Upon these resolutions a bill was presented by general Oglethorpe, by order of the house, for the encouragement of the White Herring fishery, which passed through both houses, and afterwards received the royal assent. The bill was no sooner passed than there was a general meeting of the persons named in the act, when the prince of Wales was chosen governor; Slingsby Bethell, esq. president; and Stephen-Theodore Janssen, esq. vice-president, both of them aldermen of London. A council, consisting of thirty persons, was also appointed for managing the affairs of the company, to whom his majesty's charter of incorporation was granted, bearing date the eleventh of October, 1750.

The success of this public-spirited undertaking has not hitherto indeed fully answered the expecta-

tions of the worthy promoters of it, whose generous zeal deserves the highest commendations: but it is to be considered, that it is extremely difficult to beat another nation out of a trade they have so long possessed, even with the above great encouragement from the public; and more especially so frugal a people as the Dutch, who can content themselves with smaller gains than other nations, and carry on the fishery every one on his own private bottom.

Amongst other public-spirited acts of this session, one passed for the encouragement of the manufacture of British sail-cloth, which, by the Irish underselling us, was fallen into great decay. In order to retrieve it, this act imposed a duty of four-pence per yard upon all Irish sail-cloth brought into Great Britain. Another act also passed to encourage the importation of pig and bar iron from his majesty's colonies in North America; and to prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making of steel, in any of the said colonies. The title of this statute, which is sufficient for our purpose, plainly shews how jealous our legislature was of our greatly increasing northern colony people going far into manufactures interfering with those of their mother-country. Nevertheless, as our continent colonies are increasing fast in people, perhaps it would not be altogether impolitic to allow some latitude in that respect, as the proportionable increase of our people there will undoubtedly occasion a like or greater increase of our general commerce.

The last acts of this session, of which I shall take notice here, are two relating to the silk-trade; for promoting the manufacture of which in Great Britain, an act passed, whereby the duties payable on raw silk imported from China by the East India company were now reduced to the same duty as is payable on raw silk from Italy: and upon a petition from the dealers and manufacturers of raw and thrown silks, representing the vast benefit that would accrue to the kingdom by the growth of that commodity (which of late was become excessively dear) in the British southern colonies of America, an act passed to repeal the duties upon American silk imported into England. Since this act the culture of silk has visibly, though gradually, increased there, and more particularly in Carolina and Georgia; and it seems not improbable that, in a reasonable space of time, those two provinces, provided they will steadily pursue the said culture, may hereafter have the new honour of being denominated the Silk Colonies.

On the twelfth of April his majesty repaired to the house of peers; and after thanking the members of the house of commons for the supplies they had granted, and the attention they had shewn to the good of the public in reducing the national interest, he ordered the parliament to be prorogued. Soon after this his majesty set out for his German dominions, having first appointed a council to govern the kingdom in his absence.

During these transactions, the people of England were thrown into the utmost consternation by two shocks of an earthquake; the first on the eighth of February, between twelve and one at noon, was felt all over the cities of London and Westminster, and

and parts adjacent; some chimnies were thrown down, and in many places the waters were agitated in a very extraordinary manner.

On the eighth of March, at half an hour after five o'clock in the morning, the town was alarmed a second time, by a more severe shock than the former, attended with a hollow, rustling noise, as of wind, and numbers of people were awakened out of their sleep by its violence: however, providentially no mischief happened, except the throwing down several chimnies, and the damaging some houses. In some places the shock was so violent, that the people ran from their beds and houses almost naked, in the greatest consternation at this very unusual visitation. Preceding the shock there was observed a continual, tho' confused lightning, till within a minute or two of its being felt, which darted very low, and the flashes were very strong. It was felt in Essex, Surrey, and Kent, as well as in most parts of Middlesex; and in all the four counties the panic was universal, and was still further encreased by the ridiculous prediction of a wild enthusiast, who pretended to foretel a third shock to happen in a short time, which would lay all London and Westminster in ruins: the fanatic happened luckily to be mistaken; but the two shocks which had already been felt, had brought a serious air upon every face. The pulpits and the press were employed in calling a degenerate people to repentance, and in deprecating the wrath of heaven; and vice was for a little time out of countenance. But soon this was all forgot; the wicked returned to their vices, and the weak forgot their real as well as their imaginary terrors. On the eighteenth of March, between five and six in the evening, a shock was also felt at Gosport, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight, which greatly surprised and terrified the inhabitants. Several other places in Europe were visited with this dreadful calamity, as France, Germany, &c. The island of Cerigo, in the Archipelago, was almost destroyed, and above two thousand of the inhabitants perished.

On the twentieth of April, died sir Samuel Pennant, lord-mayor of London, whose death I mention because it was occasioned by an infectious distemper, supposed to be the goal fever, which prevailed in Newgate, and was from thence carried to the Sessions-house in the Old-bailey, where it proved fatal to the gentleman above-mentioned; to sir Daniel Lambert, knight and alderman; to Mr. Clark, a baron of the Exchequer; to sir Thomas Abney, a judge of the Common-pleas; to many of the lawyers who attended the sessions; to the greatest part of the jury, and to a vast number of the spectators.

In the month of July the prince and princess of Wales, with the lady Augusta (now hereditary princess of Brunswic) their eldest daughter, made a tour to the west of England, and were received every where with the greatest honour and respect; and soon after their royal highnesses visited Southampton and the isle of Wight, where their reception was equally respectful and affectionate. A little after Midsummer this year, arrived the first parcel of herrings caught by the buffes of the newly incorporated society of the free British fishery off Shetland.

Little happened in the other nations of Europe, of importance to the interests of Great-Britain. The

king of Portugal dying in the summer of this year, was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph, who renewed all the amicable connexions of his predecessor with our court. About the same time, a new treaty of subsidy between the king of Great-Britain, the empress-queen, the States-general, and the elector of Bavaria, was signed at Herenhausen near Hanover, where his majesty then was, on a visit to his German dominions: his majesty afterwards concluded a new treaty with the emperor of Morocco, and an agreement was made for the redemption of sixty British captives.

The many difficulties started by the court of Spain, against the carrying on the South Sea company's *Asiento* trade; the oppressions of the Spanish officers and governors in the West Indies; the frauds too obviously committed, on the other hand, by the company's agents in those parts, in spite of the regulations and restrictions enjoined them by their principals; and the complaint of the British merchants trading to Cadiz, seemed now all to concur, at both courts, for putting a final period to a trade which, without any substantial benefit to Great-Britain, had given insuperable umbrage to the court of Madrid: so that both crowns were easily brought to conclude a treaty at Madrid, on the fifth of October, N. S. 1750, to the following purport: "That the ambassadors of both kings, at the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, anno 1748, having then agreed to regulate, at a proper time and place, the equivalent which Spain should give, in consideration of the non enjoyment of the remaining years of the *Asiento* of negroes, and of the annual ship granted to Great-Britain; their said Britannic and Catholic majesties now agree, that the king of Spain should pay to the South Sea company, within the space of three months, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, by way of indemnification, as well for non-execution of the *Asiento* contract as to make amends for the four years in which they did not send out their annual ships: that with regard to the trade and navigation of the English in the ports of the king of Spain's dominions, all the treaties concluded between the two nations for the last eighty three years should be punctually observed and fulfilled: that of consequence, the British ships that traded in the ports of his most Catholic majesty should pay no other duties for the goods than what they paid in the reign of Charles II. of Spain: that the subjects of Great-Britain should, in the places where they come to traffick, pay only the same duties as the subjects of his Catholic majesty, who promised that the English should be treated, in his dominions, on the same footing as the most favoured nations: and finally, that they should continue to enjoy the privilege of taking in salt at the island of Tortula, which was possessed by the Spaniards."

This is truly a "definitive treaty" in the strictest sense of the term, as it relates solely to differences between the court of Spain and Great-Britain, without any relation to, or connection with, any other nation. Hereby a period was absolutely put to all foreign commerce whatever, of the South Sea company. To conclude this subject, I shall here observe, that this company, having proposed to the government to accept of an interest of four per cent. on their capital stock of three millions

millions six hundred and sixty-two thousand seven hundred and eighty-four pounds, until Christmas, 1757; and then to stand reduced to three per cent. per annum; provided that the manner of the receipt from the Exchequer, and the charges of management upon the present old and new South Sea annuities, and on their said capital stock, be continued as they now are. An act of parliament, in consequence thereof, passed the following year, for reducing the same accordingly, on these terms.

The favourite measure which his Britannic majesty had in view while he was abroad, was the election of the archduke Joseph, eldest son of the emperor and the empress queen, to be king of the Romans. But tho' his majesty had the election greatly at heart, yet it met with much opposition; the king of Prussia, and the French party in the empire, having a majority in the diet, thro' which they insisted the proposal must pass before it came to the electors. The king of Spain having some interest in the German body, was applied to for his good offices in behalf of the archduke, by the British minister at Madrid; but his Catholic majesty seemed not in the least inclined to concern himself therein, so that the affair at present was entirely laid aside.

His majesty returned to England from his German dominions on the fourth of November; but it was the seventeenth of January, 1751, before the parliament was opened, when his majesty, in a most gracious speech, acquainted both houses of his having concluded a treaty with the king of Spain, whereby such particular differences as could not be settled by a general treaty, had been amicably adjusted. He also took notice of his having, in conjunction with the empress-queen and the States-general, concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria; both which treaties, he said, should be laid before them. He represented all the contracting powers in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle as determined to preserve the general peace; and then concluded with an exhortation to unanimity, the improving the trade and commerce of the nation, and the putting in force the laws against the disturbers of the domestic peace of the kingdom.

Both houses returned addresses upon this speech, full of the most loyal professions, which met with the most gracious reception and the warmest return from the throne.

The attention of the commons was entirely engrossed at the beginning of this session, in considering a case of a very delicate and interesting nature. Lord Trentham, eldest son to earl Gower, and one of the representatives for Westminster, having in the course of the former session accepted of the place of a lord of the admiralty, his seat in parliament became of consequence vacated; and having again declared himself a candidate, he met with a powerful opponent in the person of sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, who was powerfully supported by the anti-ministerial party, and by all those who assumed the name of independent electors.

During the recess of parliament, matters had been carried on with great acrimony between the two parties. Upon the closing of the poll, lord Trentham appeared to have the majority of votes; upon which the other candidate demanded a scrutiny, which was immediately granted; and this likewise turned out in favour of his lordship, who

was thereupon returned by the high bailiff of Westminster as duly elected, and took his seat accordingly in the house at the opening of the session. Enraged at their defeat, the other party immediately presented two petitions to the house against this return; one from sir George's friends, the other from himself, both complaining of the injustice and partiality shewn by the high-bailiff in the course of the scrutiny. In opposition to these, lord Trentham made complaint of unconstitutional practices in his opponents, and in particular of their having insulted and intimidated the high-bailiff in the execution of his office.

The matter was now brought before the house, where the high-bailiff made his appearance, and accused counsellor Crowle, the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to the lord Elibank, and one Gibson, an upholder, of having been most forward in obstructing him in the discharge of his duty. These three persons were summoned to the bar, when Mr. Crowle was ordered to receive a reprimand from the speaker on his knees, and Gibson was committed prisoner to Newgate. The charge against Mr. Murray was more heavy than against the other two, the high bailiff accusing him of having behaved in the most riotous and scandalous manner, as well during the time of the scrutiny as when it was over, and with threatening him, the high-bailiff, and committing other acts of violence after the return was made; in particular, the having put himself at the head of a mob who seemed to be for sir George Vandeput, and exciting and inflaming the said mob to insult and murder the high-bailiff, by repeatedly crying out, "Will no body knock the dog on the head? Will no body kill the dog?" or words to that effect. Full proof of this charge being made to the house, they resolved that Mr. Murray should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, and that he should be brought to the bar of the house to receive sentence on his knees. To the bar he was accordingly brought; but when he came there he peremptorily refused to kneel; a circumstance that greatly aggravated his former crime, by thus daring to set the whole house of commons at defiance. It was therefore resolved, that the honourable Alexander Murray, esq. having in a most insolent and audacious manner, at the bar of the house, refused to be upon his knees, in compliance with their former resolution, had been guilty of a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the house: that for this offence he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate; and that while he was there, he should not be allowed the use of pen, ink, or paper, nor be indulged in the privilege of having any person admitted to him, without the leave of the house.

These resolutions were immediately put in execution, and that night (or rather morning, for this affair kept the house sitting till one o'clock) Mr. Murray was conveyed to Newgate, where he continued till the end of the session, and the legality of lord Trentham's election was now fully confirmed.

On the fifth of February a proclamation was issued, promising a reward of one thousand pounds for apprehending the author, for each of the printers five hundred pounds, and for each of the publishers fifty pounds, of a treasonable piece, entitled,

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Constitutional Queries: which piece was also burnt by the common hangman.

The two grand committees appointed to discuss the supplies for the year, and the funds upon which they are to be raised, proceeded as usual, under the direction of the ministry. Very warm debates however ensued, in consequence of a motion for reducing the number of seamen to 8000, which was opposed by Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, and Mr. G. Grenville, with surprising force of argument and elocution; but numbers decided for the question. The same fate attended the like opposition to the number of troops constituting the standing army: but the other resolutions of the grand committee met with little or no opposition. On the whole, the provisions for the service of this year amounted very little short of five millions. The annual measure, called the Mutiny-bill, was not passed without dispute and altercation. Some alterations were proposed, but rejected, and the sentences of court-martials still subjected to one revision.

In the midst of these deliberations, this kingdom sustained a terrible blow in the death of Frederic-Lewis, prince of Wales, who expired on the twentieth day of March, about ten in the evening, at Leicester-house, to the unspeakable grief of the whole nation. This excellent and amiable prince was born January 20, 1707, and on the twenty-seventh of April 1736, married the princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, who, by her close and constant attendance on her princely consort, to the last moment of his fatal illness, kept up the great pattern she had all along exhibited of conjugal affection. By this lady, who was at this time advanced in her pregnancy, his royal highness left issue five sons and three daughters, viz. princess Augusta (now married to the hereditary prince of Brünswic) born July 31, 1737; prince George, now our most gracious sovereign king George III. born May 24, 1738; prince Edward-Augustus (now duke of York) born March 14, 1739; princess Elizabeth-Caroline (since deceased) born December 30, 1740; prince William-Henry (now duke of Gloucester) born November 14, 1743; prince Henry-Frederic (now duke of Cumberland) born October 27, 1745; princess Louisa-Anne, born March 8, 1749; prince Frederic-William, born May 13, 1750 (deceased December 31, 1765); besides the princess Caroline-Matilda lately espoused to the king of Denmark, who was born after her father's death, viz. July 11, 1751.

His royal highness may justly be said to have been the joy and hope of Britain, the merchants friend, the protector of arts and sciences, the patron of merit, the reliever of distress, the accomplished prince, and the fine gentleman: in all the parts of private life an affectionate husband, an indulgent, tender parent, a kind master, and an affable, good-natured man. He seemed in all respects formed to rule over a free people; he had made the knowledge of the English constitution his study and delight, and was a great master of geography and the theory of commerce; understood its natural operations and effects, and how to apply them for the benefit of the nation, better than was generally imagined.

The public was informed that his royal highness's illness was first occasioned by catching cold in Kew-gardens, which was increased by coming from the house of peers, when extremely warm,

with the windows of his chair down, and turned to a pleurisy. No danger, however, was apprehended; and upon the application of proper remedies, he was even thought to be in a fair way of recovery, till the very hour of his death, when he was seized with a pain in his breast; upon which he expressed he had never felt any thing like it before, and complained that he smelled an unusual smell, like that of a dead corpse; and presently throwing himself back in his chair, expired. His body was opened the next day, and there was found a large abscess upon his lungs, the bursting of which was supposed to have been the immediate cause of his death. The remains of his royal highness were deposited with great pomp and ceremony in a vault in Henry VII's chapel, the duke of Somerset being chief mourner.

His royal highness was the eighteenth prince of Wales of the English blood-royal, and the only one, except Edward the Black Prince, who died (at about the same age as his royal highness) in his father's lifetime, and left a son to succeed him. It was therefore presumed that prince George, eldest son of his late highness, succeeded to all his father's titles and dignities without any new creation, Edward III. having only declared his grandson Richard prince of Wales, in the similar case above-mentioned, not created him by a new patent. The eldest son of a king of England, if born while his father is on the throne, is by birth duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester and Flint, but prince of Wales by creation. However, that creation being once made, and the possessor dying and leaving male-issue before he succeeds to the throne, it should seem probable that the common course of succession to these honours should here take place. In these conjectures, however, the public found itself mistaken; for on the twentieth of April letters-patent passed the great-seal of Great Britain, creating George-William prince of Great Britain, prince of Wales, and earl of Chester.

On the twenty-sixth of the same month his majesty sent a message to both houses, signifying his royal inclination, that in case the imperial crown of these realms should descend to any of the issue of his son the late prince of Wales, being under the age of eighteen years, the princess-dowager of Wales, their mother, should be guardian to the person of such successor, and regent of these kingdoms, until they should attain that age, with such power and limitation as should appear necessary and expedient for these purposes. This message was answered by affectionate addresses from both houses, promising their compliance with his majesty's inclination; and a bill was accordingly prepared by the lords, declaring the princess of Wales regent of the realm, on the event of the king's death, during the minority of her eldest son; and she was to be assisted in the administration of the government by a council of regency. This was composed of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, who was then at the head of the army, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the lord high-treasurer of Great Britain, or first commissioner of the Treasury, the president of the council, the lord privy-seal, the lord high-admiral of Great Britain, or first commissioner of the admiralty, the two secretaries of state, and the lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, all of them for the time being, except his royal highness the duke. This bill quickly

quickly passed through the upper house; but it did not make its way through the commons without a violent debate; the council of regency in particular met with fierce opposition. The majority, however, passed the bill, which in a little time received the royal sanction.

On Wednesday the twenty-second of May the royal assent was given to the ever-famous act of the British legislature, "for regulating the commencement of the year, and for correcting the calendar now in use;" that is, for abolishing the old, and establishing the NEW STYLE, already in use in most other parts of Christendom. This act was modelled with great skill and learning by the earl of Macclesfield, and has been productive of many excellent consequences; in particular, the correspondence between the English merchants and those of foreign countries will be greatly facilitated, with respect to the dates of letters and accounts. The following concise, but clear account of the grounds on which this new regulation proceeds, cannot be unacceptable to our readers:

By the Julian account (so called as being framed by Julius Cæsar) the year is supposed to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. The odd hours added together amounting every fourth year to a day, three years successively consist each of three hundred and sixty-five days, and the fourth year of three hundred and sixty-six, which is called Leap Year.

But the true solar year consisting of only three hundred and sixty-five days five hours forty-nine minutes and sixteen seconds, there is an over-reckoning of ten minutes and forty-four seconds every year, which of consequence has made a variation of one day in every one hundred and thirty-four years that have passed since the first settling this account: by which means the vernal equinox, or sun's entrance into Aries, is now on the tenth of March, which in Julius Cæsar's time was on the twenty-fourth.

Pope Gregory III. finding the Julian account to be erroneous, resolved upon a reformation of it, which he finished in the year 1582, and which from him is called the Gregorian account, or New Style.

The pope in his reformation looked no farther back than the council of Nice, which was held in the year 325; and finding the vernal equinox was then on the twenty-first of March, he ordered ten days in the year 1582 to be omitted, which was done by calling the fifth of October (his birth-day) the fifteenth; so that the vernal equinox, which otherwise would have been on the eleventh, fell on the twenty-first of March.

And to prevent errors of the like nature for the future, he ordered the subtracting three days from every revolution of four hundred years, which was to be done by omitting the twenty-ninth day of February at the end of the three centuries, and at the end of the fourth century to retain it.

This is the reason that, before the twenty-ninth of February 1700, the difference between the old and new stile was only ten, whereas since that time it has been eleven days.

I shall now give a short abstract of this memorable act, as being of sufficient importance to claim a place in every history of this country.

In the first place, it is enacted, that the old computation of the year, by which it begins on March 25, is not to be made use of, throughout

all the British dominions, after December 31, 1751, but the first of January next following is to be reckoned the first day of the year 1752, and every year for the future to begin on the first of January instead of the twenty-fifth of March. In the second place, the several days of each month, after the first of January 1752, are to go on in the same order as usual, till the second of September in the said year, inclusive; but the natural day next immediately following the said second of September 1752, instead of the third, is to be called the fourteenth of September, omitting only for that time the eleven intermediate nominal days of the present calendar. And the several natural days that shall follow the said fourteenth of September are to be reckoned forward in numerical order as usual, and so on continually.

All acts, deeds, notes, &c. after the first of January 1752, to be dated according to the new supputation. And the fixed terms, Hilary and Michaelmas, and all courts, &c. that are to be held on any certain day of a month, to be kept on the same nominal day, after the second of September, 1752, when the eleven days are dropt that they were kept on, according to the old method, i. e. eleven days sooner than the same are now kept.

For keeping the days of the year in the same regular course as near as may be (to the true motion of the sun) the years of our Lord 1800, 1900, 2100, 2200, 2300, or any hundredth years in time to come (which, according to the present method, would be Leap year, as every fourth year is) except only every fourth hundredth, whereof the year 2000 to be the first, are not to be deemed Leap years, but common years, of three hundred and sixty-five days. And the years 2000, 2400, 2800, and every other fourth hundredth year, to be Leap years, of three hundred and sixty-six days.

New rules are fixed, and a calendar annexed, for keeping Easter according to the full moons by which it is regulated, and the other moveable feasts depending on Easter; and the fixed feasts and fasts to be kept on the same nominal days as now. All the moveable feasts, the moveable terms of Easter and Trinity, and moveable fairs, marts, &c. to be governed by Easter and the other moveable feasts, as usual, but according to the new calendar, and to be held on their respective days accordingly.

Fixed fairs or marts, after the said second of September, not to be held on the same nominal day, but the said natural day as before, that is, eleven days later than the nominal day by the new computation.

Opening and inclosing of commons of pasture not to be accelerated by the act, but to commence on the same natural day they would have happened if the act had not been made, viz. eleven days later than it would have happened by the new computation, to begin on the new 14th of September above-mentioned.

The payment of rents, annuities, or money payable by virtue of any contract already made, or which shall be made before the said fourteenth of September 1752, or otherwise; the time of the delivery of goods or merchandize, &c. the commencement or expiration of leases; the attaining the age of twenty-one years, &c. by any person now born, or who shall be born before the said fourteenth

fourteenth of September; or the expiration of any apprenticeship or other service; none of these, &c. to be accelerated or anticipated by the act, but to be on the same natural days as they should have been if this act had not been made; and the sum to be paid for the interest of money shall be according to the true number of natural days, and shall not at all be affected by this act.

The mention of the other acts of parliament passed this session does not fall within the design of this history. I shall therefore only observe, that the public business being completed, his majesty repaired to the house of peers on the twenty-fifth of June; and after giving the royal assent to several bills that were prepared for that purpose, he concluded the session by a most gracious speech to both houses, in which he returned them thanks for the proofs they had given of their zeal and affection for him and his government, and their care and attention for the interests of his people: then addressing himself to the commons, he told them, that the prudence and firmness they had shewn in completing the reduction of the national debt, was as agreeable to him as that measure was essential to the strength and welfare of the kingdom; and concluded with recommending to both houses to encourage and promote a just reverence for government and law, and not to suffer those good laws which were enacted there to lose their effect for want of due execution.

Never indeed was admonition of this kind more necessary from the throne than at this period; for a greater spirit of profligacy and dissoluteness now prevailed than had been known for many years past. Numbers of persons were executed for the most shocking and atrocious crimes. In the course of this year only, one Miss Blandy was executed for poisoning her father, an eminent attorney at Henley upon Thames in Oxfordshire; and Miss Jefferies, another young gentlewoman, was executed, with Swan her lover, for murdering her uncle, a wealthy tradesman who had retired from business, and with whom she had lived for a considerable time. A large mob assembled at Tring in Hertfordshire, and seizing an old woman and her husband (each of them upwards of seventy years of age) under the notion of their having bewitched some of the neighbours, they treated them with such inhumanity, by ducking and beating them, that the woman died on the spot, and the man in a very few days after. For this murder one Colley was hanged. Two fellows, Welsh and Jones, were discovered this year also to have been the authors of a rape and murder, for which one Coleman, a brewer's clerk, had unjustly suffered upon their false evidence. Those wretches were so hardened as to be present at Coleman's execution, heard his declaration of his innocence, and afterwards assisted in drawing the cart from under him. Both of them were hanged, confessing the crime.

The loss of the prince of Wales was succeeded by two other heavy strokes to the royal family of Great-Britain this year; for on the eleventh of October, the prince of Orange, his majesty's son-in-law, paid the debt of nature, in the forty-first year of his age; as did likewise Louisa, queen of Denmark, the King's youngest daughter, who expired on the nineteenth of December, in the twenty-seventh year of her age. The prince's of Orange

was invested with the government of the United Provinces, as governante, till her son should arrive at the years of majority, and exercised the same power as her husband had enjoyed.

Affairs on the continent continued much in the former situation: a strong jealousy however still prevailed between the king of Prussia and the czarina, who ordered her minister at the court of Berlin, to make an abrupt departure; and his example was followed by the Prussian ambassador at Petersburg.

The French king still continued bent upon the prosecution of the schemes which he had formed in America; and though his subjects did not openly attack or molest any of our settlements, yet it was not long before they shewed the little regard they had to the articles of the late peace. They had been exceeding busy ever since its conclusion, in seducing the Indians, our allies, into their interest; and the clandestine success their perfidious dealings met with, was soon apparent, for in August, this year, advice came, that the French were gone from Canada, with an army of six hundred men, viz. four hundred French and two hundred Indians, to be augmented to one thousand on their march, and were proceeding to the south-western parts of North-America, in order to strengthen their own interest and ruin ours in those parts; particularly, to destroy the nation of the Twightwees, who are friends to the English, and to kill a certain Virginian trader, who, by honest dealings with the Indians, had lately gained the affections of many, and drawn their trade that way: but having intelligence of their design, he sent a belt of wampum to all the Six Nations, to excite them to oppose their attempts; while the French, on the other hand, were no less assiduous to draw over those nations, and engage them in their interest. Great sums of money, and large quantities of spirituous liquors were sent to them as bribes. We also learnt, that the French were building forts in all parts of America to the westward, in the carrying-places between the lakes and rivers, and in all the most important places where they had the best prospect to bring the Indians into dependance, and to drive us out of the fur trade: in the mean while, the better to cover their designs, they affected to load the British ambassador at Paris with more than ordinary caresses.

The court of Spain was also remarkably attentive to the improvement of their marine, their commerce, and manufactures. Several English shipwrights who, by a most gross error in political œconomy, had, at the conclusion of the late war, been discharged from our dock-yards, and left to shift for themselves, had been allured, by the pretences of great advantages, to transport themselves and families into Spain, where they built several large ships of war upon the British model. The Spanish woollen and other manufactures were also, by the skill and industry of some of our countrymen, who had settled there, carried to such a degree of perfection, that the exportation of those commodities from Britain was very considerably diminished. Mr. Keene, the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, was therefore ordered by our ministry, to make a representation, requiring, that no more British subjects should be permitted to settle in Spain; and that even those who had already

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ready settled there, should be obliged to quit his Catholic Majesty's dominions: very little notice however was taken of this remonstrance.

In the spring of this year, his Swedish majesty departed this life, in a good old age, and was succeeded by Adolphus Frederic, duke of Holstein Eutin, bishop of Lubeck. As the succession to this kingdom may be an affair of some intricacy to many of our readers, the following account of it, and of the family of the deceased king, will not possibly be disagreeable.

Frederick, the deceased king of Sweden, and landgrave of Hesse Cassel, eldest son of Charles landgrave of Hesse Cassel, was born in 1676; he was first married to a daughter of Frederick II. king of Prussia: but she dying without issue, he espoused the princess Eleonora, youngest daughter of Charles XI. king of Sweden, who, on her brother Charles XII. being killed before Frederickshall in Norway in 1718, was elected by the states queen of Sweden, on condition of restoring them their ancient rights and liberties; and she resigning the crown in favour of her consort, he was elected king of Sweden, and crowned in May 1721, on the like conditions agreed to by the queen, of lodging both the legislative and executive power in the states, and leaving the prince little more than the name of a king.

The princess Hedwig Sophia, eldest sister of Charles XII. married Frederick, duke of Holstein Gottorp, by whom she had issue Charles Frederick, who married Anna Petrowna, eldest daughter of czar Peter the Great by his second wife Catherine. By her he had issue Charles Peter Ulrick, who consequently was heir to the crown of Sweden, and so declared by the states on his father's death: but the czarina Elizabeth, the late empress of Russia, having declared him her successor to that crown, he renounced his claim to Sweden, and the states declared his uncle Adolphus Frederick, duke of Holstein Eutin and bishop of Lubeck, successor to the Swedish throne. He was born in 1710, and married to the princess Ulrica of Prussia.

The day after the deceased king's death, viz. March 26, O. S. the prince successor, Adolphus Frederick, was proclaimed king; and immediately, of his own accord, took an oath in full senate, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotic authority; but maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws, and the form of government established in Sweden. A short time after his accession, he sent an envoy to the court of Petersburg, to intimate his intentions to live upon amicable terms with that crown, with which notice the czarina was so well pleased, that she expressed her satisfaction in a public declaration, and the good understanding between the two courts was perfectly restored.

The parliament of England was opened on the fourteenth day of November, when the king, in his speech from the throne, gave the two houses to understand, "That for the same purposes which suggested the treaty with the elector of Bavaria, he had now, in conjunction with the States General, concluded another with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony: he told them, that the unfortunate death of the prince of Orange had made no alteration in the state of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the strongest assurances from the

States of their firm resolution to maintain the intimate union and friendship happily subsisting between his majesty and those ancient and natural allies of his crown. Finally, he exhorted both houses to consider seriously of some effectual provisions to suppress those audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown so frequent about the capital, proceeding, in a great measure, from that profligate spirit of irreligion, idleness, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itself in an uncommon degree, to the dishonour of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the sober and industrious part of the people."

Addresses replete with expressions of loyalty, affection, and approbation, were returned by both houses; and such an unanimity now appeared in their proceedings, as afforded the most comfortable prospect to every true lover of his country. The first thing the commons went upon was the case of Mr. Murray, who, at the close of the last session, had been discharged of course from his confinement in Newgate; on which occasion, a great number of his friends, and amongst others the two sheriffs of London, accompanied him in a triumphal manner to his own house. This behaviour of the sheriffs was highly resented by the house, and some talked of summoning them to the bar; but by the prudence and moderation of Mr. Pelham, these hasty measures were quashed. It was, however, resolved to order Mr. Murray again into custody; but he had wisely escaped the storm, by retiring out of the kingdom; of which, when the house was informed, they addressed his majesty to offer a reward for apprehending him, with which his majesty was most graciously pleased to comply. A prosecution was also commenced against the author, printer, and publisher of a pamphlet, entitled, "The case of the honourable Alexander Murray, esq. in an appeal to the people of Great Britain:" and the same person happening to be both printer and publisher, he was brought to his trial, but after a long hearing was acquitted by the jury.

The commons then proceeded to settle the supply. They granted two millions ninety thousand three hundred and nine pounds for the service of the current year; one million three hundred thousand pounds towards discharging the national debt; three hundred one thousand and twelve pounds for supplying the deficiencies of old funds; fifty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty-one pounds for making good the deficiencies of last year's grants; forty-nine thousand two hundred and nineteen pounds for defraying extraordinary expences; and one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and forty-two pounds for purchasing the charter of the African company; the whole amounting nearly to four millions sterling.

The business of this session was not very important. However, some very salutary laws were enacted for the encouragement of traffic, and the better regulation of the civil polity. These consisted in an act for licensing pawn-brokers, and for the more effectual preventing the receiving of stolen goods. Another for preventing thefts and robberies, and the punishment of such persons who kept disorderly houses. The operation of this bill extended to London, and twenty miles round it; and all persons living within that circuit were required to take out licences from the justices of the peace, before they

they should presume to open any room or place for public dancing, music, or such other entertainment.

For the better cultivating and civilizing the Highlands of Scotland, and preventing of disorders there for the future, an act of parliament passed this same session, "for annexing certain forfeited estates in Scotland (by the rebellions in the years 1715 and 1745) to the crown unalienably, and for making satisfaction to the lawful creditors thereupon, and to establish a method for managing the same." By this bill, his majesty was empowered to commit the management of these estates to the care of commissioners, who were to have no salaries, but were to appoint stewards under them, with an allowance not exceeding five per cent. of the rental, and grant leases for any term not exceeding 21 years, upon a reserved rent of three-fourths of the neat annual value, and not to amount above 20 l. a-year to any one person. All the cessees were to take the oaths to the government, and to reside upon and cultivate the lands, and not to resign or let them to any other person, nor to pay any gratuity whatsoever to any other person for holding them. The king may erect schools on the said estates, or in the other parts of the Highlands or islands of Scotland, for instructing young persons in reading and writing the English language, and in the several branches of agriculture and manufactures; and may erect houses for their reception, and for carrying on such manufactures by them, and for accommodating their masters; and may apply such parts of the produce of the said estates as shall be necessary for erecting such schools, for providing salaries for the teachers, for clothing and maintaining such young persons, and for supplying the schools with utensils and materials for agriculture and manufactures, and for the raising flax, &c. as his majesty shall direct. And the king may empower the commissioners to allot portions of land for the use of such schools, or to apply such part of the clear rent of the lands as he shall direct, in the purchase of portions of land to be allotted for such schools.

Of this excellent law posterity will reap the principal benefit, a beginning being already made in several parts of the Highlands for working schools; to which the most laudable society in Scotland "for propagating Christian knowledge in the Highlands, &c." have lent an helping hand, by erecting several schools, out of their own income, for the instruction of the children. New villages are also begun; manufactures, as well as agriculture, are set on foot, where none were known before: so that it is highly probable, in half a century more, the most uncultivated parts of that country will wear a very different aspect. Another excellent bill was that "for the better preventing the horrid crime of murder;" by which it is enacted, "That all persons convicted of wilful murder shall be executed on the next day but one following that on which the sentence is pronounced, which it shall be immediately on conviction, except it fall on a Sunday, when they shall be executed on the Monday following: afterwards their body shall be delivered to the company of surgeons to be dissected; or in the country, to such surgeon or surgeons as the judges of assize shall direct. After the sentence shall be passed, the murderer shall be fed on bread and water only, &c. &c." This new provision, or some other against this abominable

crime, seemed to be greatly wanted, as murders had been shockingly frequent of late; and this expedient, how ineffectual soever it may appear in theory, hath been found in practice of very salutary consequence.

The multiplicity of public funds had long been considered as a national grievance. The different stocks of annuities at three per cent. were no fewer than eight, amounting in the whole to upwards of nine millions. Those at three and a half per cent. were six, composing a sum of near eighteen millions. In order to remove the perplexity and confusion which must necessarily attend such a number of public funds, Mr. Pelham projected a bill, which was easily carried through both houses, for converting the several annuities into so many joint stocks, transferable on the Bank of England, and to be charged on the sinking fund.

On the twentieth day of March 1752, a petition was presented to the commons by the merchants of London, setting forth, That several foreigners had of late years come over to England, in order to obtain private acts of parliament for their naturalization, with a view to gain some advantages to themselves in point of trade; particularly to avoid the payment of the duties of aliens, on the goods and merchandizes which they imported from foreign parts into this kingdom; and that having obtained such acts, they returned back to their own country, where they constantly resided, and consequently bore no part of the public taxes, nor in any manner contributed towards the support of the state, or at all answered the intention of the legislature. They therefore prayed that this abuse of the favour of parliament might be prevented, by restraining for the future the benefit of naturalization to the time during which foreigners should reside within this realm, in such manner, and under such limitations, as to the house should appear fit. This petition appeared so reasonable, that the house thought proper immediately to grant it; and a clause accordingly to that purpose was inserted in a naturalization bill which was then depending, and has continued since to be added to every bill of that nature.

I must not omit taking notice here, that the members of the house of commons came to a resolution this session to have their Journals printed. This was a work of great utility and necessity, as the knowledge of parliamentary transactions is so necessary to every member of either house, and as the charge of transcribing them could be defrayed by so few. The care of this publication was committed to Mr. Hardinge, late clerk of the house; and five thousand pounds were at different times allotted him for the execution of the work, which came out tolerably accurate and correct. It were to be wished, that while the legislature were upon this subject, they had turned their thoughts to the present method of dating acts of parliament from the years of the reigning king, without mentioning the year of our Lord, as in the laws of other nations, whereby much uncertainty and frequent mistakes, in computing a number of years between a certain year of one king's reign to a certain year of another king's reign, or to the present time, are avoided. This is frequently complained of, tho' not yet remedied; and it might easily be done in future, by superadding the year of our Lord to the year of the reigning prince.

On the twenty-sixth of March, his majesty having given his assent to ninety-five public and private bills, harangued the two houses in the usual strain; after which the parliament was prorogued. As soon as the session expired, the king appointed a regency, and set out for Hanover, in order to concert the proper measures for effecting the great scheme he had projected for getting the archduke Joseph chosen king of the Romans. No one event of importance sufficient to claim a place in history, happened in Great Britain during his absence, nor indeed in the whole course of this year, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce between his majesty and the states of Tripoli and Tunis, on the coast of Barbary, concluded by the ministration of commodore Kappel, brother to the earl of Albemarle; and that the trustees of Georgia, finding they could not support that colony under its then constitution, surrendered their charter to his majesty.

The several powers of Europe were at this time so intent upon their own interests, that very few foreign incidents of this year relate to Great Britain. The king of Portugal indeed attempted to check the vast exportation of gold coin out of his kingdom by the British merchants, and insisted upon inspecting the books of the factory at Lisbon; but upon proper remonstrances being made that such a step would be a direct contravention of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, he declined any farther proceedings of that kind.

A misunderstanding arose this summer between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia, concerning their respective pretensions to the province of East Friesland, which was at present in the possession of the latter of these monarchs. It was proposed by his Britannic majesty to refer this dispute to the decision of the Aulic Council; but this was rejected by Prussia, who at the same time stopped payment of the Silesia loan*, which he had hitherto continued punctually to pay, and caused a paper to be published in justification of his conduct, in which he declared his motives to be, the unjustly stopping and seizing, by the English, of eighteen Prussian ships, and thirty-three neutral vessels in which the Prussians were concerned. At the same time, he ordered his minister at London to present a memorial, with an account of the damages, amounting to a very considerable sum, and demanding, in the most peremptory manner, a final discussion of the affair in three months from the date of his remonstrance. This memorial was referred by the ministers to the examination of his majesty's advocate, attorney, and solicitor-general, who, after the strictest enquiry into, and maturest reflection on, this matter, refuted every article of the charge in the most clear and perspicuous manner; and moreover shewed, beyond contradiction, that after all, there was not the most distant connection between the capture of those ships and the affair of the Silesia loan, which was altogether a private transaction between the emperor and the creditors: and, finally, that by the contract with

the late emperor, the whole of the loan ought to have been repaid in the year 1745; but that all the complaints brought by the Prussians were founded upon facts that did not happen till 1746. This report was transmitted to his Prussian majesty, who was so sensible of the truths contained therein, that he gave up the point without farther hesitation.

The troubles in Corsica rose to a very great height this year, there being no less than three parties on foot in that island; one for the Genoese, one for the French, and the third for the independency of the island against both. France was distracted with violent disputes between the king and the clergy, in relation to the taxation of their revenues; and between the latter and the parliament, about matters of religious faith and practice.

The tranquillity of the North appeared to be now perfectly re-established. The States-general of the United Provinces applied their whole attention to the interior polity of their dominions; and Spain was earnestly bent upon the improvement of her commerce and manufactures: and in the autumn of this year a treaty was concluded at Madrid, between the empress queen and the kings of France and Spain: to which other powers, particularly the king of Sardinia, afterwards acceded, for preserving the peace of Italy.

The courts of Vienna and Hanover still continued to prosecute, in the most vigorous manner, their scheme of electing a king of the Romans: and the elector of Mentz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral diet for that purpose: but strong protests against this convocation were entered by the electors of Cologne and Palatine; the latter of whom was brought over, by granting him the satisfaction he demanded of the empress-queen and his Britannic majesty, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds sterling, by way of indemnification for the losses he had sustained during the war; and by procuring for him some other privileges which he insisted upon, well understanding his own importance on this occasion. Yet, even after the concurrence of this prince was secured, the purposed election proved abortive, by the resistance of the other princes of the empire, who thought the liberties of the Germanic body might be endangered, by the election of the son in the life-time of the emperor his father, since, as they observed (and certainly with great reason) the reigning emperor might have so much influence as to prevent the necessary capitulations to be signed by the king of the Romans as emperor "in futuro," being insisted upon: and thus their liberties by degrees be rendered precarious, and at last entirely subverted. The king of Prussia particularly distinguished himself in this opposition, perhaps from a secret view of obtaining the imperial dignity for himself, though a protestant, there being no law to confine it to a Roman catholic.

* The affair of the Silesia loan was as follows: In the year 1735 the emperor Charles VI. straitened for money, had by the permission of the king of England, with whom he was then upon very good terms, borrowed from the subjects of Great Britain two hundred and fifty thousand pounds at six per cent.

for which he mortgaged the silver mines in Silesia. By the seventh article of the treaty of Breslau, which ceded Silesia to the king of Prussia, that prince charged himself wholly with the repayment of what had been lent by the English merchants on the security of the revenues of Silesia.

By this time the French in North America had infused such a spirit of malice, cruelty, and revenge, into their Indians, that the most horrid barbarities were committed on the outsettlers on the frontiers of our colonies, which were all alarmed at the news they received of the proceedings of their treacherous neighbours. The French, tho' determined to carry their ambitious projects into execution, yet perceiving that, by all the assistance their Indians could afford them, they were not a match for the English in America, thought it necessary to send for recruits from France. Accordingly, nine thousand troops, with their wives and children, were sent from thence to Canada in the course of this year.

In September advice arrived in England from the East Indies, where war was carried on by the French and English companies, that colonel Clive, an officer in our company's service, had obliged the French to retire from before Arcot, and had gained many other signal advantages over them. These disturbances in India had been occasioned by the intrigues of the French company's officers, and by those of both companies engaging too much in the quarrels of the natives.

By other advices which came some time after from our West India settlements, the government had the mortification to learn, that on the fifteenth of September this year a violent hurricane, at Charles-Town in South Carolina, had driven all the vessels in the harbour on shore, ruined the wharfs and bridges, and blown down a great number of houses, &c. The damage done by this fatal storm was immense, and plantations thirty miles round Charles-Town were swept clear, and had all their buildings utterly demolished. Numbers of lives and much cattle were lost: in short, the devastation was to the last degree deplorable. On the thirtieth of the same month another violent hurricane added greatly to the distress of this suffering colony, though it did more damage in the country than in Charles-Town.

His majesty being returned from his German dominions, opened the session of parliament on the eleventh of January, 1753, with a most gracious speech from the throne, which was answered by loyal addresses from both houses. Then the commons proceeded to consider the supplies, which, such was the oeconomy of the ministry, amounted to very little more than two millions. As for the national debt, it now stood at the enormous sum of seventy-four millions three hundred and sixty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty-one pounds fifteen shillings; and to discharge this, the sinking fund produced one million seven hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred twenty-nine pounds six shillings.

Several bills of excellent tendency were passed in the beginning of this session, viz. A bill for the better preservation of the game, which by the infamous practices of poachers, was threatened with a total extirpation. A bill for the better regulating the performance of quarantine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great Britain. A bill for the more effectual preventing the inhuman practice of plundering ships which have the misfortune to suffer shipwreck; a practice which prevailed upon many different parts of the British coast, to the disgrace

of the nation, and the scandal of human nature. A bill allowing the exportation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland, to any port in Great Britain; and another, prescribing the breadth of wheels belonging to heavy carriages, that the high roads of the kingdom might be the better preserved. This is commonly known by the name of the Broad Wheel Act.

But this session was chiefly distinguished by an act for the naturalization of the Jews, and a bill for the preventing of clandestine marriages. The first of these, which made its way pretty easily through the house of lords, who sent it down to the commons, was entitled, An act to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by parliament. It was countenanced by the ministry, and supported by petitions from some woollen manufacturers, and others concerned in shipping, who affirmed, that such an act might tend greatly to encourage many persons of wealth and substance to remove with their effects from foreign parts into this kingdom; the greatest part of which, agreeable to the experience of former times, would be employed by them in foreign trade and commerce, in increasing the shipping, and encouraging the exportation of the woollen and other manufactures of England, of which the persons who professed the Jewish religion had for many years last past exported great quantities.

The sentiments of the generality of the people, however, were widely different from these, and never was more universal or violent clamour raised against ministerial measures than was against this: the press teemed with the most abusive and scurrilous publications against the whole Jewish tribe, and those who were the advocates for, and supporters of this bill, which was represented as an axe laid to the root of Christianity; and the whole a private and corrupt business, managed between the great people in power, and the leading men among the Jews. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, presented a petition to parliament, in which they expressed their apprehension that the bill, if passed into a law, would tend greatly to the dishonour of the Christian religion, endanger the excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the trade of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular. To the same purpose another petition was also presented by the merchants and traders of the city of London. Counsel was heard, evidence examined, and the bill produced violent debates, in which party prejudice and narrowness of opinion seemed to take place of real concern for the true interest of the nation. The bill however passed by a considerable majority in both houses, and at length received the royal assent: but the minds of the people had been so heated with prejudices, from the misrepresentation of the nature and end of this act, that the government thought proper to repeal it to all intents and purposes, and this was the very first act of the following session of parliament; although, as no ill use could well be made of this new privilege to the Jews, and as it might gradually have drawn hither many persons of great substance to settle with their wealth amongst us, and might consequently farther promote the national commerce, it is not easy to see how it should reasonably have given any just offence.

offence to moderate and reasonable Christians. But in the act abrogating this statute, the grounds for the repeal were truly assigned, viz. "That occasion had been taken from the first law to "raise discontents," and to disquiet the minds of many of his majesty's subjects."

The fatal effects of clandestine marriages had long been a subject of complaint in England. Every day produced hearings in the court of chancery, and left appeals to the house of peers, concerning the validity of those marriages, by the irregularity of which the innocent offspring were sometimes cut off from succession to estates, though their parents had been married by mutual consent. Designing people of both sexes, though of the most infamous character, had it in their power to ruin the sons and daughters of the greatest families in England, by the hourly opportunities of being married at the Fleet, where a band of the most profligate wretches, wearing the habit of clergymen, and, to the disgrace of that order, too many of them being really so, plied about the verge of the Fleet-market, like porters to intercept customers, and performed the ceremony of marriage without a licence, or asking any questions of the two parties. Some shocking instances of young persons ruined by these infamous practices, having lately been discovered, gave rise to the present bill to prevent abuses, which was framed under the direction of lord Hardwick, at that time lord high chancellor of England, and introduced into the upper house; from whence, after undergoing some slight alterations, it descended to the commons. There it occasioned a most vehement contest, in which, however, all political motives and party prejudices appeared to be entirely laid aside, and the speakers for and against, to be actuated merely by their own private sentiments: for many of the principal servants of the government differed in opinion from those of the ministry who countenanced the bill; while, on the other hand, he was strongly supported therein by some of the chiefs of the opposition: in fine, the disputes were maintained with great warmth and eagerness, and in point of eloquence and argument the two parties were pretty equally matched; but at length, after a long and obstinate contest, it was passed by a considerable majority, and in the end received the royal assent.

As this bill is still in force; has been the subject of much popular clamour; and may be of use, especially to my young readers, I have thought proper to give the substance of it here.

It ordains, "That the banns shall be published in the church or chapel where the parties dwell, three Sundays, in the morning, except where morning service is not performed, immediately after the second lesson: if the parties live in different places, the banns must be published in each: and if in an extraparochial place, or where no divine-service is usually celebrated, then in the parish church or chapel adjoining; and the marriage must be solemnized where the banns were published.

"The minister is not obliged to publish the banns, unless the parties give in their christian and surnames, the place of their abode, and the time they have dwelt in them, a week before the first publication; and when the banns have been thus published, the minister shall not incur ecclesiastical censure for solemnizing the marriage, although the parties shall appear to have been under age, and

not to have obtained the consent of their parents or guardians, unless they had previous notice of such dissent, and then he is to declare the banns void. No licence shall be granted where one of the parties shall not have dwelt at least a month, a special licence by the archbishop excepted. If marriages shall be solemnized in any other place than a church or chapel, without a special licence; or in a public chapel without first having published the banns, or a licence obtained of some persons properly authorized, the marriage shall be void, and the person who solemnized it transported for seven years, if prosecuted in three.

"Marriage by licence, when either of the said parties are under age, and consent of parents or guardians has not been obtained, shall be void, provided the party under age be not a widow, and the parent refusing consent be not a widow married again. When the consent of a mother or guardian shall be capriciously refused, or the party *non compos mentis*, or beyond the sea, the court of chancery may relieve in a summary way. No suit shall be had to compel a celebration, under pretence of any contract, whether the words of such contract were in the present or future tense.

"All marriages to be before two witnesses besides the minister, and an entry shall be made in a book kept for that purpose, expressing whether it was by banns or licence, and either of the parties under age; the consent of parent or guardian shall also be entered, to be signed by the minister, the parties, and the witnesses. False entry, licence, or certificates, or destroying register-books, are felony in principal or accessory, and to be punished with death. This act is not to extend to the royal family, quakers or Jews, or to affect any marriage in Scotland or beyond sea: nor is it necessary, in order to support a marriage by banns, to prove the residence of the parties, and the place where they were published; nor when by licence, to prove they had resided where the marriage was celebrated on oath; nor shall any evidence be received to prove the contrary."

I cannot but think, however, that the framers of this bill might have fallen upon means to prevent the great evils and inconveniences arising from clandestine marriages, less harsh and severe to the subject than those adopted by this act, which, after all, has been rendered in a manner ineffectual; for by a trip over to France, or a jaunt to Scotland, a wishing couple may, without the least hesitation or interruption, be as indissolubly tied together as if they had been married here in England, in direct conformity to the regulations prescribed by this act.

This session furnished little more of importance, either of civil or commercial concern; but the attention of the parliament, which had seldom, if ever turned upon literary matters, was now directed to an extraordinary subject of that nature. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated physician and naturalist, who died in the beginning of this year, having through the course of many years, with great labour and expence, gathered together whatever could be procured either in our own or foreign countries, that was rare and curious in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and master-pieces of art, had directed in his last will, that this valuable museum, together with his numerous library, should be offered to the parliament, for the use of the public, on their paying

ing the sum of twenty thousand pounds (supposed not to be one fourth of the real value) in compensation to his heirs : but if the parliament should not chuse to purchase them, then, on the same conditions, they were to be offered to the academy of sciences at Petersburg, and to those of Paris, Berlin, and Madrid successively ; and if all those should refuse them upon the above terms, the executors were directed to sell them in such manner as they should think expedient. The British house of commons however was too jealous of the national honour to suffer so noble a collection to become the property of any other people ; accordingly they readily embraced the terms of Sir Hans Sloane's will, and a bill was proposed for purchasing this museum, as also that valuable collection of manuscripts, denominated from its founder Robert Harley earl of Oxford, the Harleian Miscellany, and now offered to the public by his daughter, the dutchess of Portland, for ten thousand pounds ; and these two being joined to the famous Cottonian Library, and the king's or royal library, which had long lain neglected and exposed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Westminster, the whole was deposited in Montague house, now better known by the name of the Museum, under the direction of trustees and governors appointed by the parliament, from amongst the most eminent persons in the kingdom,* where this monument of national taste and liberality is open to the inspection of the public, under certain necessary restrictions ; but without the least fee or gratuity whatever being demanded or accepted.

On the seventeenth day of June, his majesty put an end to the session with a speech to both houses, which contained nothing that requires recapitulation, farther than that the state of foreign affairs had undergone no alteration since their meeting.

The domestic transactions of this year in England consisted chiefly of the great and melancholy effects of storms, tempests, and inundations, that happened in different parts ; and in the continuance of that immorality and licentiousness among the commonalty, which produced riots, tumults, and disorders of various kinds, under as various pretences. In the city of Bristol, in particular, most violent outrages were committed by the colliers, who raised an insurrection on account of the exportation of corn, in which several lives were lost before the public peace could be restored. The like tumults were raised in Yorkshire, on account of the turnpikes, many of which were demolished by the rabble. At Leeds the civil power having called in the assistance of the military, to support the collectors of these tolls, the mob were so enraged at this circumstance, that they broke into the town, and attacked the troops, who being at length obliged to fire in their own defence, killed nine of the rioters outright, and wounded about

twenty-four ; upon which the rest fled in the greatest terror, and the disturbance was effectually quieted.

In the beginning of this year there happened an incident, which, though in its own nature little worthy of historical notice, deserves to be recorded, as it serves strongly to mark the genius of the English people. A young woman, whose name was Elizabeth Canning, pretended, that as she was coming home at night, on new-years-day, she was met under Bedlam wall by two fellows, who pulled off her gown, cap, and apron, and having gagged her, threatened her life if she made the least resistance, and afterwards dragged her along between them to the house of one Mrs. Wells near Enfield Wash, where menaces and confinement were made use of to induce her to turn prostitute, which however she had the courage to resist. She said, that an old gipsy, one Mary Squires, stripped her of her stays in Mrs. Wells's house ; and she declared, that during her confinement of near a month in that place, she had no other subsistence but a quartern loaf and a gallon of water : after so long durance, she took the opportunity to pull down some boards which were nailed before the window of the room she was confined in, made her escape, and came, on the twenty-ninth of January, in a very miserable naked condition, and almost deprived of her senses, to her mother, a poor widow woman, who lived in Aldermanbury-postern.

Though nothing could be more improbable, and indeed more incredible than this story, yet it operated so powerfully on the passions of the common people, especially the enthusiasts of all denominations, that large subscriptions were raised for prosecuting the supposed delinquents. Warrants accordingly were issued for apprehending Mrs. Wells, mistress of the house at Enfield Wash ; the maid servant, whose name was Virtue Hall, and Squires, the old gipsy-woman, whom Canning charged with having robbed her of her stays. Virtue Hall, on her examination before Mr. justice Fielding, confessed her being witness to the above ill usage and confinement : the gipsy and Mrs. Wells were hereupon sent to prison, and afterwards tried at the Old Bailey, where the former received sentence of death, and the latter to be branded as a bawd, and imprisoned six months as an accessory to the fact.

Some time after, positive and reputable evidence being produced, that Mary Squires was at Abbotbury in Dorsetshire, at the very time when it was deposed she had stript Canning of her stays at Wells's house ; and Virtue Hall having retracted her evidence before the lord mayor, then Sir Crispe Gascoigne, that magistrate, surprized at the many impossibilities and absurdities in Canning's story, undertook to discuss it to the bottom, for the sake of truth and justice ; in which he discharged himself with that noble resolution and impartiality

* The trustees are the archbishop of Canterbury ; the lord high chancellor, or lord keeper ; the lord high treasurer, or first lord commissioner of the treasury ; the lord president of the council ; the lord privy-seal ; the lord high admiral, or first lord commissioner of the admiralty ; the lord steward of his majesty's household ; the lord chamberlain ; the bishop of London ; the two secretaries of state ; the speaker of the house of commons ; the chancellor of the exchequer ; the lord chief justice of the king's bench ; the master of the rolls ; the lord

chief justice of the common pleas ; the attorney general ; the solicitor general ; the president of the Royal-Society, and the president of the college of physicians ; all of them for the time being. To these were added, Charles lord Cardigan ; Hans Stanley, esq. Samuel Burrows, esq. Thomas Hart, esq. William duke of Portland, and Edward earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the speaker of the house of commons, have the nomination of all the officers, assistants, and servants.

which ought ever to animate the chief magistrate of this metropolis. Application was made to the throne for mercy, in behalf of the gipsy Squires, whose execution was respited; and his majesty having ordered the whole affair to be laid before his attorney and solicitor-general, on their report, after having strictly examined the witnesses on both sides, this poor old creature was indulged with a full pardon.

By this time the matter was swelled up to such a pitch, as to divide the whole kingdom into two parties, who were inflamed against each other with the most outrageous spirit of animosity, which was continued for almost a year. Pamphlets and papers innumerable were published on each side, in which the most scandalous liberties were taken with the characters of those who were principally concerned for either party. Bills of perjury were mutually preferred; the evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted; Canning absconded for some time, but afterwards surrendered to take her trial for wilful and corrupt perjury, at the Old Bailey; and during her trial, which lasted many days, the court adjourning from time to time, there were great mobs and riots about the sessions-house, and the lord-mayor was often insulted and abused in his passage to and from the court. The jury however brought Canning in guilty, and she was committed to Newgate; but two of the jurymen having made oath, that the verdict they had given was not agreeable to their consciences (for though they believed her guilty of perjury, they did not believe her guilty of *wilful and corrupt* perjury) the friends of the prisoner moved for a new trial, which point being argued next session, before five of the judges, they gave their opinion, that the verdict was a good one, and perfectly agreeable to the evidence; and therefore in conclusion, Canning was sentenced to be transported to the British colonies for seven years. Her departure however was, through the indiscreet and bigotted zeal of her protectors, made rather a matter of parade and triumph, than the submission to a legal sentence denounced against her as a culprit and impostor: large sums were collected for her private use; a ship was hired purposely to carry her to the place of her destination, in which she was supplied with every convenience that a person of the most comfortable circumstances could require for a voyage of amusement; and letters of recommendation accompanied her from persons of distinction here at home, to others resident in that part of the world she was going to: and it has been since reported, that the artful jade has been married abroad, and settled in a manner infinitely above the most sanguine expectations her general state of life could ever have warranted.

The next incident that principally distinguished this year in England, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of Scotland, and brother to the famous Lochiel, a staunch friend of the young pretender, and remarkably active in the late rebellion. The doctor had accompanied his brother in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and had been involved in the same attainder with him: flattering himself, however, that after so long time elapsed, he had no danger to apprehend from detection, he ventured over this year to North Britain, in order to reclaim some debts due to him in that country: he was, however, discovered, apprehended, conducted to London, and

confined in the Tower; and being afterwards brought before the court of King's-bench, the identity of his person was there sworn to, in consequence whereof he received sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the seventh of June with great fortitude and decorum; and it was thought by most cool and considerate people, that the government might have spared this unfortunate victim, without impairing its dignity, or derogating from its justice.

The British whale-fishery, which had for some years been revived and carried on with great national spirit, was remarkably successful this year, not one ship being lost; and the forty-eight sail employed, brought home one hundred and forty-four fish and a half.

The peace of the continent continued uninterrupted by any new contest or disturbance; yet the breach between the parliament and clergy of France was every day more and more widened, and had arrived to great inveteracy on both sides; and his Most Catholic Majesty declaring in favour of the prelacy, the members of all the chambers, except the great chamber, were banished, and the usual administration of justice ceased in Paris and its environs, and at length the members of the great chamber were likewise sent into exile.

The internal dissensions, however, which prevailed among the French, did not prevent them from continuing their encroachments in America, where matters were fast ripening to a fresh rupture between them and the English in that part of the world. Commissaries had indeed been appointed here at home, to settle with others from the French court, the different limits between the possessions of the two crowns in Acadia or Nova-Scotia, agreeable to the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht; but the French raised so many difficulties, in the course of the conference, and had recourse to so many quirks and quibbles, to support the unjust and unwarrantable claims they had thought proper of late to adopt, that our commissaries, seeing no hopes of bringing the affair to any equitable conclusion, immediately put a stop to the negotiation, and returned to their own country.

In the mean time, the French in North-America, who had, towards the close of the preceding year, been strongly reinforced from Europe, disposed themselves for action early in the beginning of the spring. They had intelligence, that the English were building forts and raising plantations along the Ohio, which they apprehended to be too near their own settlements to be disregarded. Some merchants in London, with others in Virginia, had obtained a grant of his majesty of that river, to make such settlements in the meadows and places adjacent, as they should judge convenient for a plantation, and carrying on their intended trade. But the French were determined, at all events, to frustrate their design; and in order thereto, set up a prior claim, and insisted, that all that coast belonged to the crown of France. Accordingly they took all possible measures to disturb the new settlers, and to erect forts of their own on the bank of the said river: upon which, Robert Dinwiddie, esq. governor of Virginia, wrote a letter to Mr. Contrecoeur, the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, to demand the reason of such proceedings, and sent it by major Washington: he likewise dispatched messengers to the governors of the several British colonies

colonies, representing the dangerous state of affairs, and requesting them to raise forces, and form an expedition against the common enemy; and at the same time summoned the assembly of the province of Virginia, to have their advice and assistance upon this emergency. Major Washington having carried the governor's letter to the French commandant, and received his answer, returned with it; but it was so far from being satisfactory, that it convinced the governor, that the French were determined to carry their projected scheme into execution.

Convinced therefore that the most vigorous measures were necessary, in order to put a stop the farther progress of the French, his excellency began to levy troops, and wrote to the neighbouring governments to send their respective quotas of men or money, with all possible expedition, to his assistance. These preparations took up best part of the present year; the result of them will be related in order of time.

The ambition and intrigues of the French court were not confined to the continent of America only; they had also extended themselves to the East Indies, where they had endeavoured to embroil the English company with the Nabobs or viceroys of the Great Mogul in different parts of the peninsula intra Gangem. In order to understand the military transactions of the English company in India, the reader must be informed, that a Nabob is the governor of a province, or of a single town and its territory, of whom there are a great number in that part of the world. These Nabobs are all tributary to the Mogul emperor; but in every thing else they seem to be independent, and act as absolute and arbitrary sovereigns within their respective territories, often carrying on wars against one another, and sometimes attacking the European settlements upon their coast, without any authority from the Mogul; therefore it is absolutely necessary for the Europeans settled upon that coast, to court or command a regard from the Nabobs in their neighbourhood.

In these circumstances, immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, monsieur Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, observing that Annaverda Khan, nabob of Arcot, had a greater regard for the English than the French, he resolved to have him deposed. For this purpose he entered into a plot with Muzephur Jing and Chuenda Saib, two popular men in the neighbourhood, who raised an army of their friends; and being joined by a detachment of French from Pondicherry, they marched in July 1749 towards Arcot, on the plains of which city they were met by Annaverda at the head of his army; but as he had trusted entirely to his own strength, without soliciting any assistance from the English, his army was totally routed, and himself slain. However, his son Mahommed Ally Khan made his escape, and took shelter in Trichenopoly, a place of great strength to the southward, where, at his application, the English quickly supplied him with men and ammunition.

Strengthened by this reinforcement, Mahommed gained some advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat, but no decisive blow was given. Mahommed being afterwards joined by Nazer Jing, nabob of Golconda, the two armies met,

and on the twenty-fourth of March, 1750, engaged in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, when the French and their allies were defeated; and Mahommed by this victory saw himself restored to the nabobship of Arcot: but some misunderstandings having happened between Nazer Jing and the English, and also between Mahommed and them, they returned to Fort St. David's in August; and Mahommed being thus left alone, was attacked by the enemy, and compelled to fly for relief to Nazer Jing, who was then with his army at Arcot, and who upon this determined once more to march against the French, and drove them back to Gingey, a strong fortress in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, where they were immediately surrounded and blockaded. During this blockade, the French found means to stir up a conspiracy against Nazer Jing, who was suddenly cut off, and Muzephur his nephew was by Dupleix made nabob of Golconda in his stead.

As Mahommed Ally was unable to face the French and their new allies, he was obliged once more to take shelter in Trichenopoly, and solicit the assistance of the English, which was at last promised, upon his agreeing to yield them some commercial points which had long been in dispute. In the mean time, Muzephur Jing having taken possession of the nabobship of Golconda, and appointed Chuenda Saib to be nabob of Arcot, he collected a considerable force, and marched to lay siege to Trichenopoly, after reducing some little forts in his way: but by this time all matters being adjusted between Mahommed Ally and our company, a body of four hundred men was sent under the command of captain Gingen, a Swiss officer, to his assistance, which were joined by all the forces the young nabob could raise at Valconda, about seventy miles distant from Fort St. David's. Both armies being now partly equal in point of strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month, during which no action of importance happened.

In order to make a diversion, and divide the enemy's forces, the company resolved to invade the province of Arcot with a separate body of troops. On this occasion it was that Mr. (now lord) Clive discovered those talents which have since acquired him so great a reputation, and such immense riches. This gentleman was the son of an attorney, and had entered into the service of the East India company as a writer; but the plodding track of business being ill suited to his active genius, he made but an indifferent figure in his profession; and despairing of succeeding by the pen, he now offered his service as a volunteer in this expedition, which was accepted; and in the month of August, 1751, he marched from Fort St. George at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans, crossed the country, and took possession of Arcot without opposition, where he behaved with so much moderation and generosity, that he gained the good-will of the natives to a high degree.

The French and their allies had by this time passed the river Caldaron, and encamped at Syringham, near Trichenopoly, but had not yet forces sufficient to besiege it in form. The diversion made by the party under captain Clive had the desired effect; for Chuenda Saib's son was detached with a great part of their army from Trichenopoly; up-

on whose approach Mr. Clive shut himself up in Arcot, to which the enemy laid siege; and having made two breaches, they at last, on the thirteenth of October, made a general assault: but our vigilant and gallant countryman having procured intelligence of their design, gave them so warm a reception, that they were repulsed in every quarter with great loss, and obliged to abandon the siege with the utmost precipitation. Whereupon Mr. Clive, leaving captain Kilpatrick (who had lately joined him with two thousand Marattos from Trichenopoly) in the castle of Arcot, set out with the rest of the troops in pursuit of the enemy; and coming up with them on the plains of Arani, gave them a total defeat on the third of December; after which he reduced several other forts, and then returned to Fort St. David's in triumph.

Here he had scarcely rested a month, when advice came that the enemy had collected a new army, and were approached within nine miles of Madras. Upon this captain Clive was again sent out with a body of English forces, and on the first day of March, 1752, came up with the enemy at Coverupante, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he gave them another total defeat, and besides the killed, took a French lieutenant and forty-eight men prisoners, with all the enemy's cannon, and a great quantity of warlike stores. The whole province of Arcot being thus cleared of enemies, except those at Syrringham, captain Clive returned with his forces to St. David's, having in his way demolished the new town of Dupleix, which the French governor of Pondicherry had lately caused to be built.

By this time major Laurence, a gallant and experienced officer, was arrived from England, to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's service; and having collected all the forces that could be raised, he took the field, accompanied by captain Clive, and was joined by captain Gingen at Trichenopoly. The army afterwards marched towards Syrringham; and major Laurence took his measures so well, that notwithstanding the infinite disproportion between his troops and those of the enemy under Chuenda Saib, he entirely intercepted the passage of all provisions to their camp. Thus reduced to the greatest distress, and being deserted by most of the Indians, who had gone over to Mahommed Ally, Chuenda Saib in despair endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken prisoner by the nabob of Tanjore, an ally of the English company, who, in order to prevent the disputes about who should have the keeping of him, ordered his head to be struck off. This event was immediately followed by the submission of the pent-up army, who laid down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war. M. Dupleix finding all his schemes baffled in every quarter, recalled his regulars from the Indian army, determined for the future to act only on the defensive.

The French East India company, discouraged by these repeated disasters, in order to compromise matters, sent over in the beginning of this year (1753) a commissary, who concluded a convention with the English company; by which it was agreed that the two companies should reciprocally restore the territories taken by the troops of either since the year 1748, except certain districts which the

English retained for the conveniency of their trade; that the nabobs advanced through influence of either party, should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences between the princes of the country.

Towards the close of this year debates ran very high in Ireland, where a dispute had occurred between the ministry and the parliament of that kingdom, in a case where the prerogative was on one side concerned, and the liberty of the people and the independency of parliament on the other. This affair was quickly swelled into a violent national contest, in which Mr. Boyle, the speaker of the house of commons, particularly distinguished himself by his opposition to the court, which, as usual, acquired him the denomination of a glorious patriot, &c. &c. The duke of Dorset, who was at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had indeed an arduous task to manage the helm of government during this political hurricane. By his prudence, however, matters were at last accommodated: the patriotic speaker of the house of commons was gratified with an earldom; and the public tranquillity, which seemed for some time to have been banished, was again restored.

The British parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of November, his majesty, in his speech to both houses, observed, that the events of this year had not made it necessary for him to offer any thing in particular to their consideration relating to foreign transactions: that the public tranquillity and the state of Europe remained on the same footing in which they were at the close of the last session; and they might be assured of his steadiness in pursuing the most effectual measures to preserve to his people the blessings of peace. The address did not pass in the house of commons without some severe animadversions on the inconsistency of this speech with the real state of affairs in Europe, nor without many spirited declarations against French perfidy and continental connections.

As no one transaction of sufficient importance for historical notice occurred during this session, I shall only observe, that after giving the royal assent to the land-tax bill of two shillings in the pound, to the malt-tax, mutiny, and several other bills; in particular, that repealing the act of naturalization passed in favour of the Jews last session, his majesty put an end to the session on the sixth of April 1754; and soon after the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and writs issued for a new election.

In the beginning of March this year died the right honourable Henry Pelham, chancellor of the Exchequer, and prime minister since the resignation of the earl of Orford, not only sincerely lamented by his sovereign, but also regretted by the nation in general, to whose good-will and affection he had recommended himself by his open and ingenuous behaviour, even while he was pursuing measures which some of them did not entirely approve. He had, a little before his death, concerted the plan of the new parliament, and imparted it to his majesty, who had thought proper to honour it with his approbation: a resolution was therefore taken to make as few deviations as possible from the scheme he had formed. His brother the duke of Newcastle was appointed first lord-commissioner of the Treasury, and was succeeded as

secretary of state by sir Thomas Robinson, who had long resided as ambassador at the court of Vienna. The other department of this office was retained by the earl of Holderness; and the function of chancellor of the Exchequer was performed, as usual, by the lord chief justice of the King's Bench, until a proper person could be found to supply that important post; but in the course of the summer it was conferred on Mr. Legge, who acquitted himself therein with equal honour and ability. Several other alterations were made of importance to the public: lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was raised to the dignity of an earl; the place of lord chief justice of the King's Bench, becoming vacant by the death of sir William Lee, was bestowed upon sir Dudley Rider, who was succeeded in his office of attorney-general by Mr. Murray.

The elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the ministry; and the writs being returned, the parliament was opened on the tenth day of May by the duke of Cumberland, and some other noblemen, who acted by virtue of a commission from his majesty. Mr. Onslow being re-chosen speaker of the house of commons, and approved of by the crown, the lord-chancellor made a speech to the parliament, importing, "That his majesty had given them this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete, without loss of time, certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the good of his subjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any matters of general business, reserving every thing of that nature to the usual time of assembling in the winter." On the fifth of June this short session was closed, and the parliament prorogued to the eighth day of August, and from thence by successive prorogations to the month of November.

The English ministry having received nothing but evasive answers from the court of France, with regard to the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, had sent peremptory orders to their governors in that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio.

Thus authorised, governor Dinwiddie endeavoured, with a true British spirit, to prevail with the Virginians in his neighbouring government to arm in their own defence, and to erect a fort on the forks of the river Monongahela, to curb the French encroachments, and to defend the British traders and property. About the same time the assembly of South Carolina gave three thousand pounds sterling to be applied to the defence of his majesty's limits; and North Carolina passed an act for raising seven hundred men, who were to join the troops of Virginia immediately on their being ready for action: but though the two Carolinas and New York had sent out their forces, they did not however make a junction soon enough to perform any thing of consequence; and instead of deterring the French from their designs, it served only as a means to provide them with arguments to make the native Indians jealous of and oppose the English.

Mr. Dinwiddie prevailed at last with his province to raise ten thousand pounds and three hundred men to protect their frontiers; and the com-

mand of this small regiment was given to colonel Washington, a young gentleman of great valour and abilities, who began his march on the first day of May, and went and encamped at one of our forts on the Ohio, expecting there to be joined by the troops that were coming from the other colonies. The sieur de Centrocœur, commander in chief on the Ohio, had soon an eye upon him; and having intelligence that some waggons were on the road with provisions for his camp, sent out a party of forty-five men to intercept them; of which captain Washington being apprised, drew forth a detachment of his men and went in quest of the enemy, and on the twenty-eighth of May met with and engaged them. Twelve of the French were killed, and M. Jumonville their commander, and twenty-one taken prisoners; among whom were M. de la Force and M. Druellon, together with two cadets; with the loss of only two men killed and one wounded. As this was the first skirmish we had with the French, it was looked upon as a lucky stroke that would encourage the Indians to be faithful to us. The French, however, not long after, had their revenge in the engagement we had with them in the meadows of the Ohio, on the third of July this year, when a body of one thousand French and two hundred Indians advanced, under the command of M. du Villars, to attack and dislodge him from a little fort he had run up, called Fort Necessity, as a temporary defence and cover for his handful of men. The English were by this time reduced to two hundred; but they sustained the efforts of the enemy's whole force for upwards of three hours, and laid one hundred and fifty of them dead on the field. At length, however, he was obliged to surrender the fort upon capitulation; the terms of which were very honourable to him, it being stipulated that each side should retire without molestation, and that the English should march away with all the honours of war, and with their stores, effects, and baggage. In their retreat, however, they were terribly harassed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage, and massacred his people.

An account of this action being transmitted to London, our ministry's orders were dispatched to the earl of Albemarle, the British ambassador at Paris, to complain of it as an open violation of the peace, which did not however meet with the same degree of respect as on former occasions of complaint, the time nearly approaching for the French to pull off the mask of moderation and peace: for, instead of disavowing the conduct of their American commanders, orders were expedited for fresh reinforcements of men and ammunition to perfect their pernicious designs in that part of the world; and the ministry of England on their part sent the necessary cautions to the governors and provinces in North America, exhorting them to use their utmost endeavours in resisting the encroachments of the enemy, by uniting in a political league or confederacy; and the governor of New York was appointed to confer with the chiefs of the Indians, and by presents and other means to keep them steady to the British interest. This desirable union, however, was frustrated, by a spirit of contention which prevailed amongst the colonists and their respective governors, the particulars of which would take up too much room to insert.

In the mean while, the French were no less active in New England than in the other colonies, in extending their invasions and encroachments: their jesuitical missionaries spread themselves among the Indians, with the sole view of embittering their spirits against the English, and encouraged them to commit the most horrible cruelties upon the unhappy persons who fell into their hands, at a time when the people thought they were in perfect amity with them. Upon these advices received from several parts of the province, governor Shirley summoned the general-assembly of Massachusetts Bay, and delivered himself in a very pathetic speech upon the present critical situation of affairs; in consequence of which, the assembly came to vigorous resolutions to defend their country to the utmost of their power.

In Pennsylvania the enemy, in the month of May this year, seized upon Log's Town on the river Ohio, surprised the Block-house and Truck-house, cut off all our traders but two, and carried off in goods, furs, and skins, to the amount of twenty thousand pounds.

In pursuance of the resolution of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, Mr. Shirley, in the summer of this year, 1754, marched with his troops to the eastern frontier, and with the consent of the Indians built Fort Western and Fort Halifax, on the river Kennebec. He also sent expresses to the ministry at home, representing the unhappy situation of the colonies, and the imminent danger to which Nova Scotia was exposed, from the encroachments and fortifications of the French, which had been extended to the very neighbourhood of the English settlements, and from any sudden attack, which might easily be formed against that province from St. John's island, Cape Breton, and Canada. This remonstrance carried great weight with it; for governor Shirley received not only the approbation of his majesty and council for the service he had performed on the river Kennebeck; but the government, in order to prevent the fatal catastrophe he had set before them, now adopted the most vigorous resolutions. Officers were appointed for two regiments, consisting each of two thousand men, to be raised in America; the command of which was given to governor Shirley and sir William Pepperel, who had orders to concert measures with Mr. Lawrence, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of Nova Scotia, for attacking the French forts in that province: but nothing could be done in this service till the next summer, only the raising the two thousand men, and receiving two thousand stands of arms from London. It was also resolved in his majesty's council, to appoint a generalissimo for the service of North America; which command was conferred on major-general Braddock, whose courage and military discipline seemed to point him out as the most proper person for such service. Orders were also issued for the embarkation of Halket's and Dunbar's regiments of foot to sail with all expedition with general Braddock; but they did not get from Ireland till the fourteenth of January of the ensuing year.

The court of Spain changed its ministry this year, when the marquis de la Ensenada, a tool of France and of the Spanish queen-mother, was forced to resign his place to Mr. Wall; and his Catholic majesty seemed so much inclined to keep up peace and good harmony with England, that

the disputes about our cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras were amicably adjusted between the said Mr. Wall, now the Spanish prime minister, and sir Benjamin Keene, the British ambassador at Madrid.

No remarkable alteration occurred in the course of this year, in the affairs of the northern powers, to affect the interest of Great Britain, though the French were indefatigable in their endeavours to set the conduct of our court, in relation to the American dispute, in the most disadvantageous light, and to gain over the powers on the continent to her interest, by the means of promises, threats, or subsidies.

Our interest at the court of Lisbon seemed rather upon the decline. His Portuguese majesty had formed very extensive projects of trade and commerce, and had even erected an East India company. In the mean time, he expressed a great disgust at the great quantities of gold which were annually exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his subjects for English commodities. He even went still farther: for he imposed several severe restrictions upon the British merchants residing at Lisbon, some of whom were imprisoned, and others had their property taken from them, under pretence of their being concerned in sending away Portuguese gold, for the exportation of which his most Faithful majesty insisted on an imposition of three per cent. an exaction so exorbitant, that the profits of the trade could by no means sustain. It happening, however, that there was a scarcity of coin in Portugal, which was supplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to give for this necessary article, the king was obliged to connive at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted to its usual channel.

On the fourteenth day of November the parliament of Great Britain assembled, agreeable to its last prorogation, when his majesty opened the session with a speech, informing the two houses, "That the general state of Europe had undergone very little alteration since their last meeting: that he had lately received the strongest assurances from his good brother the king of Spain, of friendship and confidence: that his principal view should be to strengthen the foundation, and secure the duration of a general peace; to improve the present advantages of it, for promoting the trade of his good subjects, and *protecting those possessions* [meaning North America] which constituted one great source of their wealth and commerce." The reader will readily remark of himself, that no mention is made in this speech of the particular encroachments. This was a political omission, in order to deprive the minority of all pretext for opposing the addresses of thanks, which were carried in both houses without a debate; and the parliament seem to have thought that his majesty had said enough to evince his resolution of humbling the insolence of our perfidious neighbour; a disposition which was so generally agreeable, that no expence was thought too great to second so laudable a design. The commons accordingly unanimously granted, for the service of the ensuing year, four millions seventy-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine pounds, of which one million was expressly given for augmenting the forces by sea and land. They also voted thirty-two thousand pounds

as a subsidy to the king of Poland, and twenty thousand pounds to the elector of Bavaria, on a supposition that France would endeavour to avail herself of her superiority of land forces to attack Hanover; and that therefore it might be necessary to secure the assistance of such subsidiary allies on the continent.

The court of France, alarmed at these unanimous and vigorous resolutions of the great assembly of the nation; and apprehending the English were in good earnest resolved to exert themselves against their encroachments in America, were at great pains once more to amuse the British court with general declarations, that no hostility was intended on their part, nor the least infringement of the treaty: which declarations were communicated to our ministry by the marquis de Mirepoix, their own ambassador at the court of London. The earl of Albemarle being lately dead at Paris, the French court hoped by these cajoling messages to lull us into perfect security, and if possible to engage us to delay, or at least slacken, our armaments for America, till they had sufficiently strengthened their usurpations from Europe. With this view, at the very time they were declaring their pacific intentions, and their desire to preserve the public tranquillity, they were busily employed in fitting out a powerful armament at Brest for North America, and in taking such other measures as must convince every one, who would not shut his eyes against the plainest evidence, that they were on the eve of striking some important blow that might serve as a declaration of war.

The danger that threatened on all sides at last alarmed our ministry, and opened their eyes to the artifice of Mirepoix, and the fallacious promises of his most Christian majesty, and determined them to enter upon such measures as should be most effectual to prevent the fatal effects of the French armament.

Accordingly, on the twenty-third of January, 1755, a proclamation was issued to encourage seamen to enter themselves on board his majesty's ships of war; offering a bounty of thirty shillings for every able-bodied seaman between twenty and fifty years of age, and twenty shillings for every ordinary seaman. The same night there was a warm press below bridge; warrants for the same purpose were dispatched to the out-ports; and public notice was given at Greenwich-hospital, for all the seamen who were willing to go to sea to give in their names, and that they should not fail of the usual encouragements. Another proclamation was published on the eighth of February, for recalling all masters of ships, pilots, mariners, seamen, shipwrights, and other sea-faring men, his majesty's natural-born subjects, from the service of all foreign princes and states, and prohibiting such persons from entering their service: and this proclamation increased the bounty for seamen from thirty shillings to three pounds, and from twenty shillings to two pounds, who should voluntarily enter before the tenth day of March next following: and further, promised two pounds reward to any person discovering any able seaman, and thirty shillings for every ordinary seaman, who should secrete themselves.

On the twenty-seventh of March his majesty sent a message by sir Thomas Robinson, then secretary of state to the parliament, importing,

"That his majesty finding it requisite, from the present situation of affairs, to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatever which may be formed against his majesty and his kingdoms, doubts not but that his faithful parliament will enable him to make such augmentations as the emergency of affairs in this critical conjuncture may require."

Upon this message, both houses presented very loyal addresses, expressing the utmost zeal and affection to his majesty's person and government, assuring their sovereign of their effectual support, and declaring their resolution to repel every attempt that might be made to deprive him of the just rights and possessions of his crown, or disturb the tranquillity of his kingdom. It was on this occasion that the sum of one million, already mentioned, was appropriated to the purpose of augmenting the forces by sea and land; and indeed it appears that it was high time for the nation to take alarm, if we may judge by the authentic accounts transmitted by M. de Cosne, our secretary of embassy at the court of France, of the formidable state of the French navy at this juncture: for about the latter end of March there were at Brest one man of war of eighty guns, four of seventy-four, six of sixty-four, one of sixty, one of fifty, one of forty-six, four of thirty, and one of twenty-four: at Toulon, one of eighty, five of seventy-four, three of sixty-four, two of thirty-two, and one of twenty-four: at Rochefort, one of eighty, one of seventy-four, three of sixty-four, one of fifty, and one of thirty-two guns; with a large number of land forces, ready to embark on the first notice: to which may be added several that had already sailed at different times to America.

But however terrible this naval armament might appear in the eyes of the French, it gave but little uneasiness to the English, who with pleasure saw, ready to enter upon action, riding at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and Woolwich, one ship of one hundred guns, five of ninety, four of seventy-four, fifteen of seventy, one of sixty-six, nine of sixty, three of fifty, one of forty, and four of twenty guns, besides sloops, &c. Also ships under orders for fitting, one of one hundred guns, one of seventy-two, five of seventy, one of sixty, and three of fifty guns. To which may be added, those already stationed in the East and West Indies, in Africa, and in America. Provision was likewise made for an augmentation of our forces both by sea and land, to the amount of thirty-five thousand men, viz. twenty thousand sailors, ten thousand marines, and five thousand for land service. The ministry also, in order to prevent the Brest fleet from being victualled with beef and pork from Ireland, where six thousand barrels had been contracted for by their agents, and were ready to be shipped off, gave orders for seizing those stores; and an embargo was laid to prevent any from being exported, which was certainly a very prudent measure, as it retarded the expedition from Brest, and obliged their victuallers to take their provisions out of their merchantmen for the use of their men of war.

Mean while, such was the dispatch made in every part of the marine, that by the middle of April

April we had a noble fleet at Spithead, well manned, and ready to put to sea: nor did they stay there long; for on the twenty-third Edward Boscawen, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, with ten ships of the line and six frigates, having on board six thousand land forces, set sail to attend the motions of the French. But more certain and particular information being brought with regard to the strength of the French fleet, now ready to depart from Brest, which consisted of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a great quantity of warlike stores, and four thousand regular troops, under the command of baron Diefkau, admiral Holborne was soon after detached with six ships of the line and one frigate, to reinforce Mr. Boscawen.

On the sixth day of May the French fleet, commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Irish extraction, sailed from Brest, directing its course for North America; but after having proceeded to a certain latitude, Macnamara returned with nine of the capital ships, while the rest of the squadron continued their course under the direction of M. Bois de la Mothe and M. de Salvert. Macnamara's ships were afterwards victualled for six months, and sailed again in the beginning of June, under the command of M. du Quay, on a cruise near the Straights of Gibraltar, and in such parts of the Atlantic Ocean as might favour the return of La Mothe and Salvert, in case of bad news from America.

The civil transactions of the British session of parliament were limited to very few objects. Several new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white herring fisheries; and an act passed at the motion of Mr. Pitt, paymaster-general of the forces for the relief of the disabled veterans of Chelsea-hospital, who had long been a prey to the extortion of usurers, from which they were now freed by this act, which ordained, that half a year's pension should be advanced the pensioners half a year before it was due, which effectually crushed the pernicious practice of usury in that department. On the twenty-fifth day of April his majesty put an end to the session with a speech, in which, among other things, he informed them, "That he had religiously adhered to the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatsoever; but that he could never entertain the thought of purchasing the name of peace at the expence of suffering encroachments upon, or of yielding up, what justly belonged to Great Britain, either by ancient possession or by solemn treaties: that the vigour and firmness of his parliament, on this important occasion, had enabled him to be prepared for such events as might happen: that if reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation could be procured, he would be satisfied, and in all events rely on the justice of his cause, the effectual support of his people, and the protection of the Divine Providence." The parliament being prorogued, his majesty appointed a regency, and set out for his German dominions, in order to try every prudent measure to obviate the difficulties that might arise in the course of the war from the French against his electoral territories. To cover these from any attacks or insults, and to guard against the effects of a secret treaty which was carrying on between the courts of Vienna and Ver-

failles, and of which he thought he had some reason to be jealous, his majesty concluded a subsidiary treaty on the eighteenth of June with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; by which his serene highness engaged to hold in readiness, during four years, a body of eight thousand men for his majesty's service, to be employed, if required, upon the continent, or in Great Britain or Ireland, but not on board the fleets, or beyond the seas. At the same time, his majesty proposed to renew the treaties with Bavaria and Saxony, which those two houses refused, on account of their connections with France. Another treaty was concluded with the empress of Russia, who was, on certain conditions, to furnish fifty-five thousand horse and foot, and fifty galleys.

The French had continued their operations on the banks of the Ohio all the winter with great diligence and activity; and had made such rapid progress in their encroachments, that in the beginning of this year they had advanced with their camps and forts within two hundred and twenty-five miles of Philadelphia. This account filled every lover of his country with the most melancholy forebodings for the safety of America, especially as the colonies still continued quarrelling with their governors, and shewed very little alacrity to join against the common enemy. The nation, however, was somewhat relieved of its anxiety, from the dispatches of admiral Boscawen, who, by letters dated off Louisburg on the twenty-second of June 1755, wherein he informed the ministry, That on the tenth of that month the Alcide, a French man of war of sixty-four guns and four hundred and eighty men, commanded by M. Hiquart; and the Lys, commanded by M. Lageril, pierced for sixty-four guns, but mounted only twenty-two, and having eight companies of land forces on board, being separated from the French squadron, fell in with the English fleet off the Banks of Newfoundland; and that a skirmish happened between the said French men of war and his majesty's ships the Dunkirk and Defiance, in which the Alcide and Lys were taken. The French ship the Dauphin Royal, which had been in company with the two above-mentioned, disappeared in a fog. Mr. Boscawen also informed, that rear-admiral Holborne, with his squadron, joined him on the twenty-first off Louisburg.

By private letters we were further informed, that the two French men of war, taken as above, were sent to Halifax in Nova Scotia; and that, had it not been for the fog, they had been in with the whole French fleet: that captain Howe, in the Dunkirk, coming close with the Alcide, ordered her to strike, and come into the admiral's fleet. The captain of her asked, if it was peace or war? but not receiving a satisfactory answer, he repeated the question, adding, that he should obey no orders but those of his own admiral. Upon which captain Howe, observing a great number of land officers, generously bid them withdraw, as it was not their duty to defend the ship; which he had no sooner done, but he poured in a broadside; and being yard-arm and yard-arm, and his guns double shotted, did terrible execution: and so hot was the fire, that the French officers found it impossible to keep their men to their quarters; so that in about three quarters of an hour she struck. There were about fifty men killed in the Alcide, and about double

double the number wounded. In the Dunkirk seven were killed, and about fifteen or sixteen wounded. The *Lys* was taken by the *Defiance* and *Fougeux*, and in both ships six hundred soldiers, with their officers, and fifty thousand crowns.

Although this action was in itself of no great importance, yet it was productive of infinite joy to the English at home, who now saw that the government was determined to keep no farther measures with the French. These latter would gladly have chosen to avoid a war, till they had accomplished their grand scheme of establishing a communication from the Mississippi to Canada by a line of forts; many of which they had already erected, and had destroyed one of ours on the Ohio: but when they received advice of this engagement, they immediately recalled the marquis (now duke) de Mirepoix from London, and monsieur de Buffly from Hanover, where he had but a little time before arrived to attend his Britannic majesty in a public character.

The advice of the success of our fleet in the American seas was followed by a farther agreeable account of the desired effect of an expedition against the French in Nova Scotia, which by his majesty's command had been concerted between general Lawrence and governor Shirley, and was carried into execution with the aid of two thousand New England men. Governor Lawrence, in a letter to sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, dated the twenty-eighth of June, at Halifax in Nova Scotia, gave the following account of this expedition, which was published by authority.

"On the sixteenth instant (June) the important fort of Beausejour surrendered to lieutenant-colonel Monckton by capitulation, after four days bombardment, before his majesty's forces had mounted a single cannon upon their batteries, though that fort had twenty-six cannon well mounted; and the next day a small fort on the river Gaspereau, running into the bay Verte, surrendered also. In this latter fort the enemy had their principal magazine for supplying the French inhabitants and the Indians. In these forts were found a great quantity of provisions, with arms and stores of all kinds." The governor then proceeds and says, "At colonel Monckton's first arrival, the French had a large number of inhabitants and Indians, four hundred and fifty of which were posted at a blockhouse which they had on their side of the river Massagash, to defend the pass of that river. Here they had thrown up a strong breast-work of timber for covering their men, and had cannon mounted on the blockhouse. At this place they made a stand for about an hour, but were forced by our troops with some loss, leaving their blockhouse and the pass of the river clear for our people, who marched without further interruption to the ground intended for their encampment. As we had not men enough to invest the fort entirely, several got away; and when the fort surrendered, there remained one hundred and fifty regulars, and about three hundred inhabitants, several of whom, with their officers, were wounded. We do not yet exactly know the numbers that were killed in the fort, but we believe their loss has not been trifling, as several lay half buried upon the parade. Colonel Monckton has new-named the fort, and called it Fort Cumberland. He gives the troops under

his command great praise for their good behaviour, and the spirit and resolution with which they acted upon this occasion."

By this means colonel Monckton disarmed fifteen thousand rebel neutrals, or Acadians and Indians; and in the mean time captain Rous, of the *Seahorse*, being ordered with two frigates more to attack the fort the French had lately erected at the mouth of St. John's river, the enemy abandoned it at his appearance, having bursted their cannon, blown up their magazines, and all the works they had raised, as much as time would permit them to do.

We had not, however, long rejoiced in the success of the foregoing expedition, before a sad disaster happened to our troops in that part of the world, which more than balanced the advantages gained by colonel Monckton and his brave New England men, and threw our American affairs into the utmost confusion.

The men of war and transports under the command of commodore Keppel, destined to carry over general Braddock with his troops to America, that had sailed from Ireland in the beginning of January this year, arrived safe at Virginia in April; when the general, having landed his men, immediately held a consultation with the governors of that and the neighbouring colonies, in order to demand of them all the assistance they could give in furtherance of his projected operations. In this convention, after much debating, it was agreed, that for the preservation of Oswego, and reduction of Niagara, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should march to the lake Ontario, and Mr. Shirley was charged with the execution of that part of the service. General Braddock, for his part, undertook the reduction of Fort du Quesne, a French fortress on the river Monongahela, which runs into the Ohio; and general Johnson was ordered to invest Crown Point with the provincial troops. These resolutions and plans were certainly very judiciously concerted; but how far they answered in the execution of each will be seen by the following account.

On the twelfth of June, 1755, general Braddock set out with two thousand regular troops, passed the Allegany mountains, and was within five days march of Du Quesne, when sir John Sinclair, having advanced to take a view of that fort, and to consider the adjacent ground, remarked a small eminence that was within cannon-shot; and the fort being built of wood, and garrisoned with one thousand men, it was proposed to erect a battery on the eminence, and set fire to the place, by throwing into it a great number of red-hot balls.

The general, however, met with a great many difficulties and obstacles in his way: he was detained at Willis' Creek, and greatly distressed by the want of forage and provisions. Landing the troops in Virginia was said to be an unfortunate error, as neither forage, provisions, nor any carriages, were to be had there; whereas, had they landed in Pennsylvania, it would have saved forty thousand pounds sterling, and shortened their march six weeks. He was, however, promised one hundred and fifty waggons and three hundred horses, with a large supply of forage and provisions, to be furnished from the back settlements of Pennsylvania: but after a tedious and anxious expectancy

pectancy of these succours, he received, instead of one hundred and fifty waggons, only fifteen; and instead of three hundred horses, only one hundred. This disappointment, however great, was much aggravated when the waggons were unloaded; for the provisions stunk so intolerably as to prevent any possible use being made of them.

While the general was in this distress, he received an unexpected supply of five hundred pounds in provisions and wine from Philadelphia, sent him by the hands of Mr. Franklin. The Pennsylvanians also advanced him a farther sum, and sent one hundred and ninety waggons, loaded each with a ton of corn and oats, four waggons with provisions and wine for the officers, and sixty head of fine cattle for the army. Having received these supplies, the general advanced with his army, and all the stores and provisions, to the Little Meadows, about twenty miles beyond Fort Cumberland, where colonel Washington had been defeated the preceding year. Here he found it necessary to leave the greatest part of his waggons, &c. under the care of colonel Dunbar, with a detachment of eight hundred men, ordering him to follow as fast as the nature of the service would admit. The general having by this means lessened the line of march, proceeded with great expedition, his corps then consisting of about twelve hundred men, together with the necessary ammunition, stores, and provisions. On July 8, he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Quesne.

In the mean time, the French who were posted at this fort, and consisted of one thousand regulars and six hundred irregulars, and a considerable number of Indians in their interest, having gained very particular intelligence of general Braddock's designs, the number and condition of his forces, and the route they were to take, no sooner found that he was advancing, after having received his last supply of provisions, than they also advanced to meet him: and having made choice of a very advantageous piece of ground, about six miles south of the fort, they formed a camp, and entrenched themselves in a very masterly manner, having a thick wood on each side of them, which extended along the route which they knew the English general must take.

Major-general Braddock was undoubtedly a man of courage and resolution; but he was haughty, positive, and difficult of access; qualities ill suited to the tempers of the people among whom he was to command. He was now near sixty miles a-head of colonel Dunbar; and his officers, particularly sir Peter Halket, earnestly besought him to proceed with circumspection, and to employ the friendly Indians in his army by way of advanced guard, in case of an ambuscade, for which that country was so well adapted. But, as if courage alone was sufficient to ensure success in all military enterprises, the general paid no regard to this seasonable advice: he resumed his march the next day (July 9) without so much as endeavouring to procure the least intelligence of the situation and disposition of the enemy, or even taking the necessary precautions to send out scouts to visit the roads and thickets, which lay on both sides of him as well as in his front.

With this supine negligence did he advance within about three miles of the enemy's intrenchments, when they drew out of their lines;

placing their irregulars in front as a forlorn hope, and fifteen hundred regulars behind to support them: they also stationed a great number of their Indians in the wood, who effectually concealed themselves behind the bushes and thickets. About noon general Braddock appeared with his troops, when he was saluted with a general discharge upon his front, and all along his left flank: upon which he gave orders to push forwards, as the enemy were in sight, though not within musket-shot; and as soon as they came near enough, the attack was begun by colonels Gage and Burton.

The Indians immediately gave the war whoop; and rising from their ambush in the thickets, discovered themselves on both sides, flanking our men in volleys, among whom they did incredible execution. The advanced guard being now between three fires, immediately gave way; but being rallied with much difficulty by the officers, they gave one fire, and then retreated in the utmost confusion, and threw Dunbar's regiment, which was behind them, into great disorder; they were with unspeakable difficulty once more rallied by the officers, many of whom were killed as they were using their endeavours to inspirit their men, who did indeed stand one more fire from the enemy, but without returning it. The general, who exerted himself as much as man could do, after having five horses killed under him, was shot through the arms and lungs, of which he died the fourth day. As soon as he dropped, both regiments fled with the utmost terror and precipitation, deserting their officers, who, though alone, kept their ground till, of sixty, five only remained who were not either killed or wounded. The provincials, who composed the rear, still stood unbroken, and continued the engagement on very unequal terms for near three hours, but were then compelled to retire. To their noble stand, however, was principally owing the safety of the regulars, who would otherwise have been all cut off in their flight.

The loss of the English in this unfortunate action amounted to seven hundred men, besides the baggage, artillery, &c. The officers suffered most in proportion, the Indians having constantly marked them out to fire at. Sir Peter Halket fell at the first fire at the head of his regiment, and the general's secretary and two of his aids de camp soon after shared the same fate. Colonel Dunbar having collected the shattered remains of his army at Fort Cumberland, continued there till the beginning of August, and then departed with his forces, except two independent companies which he left in garrison, and went to the frontiers of Pennsylvania, from whence the troops were ordered away to Albany in New York by general Shirley, who upon the death of general Braddock succeeded to the chief command of the troops in America.

Colonel Dunbar was greatly blamed for not continuing at Fort Cumberland and fortifying himself there, which he might easily have done; and would then have been such a check, during the rest of the summer, upon the French and their scalping Indians, as would have prevented many of those dreadful barbarities that were committed, in the sequel, upon the now defenceless western borderers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; who, notwithstanding the imminent danger with which they were threatened, suffered the spirit

of opposition to their governors to get the better of their reason, and so divided their councils, that they could be brought to no effectual resolutions for the public safety. These disputes prevailed chiefly in Pennsylvania, the richest of these three provinces, between the assembly and the governor; and as they were of vast detriment to that and the neighbouring colonies in America at the time they subsisted, I shall here give a cursory view of them, and in what manner they subsided.

The subjects of these disputes were various; but the principal one was that about taxing the estates of the proprietors in common with those of the inhabitants. The assembly prepared a bill in August for raising sixty thousand pounds on the present emergency, in which the proprietary estates were to be taxed with the rest. The governor pleaded an exemption for those estates, and the particular orders he had to refuse any bill with such a clause. The assembly and the governor were both positive, the one in pressing, the other in refusing to pass the bill so circumstanced. Many angry messages passed between them; and their animosities rose to such a height, that all public business was at a stand; nor could any money be raised, or soldiers levied, for the defence of the country, as there was no money in the treasury to pay them.

In the midst of these debates many hundreds of the back settlers came down in a body to demand that relief to which, by the laws both of God and nature, they had a manifest and undoubted right. These unhappy and deserted people went first to the governor, who told them what he had done to gain from the assembly that relief which they solicited, shewing them at the same time an order from the proprietaries for five thousand pounds as a free gift, to be laid out in defence of the province. They then went to the assembly, who were so moved by their distress and importunity, that dropping all their disputes, they next day (the nineteenth of November) sent up a bill, granting sixty thousand pounds, on the same terms the governor would have passed it the August before. They also passed a militia bill (which had been long in vain solicited of them) by which those who could bear arms might be formed into regular bodies subject to discipline, and rendered more able to serve their country, and be a greater terror to their enemies.

Our colonies to the north of Pennsylvania were more unanimous, and more diligent in their warlike preparations. The assembly of New York in particular voted forty-five thousand pounds for the better defence of their country, which lay more open than any other to a French invasion from Crown Point. With this supply, and the help of the eastern colonies, it was resolved to adopt offensive measures, and to undertake the two expeditions; one against the French fort at Crown Point, the other against Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, as had been before concerted with the late general Braddock.

The execution of the first of these was committed to the care of colonel (afterwards general) Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohock river in the western parts of New York, where he not only acquired a considerable estate, but was also beloved both by the inhabitants and the native Indians, whose language he had learnt, and had gained their affections by his

faithful and humane behaviour towards them. General Shirley took upon himself the direction of the expedition against Niagara.

The troops destined for both these enterprizes were appointed to assemble at Albany, where most of them arrived before the end of June; but the artillery, battoes, provisions, and other necessities for the attempt upon Crown Point, could not be got ready till the eighth of August, when general Johnson set out with them from Albany for the Carrying-place at Lake George (otherwise Lake Sacrament) where the troops had already arrived under the command of major-general Lyman, and amounted to between five and six thousand, besides Indians raised by the governments of Boston, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New York.

Every thing was now prepared for the march as soon as possible; and towards the latter end of the month general Johnson advanced with his troops about fourteen miles forward, and encamped in a very strong situation. Here he proposed to wait the arrival of his battoes, and afterwards to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the other end of Lake George, and from thence to Crown Point, which is a fort at the south end of the Lake Corlaer or Champlain. The French call it Fort Frederic.

Whilst the general remained in the above situation, he received advice from some Indian scouts that the enemy, to the number of two thousand, commanded by the baron de Dieskau, were on their march from Ticonderoga, by way of the South Bay, towards another of our fortified camps, since called Fort Edward, built and garrisoned with upwards of four hundred of the New Hampshire and New York men, by general Lyman, at the Carrying-place. General Johnson hereupon gave notice to colonel Blanchard the commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the entrenchments. Early the next morning, September 8, it was determined in a council of war, to march one thousand men, with a number of Indians, in order to intercept the enemy in their return, either as victors, or defeated in their attempt. According to this resolution, colonel Williams began his march about eight o'clock in the morning, with one thousand men and two hundred Indians. This detachment in about an hour and an half were beat back by the French, and the general immediately hauled up some heavy cannon to a breast-work of trees that had been thrown up round the encampment, and made the best disposition he could to receive the enemy.

It seems that M. de Dieskau, the French general, trusting to the information of some deserters from general Johnson's camp, that it was in want of cannon, and in a defenceless state, was prevailed upon by the common voice of his troops, when he was within four miles and an half of Fort Edward (the first object of his expedition) to proceed to the attack of the English camp. Though this alteration in the enemy's route saved Fort Edward, it had like to have proved the destruction of the whole detachment under colonel Williams, who in his march fell into the very mouths of the French. However, the colonel behaved with great gallantry and prudence, and at length effected a retreat to the camp.

About half an hour after eleven the enemy appeared in sight, marching in very regular order directly

directly for our center, when, without any apparent reason, instead of attacking the breast-work directly, they halted about one hundred and fifty yards from the camp, where their regular troops made their grand and center attack, the Canadians and Indians in their service dispersing themselves on our flanks. The enemy fired in platoons, but did no great execution, being at too great a distance, and our men defended by the breast-work. In the mean time our artillery, which was admirably well served by captain Eyre, began to play, and quickly dispersed the Indians and Canadians on our flanks, who fled for shelter to the adjacent woods.

The engagement soon after became general on both sides. The French regulars kept their ground and order for some time with great resolution and good conduct; but the warm and constant fire from our artillery and troops put them in some disorder. Their fire became more scattered, unequal, and faint: they made several attempts to penetrate our breast-work, first on the left and then on the right, but all in vain. At length, our men and the Indians observing the enemy's fire to grow continually weaker, and at very considerable intervals, without waiting for orders from general Johnson, jumped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all sides, killed between seven and eight hundred, took 30 prisoners, whilst the rest fled with the utmost precipitation. Amongst their prisoners was the baron Dieskau, the French general of all the regular forces lately arrived from Europe. The whole engagement and pursuit ended about seven o'clock.

Our greatest loss, according to general Johnson, in his letter to governor Wentworth, fell upon the party commanded by colonel Williams in the morning, in which we lost two hundred men killed. The enemy endeavoured to surround the detachment; but the officers, to save the troops, retreated and formed with the rest in the main battle of the day. Colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains, and many subalterns, with forty Indians who fought like lions, and the brave old Kendric, the Mohawk Sachem, or chief captain, were slain. In the camp the loss was very small; and no person of distinction fell but colonel Titcomb, who was killed. General Johnson and major Nichols were wounded. The French general, the baron de Dieskau, was wounded in his leg and through both his hips. He was a man in years, an experienced officer, and a person of high consideration in France. He brought three thousand one hundred and seventy-one regular troops under his command to Quebec, in the fleet with admiral de la Mothe. These troops were partly in garrison at Crown Point, and encamped at the advantageous places leading to it. The loss of the French in their engagement with us amounted to near one thousand men. Their major-general was killed, and the greater part of their chief officers.

In a short time general Johnson recovered so well of his wound as to walk about and regulate his army, in order to pursue the advantage he had gained over the enemy, by attacking Crown Point. This was the general expectation of the country: but whether he was not properly assisted by the provinces, or seconded as he expected by governor Shirley, or could not get sufficient supplies for the intended expedition against Crown Point, we are at too great a distance to be perfectly informed,

though perhaps all these reasons might concur in obliging him to delay his farther progress. This is certain, that his army stood in great want of provisions, as might be made appear by letters both from him and other officers in his army. A resolution was therefore taken to defer the attempt till the next year, and to return to Albany with the whole army: but although the expedition had failed in its main object, the conduct of general Johnson was so well approved of here, that his majesty was pleased to create him a baronet, and the parliament gratified him with a present of five thousand pounds.

Governor Shirley, who had taken upon him the expedition against Niagara, had not the good fortune to meet with the same approbation. The preparations for his expedition were not only deficient, but extremely slow; insomuch, that although his success was manifestly to depend upon his beginning his operations early in the spring, instead of that, it was the end of July before he was ready to set out for Albany; and being also obliged to wait for provisions by the way, it was the twenty-sixth of September before he was in readiness to cross the Lake Ontario. In this interval a great number of Indians who accompanied him from Albany returned home; and the few that remained with him declared that it was impossible to cross the lake at that season, or at any time before the following summer. All his measures being thus disconcerted, Mr. Shirley, after employing his troops for some time in building barracks, and beginning to erect two new forts, returned with the greatest part of the troops under his command to Albany, leaving colonel Mercer with a garrison of about seven hundred men at Oswego. A misunderstanding likewise arose between him and sir William Johnson, which was carried to such a height that nothing could extinguish their animosities but the interposition of royal authority; by which Shirley was recalled from his government, and obliged to return to England to answer for such parts of his conduct as should be judged exceptionable.

In the mean time the French, exasperated at their late defeat under the baron de Dieskau, set no bounds to their rage; and, in conjunction with their savage Indians, redoubled their fury against our defenceless planters; and wherever we had no forts or garrisons to defend our people, there these monsters made their ravages and committed their barbarities, butchering men, women, and children, and whole families, in the most cruel manner; though it must be allowed, that by the victory at Lake George some of the Indian tribes were attached more firmly to us, particularly the Cherokees, a nation bordering on South Carolina, who concluded a treaty with the governor of that province in the course of this year.

Having taken this view of the proceedings of our governors of the several provinces of America to drive the French from their encroachments there, let us now return to England to behold the vigorous measures pursued by the government, in resentment of the perfidious dealings of the French in regard to this nation.

The unprovoked hostilities committed by them in America so exasperated the nation, that our ministry thought it a justice due to the honour of his majesty's crown and kingdom, to repay the French in their own coin: and while they least suspected

any thing of the kind, to strike such a blow as would deprive them at once of the means to mann their fleets. Accordingly, in the month of September a resolution was taken in council, and the lords of the admiralty were ordered to authorize and command the several captains and commanders in the royal navy, to seize and bring into port all manner of French ships, whether men of war or merchantmen: and, in order more effectually to animate the workmen in the dock-yards to proceed with alacrity in the building and repairing the many ships ordered to be put into commission, his royal highness the duke of Cumberland went this summer to Portsmouth, where he was received with the greatest honours; and lord Anson, with other lords of the admiralty, visited that place, and several other ports in the kingdom, in order to forward the maritime preparations, which were carried on with such diligence and alacrity, that before the end of this year the English navy amounted to one ship of an hundred and ten guns, five of an hundred guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of seventy-four, twenty-nine of seventy, four of sixty-six, one of sixty-four, thirty-three of sixty, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, four of forty-four, thirty-five of forty, and forty-two of twenty; four sloops of war of fourteen guns each, two of sixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten; besides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders; a force sufficient to oppose the united maritime strength of all the powers in Europe: whilst that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ships then upon the stocks, consisted only of six ships of eighty guns, twenty-one of seventy-four, one of seventy-two, four of seventy, thirty-one of sixty-four, two of sixty, six of fifty, and thirty-two frigates.

Mean while, in consequence of the orders for reprisals, our cruizers exerted themselves so effectually, that before the close of the year they had taken three hundred of the French merchant ships, and about eight thousand of their sailors. By these captures the French found themselves on a sudden deprived of a great body of seamen, and a very large property in trade; the with-holding of which distressed their people, and ruined many of their merchants. The outward-bound merchant ships were insured at the rate of thirty, and their homeward-bound at the rate of fifty per cent. while the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burden was severely felt by all ranks of people. Amongst them their ministry was publicly reviled even by their parliaments; and the French name, not long since the terror of Europe, was now become its contempt. But this violent proceeding, without a formal declaration of war on the part of Great Britain, was loudly impeached of injustice by the French court, and not greatly approved by many candid and thinking people at home.

However, to keep up the spirit of the nation, and conciliate the affections of the people, a resolution was taken to employ those admirals who had rendered themselves so popular by their courage and success towards the conclusion of the late war. Accordingly, sir Edward Hawke was sent with eighteen sail of men of war on a cruize to the westward, to wait for the French fleet under the com-

mand of M. du Guay, who had put into Cadiz, and was expected shortly to return to Brest. Sir Edward, however, missed of the French fleet, which got safe into that harbour on the third day of September; upon advice whereof he was called home. In the October following another fleet of twenty-two ships of the line, besides frigates and sloops, was sent upon another cruize under admiral Byng, with a view, as was said, to intercept the squadron commanded by La Mothe, in its return from America, after landing M. de Dieskau with his troops there: but this fleet likewise returned to Spithead about the latter end of November, without having been able to effect any thing, to the no small disgust of the nation. Commodore Frankland was sent this summer with a squadron to the West Indies.

As to our affairs in the East Indies, the ministry had in the preceding year dispatched rear-admiral Watson and rear-admiral Pocock with a squadron of capital ships, and colonel Aldercorn's regiment on board, to support our interests beyond the Line, which was no sooner known to the court of France, who dreaded the consequences of a war with the English on that trading coast, and were besides grown jealous of Dupleix's aiming to raise himself to the dignity of an independent eastern prince, and to establish his government at their expence, than they resolved to clear themselves of this powerful commander, and to establish a good harmony between the two companies in that part of the world: with this view they dispatched M. Godeheu, with a commission of commissary-general and governor-general of all their settlements, with instructions to supersede M. Dupleix in his government, and to do his endeavours to conclude a pacific treaty with the governor of Madras, and with the other English settlements on the coast of Coromandel. M. Godeheu executed his commission with dexterity and honour. His proposals were highly acceptable to the English; and on the twenty-sixth of December, 1754, articles of a provisional treaty, and articles and stipulations of a truce were signed between governor Saunders, president for the honourable East India company on the coast of Coromandel, and the sieur de Godeheu, his most Christian majesty's commissary. But this gentleman returning home soon after, M. de Leyrit his successor acted in such a manner as to convince the English that the tranquillity was not founded on so solid a basis as they expected; for early in this year (1755) it appeared that the French, in direct contravention to the provisional treaty, were endeavouring to acquire the dominion of all the Decan, or province of the hither peninsula of India. They also took possession of the fort of Golconda; and Leyrit supported the Polygor of Vellore, the strongest fort of the province, against his sovereign the nabob Mahommed Ally Khan, our ally, threatening, by a letter to the governor of Madras, and by marching three hundred French and as many seapoys from Pondicherry, to oppose the English employed by the nabob to collect his revenues from the tributary princes that held under him. Our fleet under Watson and Pocock was then sailed upon an expedition to reduce the strong places of the famous pirate Angria, on the Malabar coast, from whence he had for many years infested our trade in the East Indies, and greatly endangered both our navigation

tion and that of the Dutch, and other European nations, to that part of the world.

I shall now resume the account of the state of affairs in Europe. The French court, as soon as they heard of admiral Boscawen's taking their two men of war, complained loudly at the court of Madrid of this transaction as a most unjustifiable proceeding, which threatened a dissolution of all faith amongst nations. This produced a spirited memorial from sir Benjamin Keene, our minister at that court, importing, that it was well known that the French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and every thing necessary for defending the countries which the French had unjustly seized in America, and of which the English claimed the property: that the rules of self-defence authorise every nation to defeat any attempt that may tend to its prejudice: that this right had been made use of only in taking the two French men of war: and that the distinction of place might be interpreted in favour of the English, seeing the two ships were taken on the coasts of the countries where the contest arose.

The disposition or the policy of the Spanish court happened to be such at this time, that they turned a deaf ear to all the remonstrances of France, and gave our sovereign the strongest assurances of its friendship, and of its intention to concern itself no farther in the differences between him and his most Christian majesty than as a mediator, if required, to accommodate matters. The French, however, still kept up an appearance of moderation: and although our cruizers continued to distress their trade, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with; yet the politic adversary, to have a fair pretext to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from retorting these hostile proceedings, that their ministry, hearing that one of their ships of war had taken the Blandford, of twenty guns, with Mr. Littleton on board, going to his government of Carolina, and carried her into Nants, ordered the governor to be immediately set at liberty, and shortly after released both the ship and crew: but notwithstanding this shew of moderation, and that they were soliciting every court in Europe to interpose their mediation to prevail with his Britannic majesty to compromise the differences between France and England; yet they did not neglect the necessary preparations for war, but used double diligence in getting their squadrons ready for sea, lined their coasts opposite to England with troops, and prepared several flat-bottomed boats at Calais, Dunkirk, and several other ports, as if they really designed an invasion of England. They also made sure of our old ally the empress-queen, by means of the count d'Aubeterre, envoy-extraordinary from their court to that of Vienna, who entered into a secret negociation with the imperial minister, and promised, in the name of his master, that if the empress-queen would second the views of his most Christian majesty, she might command all that was in his power against the king of Prussia, of whom she, at this time, affected to be more than commonly jealous.

In the midst of this hurry his majesty returned from his electorate, which he left on the eighth of September, and he arrived at his palace of Kensington on the fifteenth of the same month.

By this time the public received some intimation of the negociations of France with the em-

press of Germany: whereupon his Britannic majesty, to put the matter out of all doubt, ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand the auxiliaries which he had a right unto by treaties from her Imperial majesty: but that princess not only refused to perform those engagements, under the pretence, that as the contest between us and France was not a *casus fœderis*, or clause in our alliance with her; but afterwards, when required by England to defend her barrier towns in the Low Countries, she excused herself from the service, under a pretence of her fears from the king of Prussia.

On the thirteenth of November his majesty met his parliament, and opened the session with a speech, in which he informed the lords and commons, "That the most proper measures had been taken to protect our possessions in America, and to recover such parts of them as had been usurped or invaded: that to preserve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general flame from being lighted up in Europe, he had always been ready to accept of reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation; but that none such had been offered by France: that he had also confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or supporting those already made; to exert his people's right to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in time of profound peace; and to disappoint such designs as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reason to think had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions: that he believed no impartial power could object to proceedings so absolutely necessary for the defence and security of his people: that his good brother the king of Spain beheld with concern these differences; and the part which he had taken in the common welfare of Europe, made him earnestly wish the preservation of the public tranquillity, and had induced him to give the most solemn assurances of his firm resolution to continue in the same pacific sentiments: that he himself had greatly increased his naval force, and augmented his army in such a manner as might be least burthensome to his subjects: and finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empress of Russia, and another with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, which should be submitted to their perusal."

In the house of lords, the duke of Marlborough presented the form of a very long and explicit address of thanks for the approbation of the house, which was seconded by the earl of Marchmont. It occasioned violent debates, and was thought to have been one of the most extraordinary ever presented by that house. It was in substance as follows: "They thank him for his royal firmness, in not yielding to any terms of accommodation with France that were not reasonable and honourable, and for exerting his royal care so powerfully in the protection of his colonies: they acknowledge his majesty's wisdom and goodness in increasing his naval armaments, in augmenting his land forces, with so much regard to the ease of his people, and in generously giving encouragement to that great body of his brave and faithful subjects, with which his American provinces happily abound, to exert their strength on this important occasion: they observe, with pleasure, the pacific declarations of his Catholic majesty; promise their most zealous and

vigorous aid and concurrence in this just and national cause, and to assist him in disappointing or repelling all such enterprizes as may be formed not only against his kingdoms, but also against any other of his dominions, *although not belonging to the crown of Great Britain*, in case they should be attacked on account of the part which his majesty has taken for maintaining the essential interests of his kingdoms."

The terms in which this address was couched gave infinite offence to, and was vehemently combated by, the lords in the opposition, headed by earl Temple, who insisted that in the first part of it the wisdom of the house was prostituted, by engaging to approve of the treaties of Russia and Hesse-Cassel, which they had not seen, and which they apprehended could be of no use to Great Britain: and in the second part, they said the house would be guilty of the greatest indiscretion, by consenting to measures which manifestly engaged this nation in a continental connection, for the defence of Hanover, that could not be supported by Great Britain; and would be so far from being of advantage to us at sea or in America, that it was to be feared it might in the end disable the nation from defending itself in other parts of the world. But the court party, upon putting the question, carried their address by a great majority of voices, and it was accordingly presented, and met with a most gracious answer from his majesty.

The address in the house of commons was replete with the same expressions of zeal, gratitude, and warm assurances to support his majesty. Nay the same, or nearly the same words, relating to the defence of his majesty's foreign dominions, were proposed to be inserted in this address, which was opposed strenuously by several gentlemen in high posts under the government, particularly by Mr. Legge, the chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. William Pitt, pay-master of the forces: but after a long debate, the form was approved by a considerable majority, and the address was presented, which met with a like gracious return from the throne with that of the upper house.

It was somewhat strange to see two persons who held such considerable places under the government, oppose, as they did upon almost every occasion, the secretary of state, who was supposed to know and speak the sentiments of his master: but the truth is, that there was a very strange jumble of parties in both houses; and it soon appeared that the public business could not go on unless another secretary of state was appointed in the room of sir Thomas Robinson, who, though a man of integrity and virtue, and a favourite with his sovereign, was not possessed of talents equal to the duties of his office, especially at so critical a juncture as that in which the nation now found itself. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Henry Fox, secretary at war, though they scarce ever agreed in any other point, united in opposing his measures; and their interest was so great in the house, and their abilities so

universally acknowledged, though of very different kinds, that they were always sure of forming a party sufficient to clog the wheels of government, when matters went contrary to their inclinations. Mr. Pitt had, besides the advantage of his high post under the government, the additional weight of having in both houses many able men who were his friends or relations, particularly Mr. Legge, chancellor of the Exchequer, above-mentioned, the earl Temple, and the Grenville family, and almost all of them enjoying places under the government likewise. Sir Thomas himself therefore very wisely and dutifully resolved to take off some part of the opposition; and of his own accord, the very second day of the session, resigned the seals of secretary of state into his royal master's hands, who delivered them to Mr. Fox. About the same time Mr. Legge, disgusted with the new system of foreign measures, threw up his post of chancellor of the Exchequer, which was conferred on sir George Lyttleton, and lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war. Mr. Pitt was soon after dismissed from his employment, and the earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay appointed joint paymasters-general in his stead. Earl Gower was made keeper of the privy-seal, and the duke of Marlborough master-general of the ordnance. This was called the ministry with Mr. Fox at the head; but few of them were consulted in the administration of the more important affairs.

When the treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel came to be considered in the house of commons, some of the members proposed referring them to the examination of a committee; but this motion was rejected, in consideration of his majesty's having contracted them with a view to avert the storm that threatened his electoral dominions, on account of our quarrel with the French. The new ministry also, in order to reconcile the nation the better to these treaties, took advantage of the march of a large body of French troops down to their coasts, to insinuate, that the subsidiary troops might soon be found necessary to be brought over hither for the defence of our island against the French invasion. In fine, the question being put upon each of these treaties, they were approved by a majority of three hundred and eighteen against one hundred and twenty-six in the lower house, and by eighty-four against eleven in the upper. After this the commons proceeded to adjust the supplies for the ensuing year, when they voted fifty thousand seamen, including nine thousand one hundred and thirty-eight marines, together with two millions six hundred thousand pounds for their maintenance, and thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three land forces, with 930,600 l. for their support. One hundred thousand pounds were voted as a subsidy to the empress of Russia, fifty-four thousand one hundred and forty pounds to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel*, and ten thousand pounds to the elector of Bavaria.

* In the course of this year the protestant interest received a severe blow, by the defection of prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel (son to this landgrave, and son-in-law to his Britannic majesty, whose daughter, the princess Mary, he had espoused) who on the seventh of March abjured the protestant faith, and

turned Roman catholic: whereupon the king of Great Britain and the States-general, at the requisition of the old landgrave and the states of Hesse-Cassel, guaranteed the protestant religion and succession in that landgraviate.

I must here stop to commemorate a most awful event which happened in this month of November, and proved fatal to many places, occasioned by an almost universal convulsion throughout the known world, which was far from being unnoticed even in these kingdoms, where the waters in many places were agitated in a most surprising manner: but in Spain and Portugal the greatest mischief was sustained by this tremendous earthquake; and the proud city of Lisbon, capital of Portugal, was almost totally destroyed, with near seventy thousand inhabitants of all countries, though happily not above ten or twelve English were amongst the number. This fortunate circumstance, with respect to those of our nation, seems to have been owing to the day on which this fearful visitation happened, viz. the first of November, which is the festival of All-Saints, and is appointed at Lisbon for the celebration of the Auto da Fé*; and as in that day insults are frequently offered to protestants if met in the streets, most of the gentlemen of the English factory go the night before to their country houses, and do not return till the next day, when every thing is quiet. To this unhappy bigotry, which brings many of the country inhabitants to Lisbon to see the shew, the great loss of the Portuguese, and the preservation of the English, may therefore be reasonably attributed: but though the English were thus safe in their persons, almost all the houses they occupied were destroyed by the dreadful conflagration which accompanied the earthquake; and the greater part saved nothing but a little cash and some of their books.

When this dreadful convulsion began, which was between nine and ten in the morning, the weather was serene, and the sky without a cloud in it. The two first and most dreadful shocks continued for the space of a quarter of an hour; after which the water of the river Tagus, which runs along by the city, rose perpendicularly above twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed again in less than a minute. It is agreed on all hands, that the fire which succeeded the earthquake was the principal cause of the total ruin of the city. It was occasioned by the vast quantities of fires lighted on that particular day on the altars of every church, chapel, and in every convent and private house; and many villains also confessed, on their executions for pillaging the ruins, that they had set fire to many places in the city to facilitate their depredations. The waverings of the earth were from east to west, which is the course of the Tagus from Lisbon to the ocean; the whole bed of which river is in all probability altered; for the principal quay of the city, built extremely strong of marble, cramped with irons, and jointed, sunk at once fifty fathoms below the surface of the water. The earth opened in abundance of other places in the kingdom, as at Alcantara, Sacavem, and Setuval, or St. Ubes: out of some of the chasms issued water, from others a sulphureous vapour, and from others proceeded nothing but air. Of three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, which Lisbon was supposed to contain at the time of the earthquake,

about seven thousand (some accounts made them nearer ten thousand) perished by this calamity, and the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute even of the necessaries of life, were obliged to seek for shelter in the open fields.

His majesty had no sooner received intelligence of this melancholy event from his minister at the court of Madrid, than he sent a message to the house of lords, acquainting them with the same, and desiring their concurrence and assistance in relieving the unhappy sufferers. To which the lords returned a dutiful address, expressing their just sense of his majesty's royal concern for the great misfortune that had befallen the kingdom of Portugal, and for his generous compassion of the unhappy sufferers; and assuring his majesty of their hearty concurrence and assistance in sending such speedy and effectual relief as might be suitable to so afflicting and pressing an exigency. Accordingly the parliament, to the honour of British humanity, soon after voted a gift of one hundred thousand pounds; and likewise sent twenty thousand barrels of rice, a great quantity of corn and flour, and a large cargo of beef from Ireland, and many other necessaries for the relief of the distressed people of Portugal, to be at the disposal of his Portuguese majesty; who was so sensibly affected with this instance of British generosity, that, as a proof of his gratitude, he ordered M. de Castres, the English resident at his court, to give the preference in those supplies to the British subjects who had suffered by the earthquake. Accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the provisions, and two thousand pounds in money, were set apart for that purpose; and his Portuguese majesty returned his thanks in the warmest terms to the British crown and nation.

About this time the *Esperance* man of war, of eighty guns, belonging to the French, sailing from Rochefort to Brest to be completely manned, was taken with three hundred men on board, by the *Orford*, of seventy guns, captain Stevens, after three hours engagement, and brought by him into Plymouth. In short, matters were come to such a length between us and France, that it was daily expected war would be declared either by the one side or the other. The French court, however, did not chuse to do it first, for fear they should drive their own people, already oppressed almost beyond human sufferance, into mutiny and rebellion: and we had our reasons for not being the first to proclaim war, lest we might be deemed the aggressors, and consequently have given our allies a pretence to refuse their succours, in case they should be demanded in the course of the war. On these or the like principles both courts seemed to act. At last the French bethought themselves of an expedient to oblige our ministry to give such an *eclaircissement* concerning their intentions as should amount to a precise declaration, which was, by ordering Mr. Rouillé, secretary of state for foreign affairs in France, to write the following letter or memorial to Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic majesty.

* Or, Act of Faith, in which the convicts of the inquisition go in procession through the city; and frequently protestants

and others are burnt alive by the sentence of this infernal tribunal.

"S I R,

"By order of the king my master, I have the honour to send you the following memorial, &c.

"The king is able to demonstrate to the whole universe, by authentic proofs, that it is not owing to his majesty that the differences relating to America have not been amicably accommodated.

"The king being most sincerely desirous to maintain the public peace, and a good understanding with his Britannic majesty, carried on the negotiation relative to that subject with the most unreserved confidence and good faith.

"The assurances of the king of Great Britain's disposition to peace, which his Britannic majesty and his ministry were constantly repeating, both by word of mouth and in writing, were so formal and precise, that the king could not, without reproaching himself, entertain the least suspicion of the sincerity of the court of London's intentions.

"It is scarce possible to conceive how these assurances can be reconciled with the orders for hostilities given in November 1754, to general Braddock, and in April 1755 to admiral Boscawen.

"The attack and capture, in July last, of two of the king's ships in the open seas, and without a declaration of war, was a public insult to his majesty's flag; and his majesty would have manifested his just resentment of such an irregular and violent proceeding, if he could have imagined that admiral Boscawen acted by the orders of his court.

"For the same reason the king suspended at first his judgment of the piracies that have been committed for several months, by the English men of war, on the navigation and commerce of his majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and the regard they reciprocally owe to each other.

"The sentiments of his Britannic majesty gave the king room to expect, that at his return to London he would disavow the conduct of his admirals and naval officers, and give his majesty a satisfaction proportioned to the injury and the damage.

"But seeing that the king of England, instead of punishing the robberies committed by the English navy, on the contrary encourages them, by demanding from his subjects fresh supplies against France; his majesty would fall short in what he owes to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer the demanding of a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage done to the king's subjects.

"His majesty therefore thinks proper to apply directly to his Britannic majesty, and to demand from him immediate and full restitution of all the French ships, as well men of war as merchant men, which, contrary to all law and all decorum, have been taken by the English navy, and of all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, merchandizes, and in general of every thing belonging to these vessels.

"The king will always chuse to owe to the king of England's equity, rather than to any thing else, that satisfaction which he hath a right to demand; and all the powers in Europe will undoubtedly see in this step which he hath determined to take, a new and striking proof of that invariable love of peace which directs all his counsels and resolutions.

"If his Britannic majesty orders restitution of the vessels in question, the king will be disposed to enter into a negotiation for that farther satisfaction which is legally due to him, and will continue desirous, as he hath always been, to have the discussions relating to America, determined by an equitable and solid accommodation.

"But if, contrary to all hopes, the king of England refuse what the king demands, his majesty will regard this denial of justice as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the court of London to disturb the peace of Europe."

Verfailles, Dec. 21, 1755.

The haughty terms in which this memorial was conceived, and the apparent incongruity of this correspondence between two nations so far engaged in hostilities as Great Britain and France were at this time, would not permit his Britannic majesty to answer this memorial otherwise than by his secretary of state. Mr. Fox therefore, by the royal command, sent to Mr. Rouillé the following answer, dated at Whitehall, January 13, 1756.

"S I R,

"I received on the third instant the letter, dated the twenty-first past, with which your Excellency honoured me, together with the memorial subjoined to it. I immediately laid them before the king my master; and by his command have the honour to inform your Excellency, that his majesty continues desirous of preserving the public tranquillity: but though the king will consent to an equitable and solid accommodation, his majesty cannot grant the demand that is made of immediate and full restitution of all the French vessels, and whatever belongs to them, as the preliminary condition of any negotiation; his majesty having taken no step but what the hostilities begun by France, in a time of profound peace (of which he has the most authentic proofs) and what his majesty owes to his own honour, to the defence of the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms, rendered just and indispensable.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

At the same time, a refutation was drawn up of the charges brought in the French memorial against the English nation, and was transmitted to the British ambassador at each of the several courts of Europe, in order to be published for the satisfaction of the world, but is too long to be inserted here.

However, in consequence of these memorials and Mr. Fox's answer, the French king's orders were published at Dunkirk, for all British subjects to leave his dominions before the first of March, except such as might obtain his permission to remain. Another edict was published at the same time, inviting the French subjects to fit out privateers, offering a premium of forty livres (about thirty-six shillings English) for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising, that in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the king would purchase all the said privateers at prime cost. Pursuant to the above orders, the English vessels in the several ports of France were seized, and their crews sent to prison.

The fortifications at Dunkirk had already begun to be repaired, and a great number of artificers and seamen were employed in equipping a formidable squadron at Brest; and a strong body of forces were collected, as well as a considerable number of transports, in order to infuse into the people of this kingdom a belief of an intended invasion. It has been too much the foible of this nation to be terrified with every motion our neighbours the French make on the coast of the Channel. They took us therefore on our weak side: nor did they forget on this occasion to play off their old scarecrow the pretender against us; for in an article from Paris in the public papers of the beginning of September, we were told that the chevalier de St. George's eldest son had been two months in that city; that he had seen the king and the ministry, and had offered to hazard his person again to second the resentments of that court. It was added, that an embarkation was talked of for Scotland. This and a thousand other vague reports of the like nature, were the pure effects of French policy, to confound our intelligence, and keep us upon a wrong scent till they should be ready to strike the grand blow they really meditated, the reduction of Minorca; of which more in its place.

Our ministry, however, appear to have been so prepossessed with the belief that the French intended an invasion of these kingdoms, that when the parliament reassembled after Christmas recess, lord Barrington, as secretary at war, on the twenty-second day of January 1756, laid before the house an estimate for defraying the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three land soldiers already ordered to be raised; and the sum of ninety-one thousand nine hundred and nineteen pounds ten shillings was voted for this purpose: and upon another estimate presented by the same noble lord, and founded on the same supposed necessity of augmenting the army, the farther sum of forty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-eight pounds was voted for defraying the charges of eleven troops of light dragoons, and eighty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds were voted for the charge of a regiment of foot to be raised in America for the year 1756, two hundred and ninety-eight thousand five hundred and thirty pounds for the maintenance of our forces already established in our American colonies, and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North America and the East Indies. In a word, including several other sums, as well for defraying the expence of the army and navy as for other purposes, the whole of the supplies granted by parliament in this session amounted to seven millions two hundred twenty-nine thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds four shillings and six-pence. For raising this sum, besides the malt-tax and the land-tax at four shillings, the whole produce of the sinking fund, from the fifth of January 1756, until it should amount to one million five hundred fifty-five thousand nine hundred fifty-five pounds eleven shillings, was ordered to be applied, together with a million to be raised by loans on Exchequer bills at three per cent. one million five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by the sale of redeemable annuities at three and a half per cent. and five hundred thousand by a lottery at three per cent.

Sundry very good laws were enacted this session for the better supporting ourselves against the designs of the enemy, and for the encouragement and regulation of British commerce and navigation in general; such as, an act "to enable foreigners to serve as military officers in America;" an act "for supplying mariners on board of ships of war and merchantmen;" an act "for granting bounties on British and Irish linen exported;" an act "for the encouragement of fisheries in Scotland;" an act "for securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America;" an act "for regulating workmens wages employed in the wool-len manufacture;" and an act "for the encouragement of seamen, and the more speedy manning the royal navy."

While the parliament of Great Britain was thus proceeding with the public business, the whole system of affairs in Europe took a new and sudden turn. His Prussian majesty having got intelligence that a secret negociation was carrying on between the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, and Versailles, which had for its object the partition of a part of his dominions; and fearful that if the Russians, taken by the late treaty into the pay of Great Britain, should get footing in Germany, he must be reduced to a very precarious situation; he therefore emitted a public declaration by his ministers in all the courts of Europe, "That he would oppose with his utmost force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatsoever."

This spirited declaration of his Prussian majesty, and the favourable reception which that prince had given the duke de Nivernois, who had been lately sent from France to Berlin to propose a new alliance between the two courts, gave his Britannic majesty the most uneasy apprehensions for his electoral dominions, in case such an alliance should take place: and as nothing but necessity had induced the king to apply for Russian auxiliaries, he thought it most advisable to fall in with the views of his nephew, especially as they had now but one common interest, the preventing of foreign troops being introduced into Germany.

Advances were accordingly made on the part of our court to the king of Prussia, with such advantageous proposals as made him entirely relinquish all thoughts of a further negociation with the Grand Monarch; and a convention was concluded in the month of January between their Britannic and Prussian majesties, importing, "That having maturely considered, that the differences which had lately arisen in America might easily extend much farther, and even reach Europe; having, moreover, always the welfare and safety of Germany, their common country, much at heart; and being extremely desirous to maintain its peace and tranquillity, they had, as the most effectual means of obtaining this salutary end, agreed upon a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themselves not to suffer foreign troops, of any nation whatsoever, to enter into Germany or pass through it during the troubles aforesaid, and the consequences that might result from them; but to oppose the same with their utmost might, in order to secure Germany from the calamities of war, defend her fundamental laws and constitutions, and preserve her peace uninterrupted."

The belief of an intended French invasion began now to prevail more and more. It was currently

rently reported from the Hague that the troops, to the amount of one hundred and forty battalions, were to be transported in flat-bottomed boats: that M. de Belleisle was to command the expedition, who was already, with the prince de Soubise, making their circuit along the French coast: that eighty thousand men were marching to Dunkirk; and that a large fleet of men of war were actually in Brest road, ready to put to sea, under the command of M. du Perrier. About the same time advices were received, that great preparations had been making at Toulon for some months for the execution of an important expedition; calculated to deprive the British marine of its present opportunities of carrying on hostilities against the French in the Mediterranean. This enterprize was said to be a descent upon the island of Minorca, to be made with twenty-five thousand men, a great train of artillery, and supported by a fleet of eight sail of capital ships; and that the whole would be ready to put to sea by the beginning of April at farthest. The same advice was confirmed by sir Benjamin Keene, our ambassador at the court of Madrid, by sundry well-authenticated letters from the Hague, and at last from the governor of Minorca, general Blakeney, himself, who, in a letter to Mr. Fox, dated February 7, and received March 6, 1756, expresses himself thus: "I cannot be too early in acquainting you, sir, that by different informations from France and Spain, there is great reason to believe the French intend very shortly to make an attack upon this island. In consequence, I have called a council of war; and we were unanimously of opinion, that considering who these informations came from, and the reports every-where about, which seemed to tally with them, this island ought with the greatest speed to be put in the best state of defence it can."

All these informations, however, were totally disregarded by our ministry, who still affected to interpret all the motions of the French, in every part of their kingdom, to be destined either against the British isles, our plantations in America, or against Hanover; and they prevailed on his majesty to send a message to the house of lords on the twenty-third of March, signifying, "That he had received repeated advices from different places and persons, that a design had been formed by the French court to make an hostile invasion upon Great Britain or Ireland; and that the great preparations of land forces, ships, artillery, and warlike stores, then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coasts, left little room to doubt of the reality of such a design: that he had not only augmented his forces by sea and land to put his kingdom in a posture of defence; but that he had also, in order farther to strengthen himself, ordered transports to bring over hither a body of Hessian troops; and doubted not that he should be supported by his parliament in all such further measures as should be conducive to an end so essential to the honour of the crown, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms."

It must, I am persuaded, give the reader some surprize, not to find the least notice taken in this message of the advices concerning the hostile preparations in the south of France for invading Minorca, or of any measures taken or intended by the ministry for its defence. This message was indeed pretty severely

animadverted upon by several members of both houses, who violently opposed the bringing such a disgrace upon this nation as the transporting hither a body of foreign mercenaries to defend her and fight her battles. However, the ministerial influence prevailed; and both houses presented their addresses, expressing their indignation at so daring an attempt as the invasion of these kingdoms; and assuring his majesty that they would with unshaken zeal, vigour, and unanimity, stand by him against all his enemies, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

The ministry did not stop here; for in a very few days after Mr. Fox made a motion in the lower house, that an address should be presented to his majesty, beseeching him, that for the more effectual defence of this island against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be immediately brought into this kingdom. This motion was agreed to by the majority, the address presented, his majesty's compliance obtained, and such expedition was used, that in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and were distributed in camps in different parts of the kingdom. Un-speakable, however, was the indignation which the greater part of the nation expressed against the ministry, who, by neglecting the establishment of a regular militia (for which a bill had been prepared and offered by the honourable Charles Townshend in the course of this session, but rejected) had reduced Great Britain to so low an ebb of distress, as to oblige her to have recourse for safety and protection to the assistance of foreign auxiliaries. The rabble, who are ever in extremes, were inflamed to such a degree of animosity against these foreigners, that nothing could have restrained them from violent acts of outrage but the exemplary modest and inoffensive conduct by which the Germans, as well private men as officers, distinguished themselves.

While these measures were pursuing to guard against the impending danger, colonel Yorke, our ambassador in Holland, had orders to demand of the States-general the six thousand troops which, by treaty, they were obliged to furnish to England, when attacked or threatened by any of her enemies. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of February, he delivered a memorial for that purpose, but too long to have a place here. M. d'Affry, the French ambassador, presented to their High Mightinesses a counter-memorial, in which he insisted, that the English had no right to claim the assistance of their allies, as they were incontestably the aggressors; and desired their High Mightinesses would explain themselves categorically on the part they intended to take in the present dispute. The States-general, in answer to this demand, observed, that considering their situation, the bad state of their finances, and the decay of their commerce, nothing could be more agreeable to them than a neutrality, which they were determined to preserve until obliged to depart from it by good faith, and the religion of inviolable engagements they lay under by treaties to several powers. This answer was by no means satisfactory to the court of Versailles; and therefore M. d'Affry was ordered to desire their High Mightinesses to explain themselves with greater

greater precision, intimating, that although his most Christian majesty desired not to multiply the calamities of war, yet he could no longer reckon among the number of his friends those powers who, far from fulfilling the defensive engagements they have contracted with him, would make a common cause with, and furnish succours to, his enemies.

Mean while, the English transports arrived in the Maese, and Mr. Yorke continued to insist on the embarkation of the six thousand men demanded. The States upon this were prodigiously embarrassed. They saw themselves reduced to this unavoidable dilemma: if the republic granted the succours demanded, she would thereby declare France the aggressor; if she refused them, then the French would gain their point, and the court of England be disobliged, which might prove of as bad consequence on the other side, with regard to their commerce. While their High Mightinesses were in this perplexity, his Britannic majesty foreseeing that, should they comply with his demands, they would expose themselves to the resentment of the French king, which they were in no condition to oppose; and probably willing, at the same time, to obviate the affront of a refusal, generously released them from their obligation, and consented to their neutrality.

By this time the British court were convinced, that the French squadron which had been so long preparing at Toulon, was designed for the reduction of Minorca: upon certain intelligence of which, they seemed to rouse as from a deep lethargy. Hitherto, by a most shameful neglect, they had been so far from supplying that important garrison with a proper reinforcement, that they had not even sent thither the officers belonging to it, who, to a considerable number, were in England upon leave of absence; nor were any directions given for the transporting of them until the French armament was ready to make a descent upon the island. And now, like persons suddenly awakened from a sound sleep, they did every thing with hurry, precipitation, and confusion. The notion of an invasion had taken such deep hold of their minds, that even at this critical juncture, when it so much behoved us to send a squadron which in all respects should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, they declared they could spare only ten ships; and even these were but in a very indifferent condition, and unprovided with either hospital or store-ships. They alleged afterwards, indeed, in their excuse, that they had been informed that the French would not be able to equip at Toulon above six or eight ships of the line, otherwise they should have made the squadron stronger.

The command of this important service was given to admiral George Byng. He was son of sir George Byng, afterwards viscount Torrington, one of the best seamen England ever produced; and the admiral himself had long experience in the navy. His abilities were unquestionable, and he had risen to the rank he then held without any reproach. Mr. West, a gentleman universally respected for his knowledge, ability, and resolution, and lately made an admiral, was sent with him as second in command. The orders Mr. Byng received, previous to his sailing, sufficiently discover how

ignorant our ministry were of the force or destination of the Toulon squadron: for the admiral was therein directed, among other things, to endeavour to learn, on his arrival at Gibraltar, whether any French squadron had passed through the Streights; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably intended for North America, he should immediately detach rear-admiral West to Louisbourg or the island of Cape Breton, with such a number of ships as, when reinforced by those at Halifax, might constitute a force superior to that of the enemy.

On the seventh day of April the two admirals sailed from Spithead for the Mediterranean with the ten following ships; the *Ramillies* (admiral Byng's own ship) of ninety guns; the *Buckingham* (on board of which Mr. West had his flag) of seventy; the *Culloden*, of seventy-four; the *Trident*, Captain, *Lancaster*, *Revenge*, *Intrepid*, *Defiance*, and *Kingston*, from sixty to sixty-six guns each, having on board a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major-general Stuart, the lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca, about forty inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortress. Admiral Byng, after a tedious voyage, occasioned by calms and contrary winds, did not arrive at Gibraltar till the second of May. There he found captain Edgcumbe, with the *Princess Louisa*, a sixty gun ship, and a sloop; and from his account soon perceived that things wore a very different aspect from that which had been given them in England: for Mr. Edgcumbe, who had, by a fortunate neglect of the French, escaped out of the harbour of Mahon with three ships while they were landing on the other side, informed the admiral, that instead of six or eight ships of the line, which it was pretended were the most the enemy could send to sea from Toulon, their squadron from that port really consisted of 12 ships, from sixty-four to eighty-four guns; four frigates, from twenty-four to twenty-six; besides sloops, and five bomb-vessels, under the command of M. de la Galissoniere, with a great number of transports, carrying a body of fifteen thousand land forces, which had sailed from Toulon the tenth day of April, just three days after Mr. Byng sailed from St. Helen's; and that his armament had already got possession of all Minorca, except St. Philip's castle. The difference in the real state, as well as the aspect of things, will in some measure account for part of that conduct for which admiral Byng was severely treated afterwards.

But before I proceed to relate the particulars of this unhappy expedition, I shall just take notice, that on the twenty-seventh of May his majesty put an end to the session of parliament in England with a speech, in which he thanked his parliament for the vigorous and effectual support they had given him; and acquainted them, that the injuries and hostilities which had been for some time committed by the French against his dominions and subjects, were then followed by the actual invasion of Minorca, though guarantied to him by all the great powers of Europe, and particularly by the French king: that he therefore found himself obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form against France: that he relied on the Divine Protection, and

and the vigorous assistance of his faithful subjects, in so just a cause.

Admiral Byng having, on his arrival at Gibraltar, received the above information of the enemy's operations and strength on the island of Minorca and its coast, so very different from what he had been made to expect, issued orders, on the very day of his arrival, for all the ships of his squadron to complete their provisions and water with the utmost expedition. On the third the admiral went on shore, to communicate to the governor of Gibraltar his orders relative to a battalion of troops to be sent on board his fleet from the garrison, in order to reinforce the castle of St. Philip's. Major-general Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, had also received instructions upon this head from the secretary at war, in three different letters: but either from some obscurity in those orders, or imagining that by sending away such a detachment he should too much weaken his own garrison, he did not think proper to part with any of his troops to the admiral, who thereupon sailed without them on the eighth of May, with thirteen ships of the line and three frigates, including commodore Edgcumbe's small squadron that he had found at Gibraltar, and some cruizers that joined him while there.

It has been already intimated, that the French fleet sailed from Toulon on the tenth of April with twelve sail of ships of the line, besides frigates and other armed vessels and transports, carrying fifteen thousand men, under the orders of the marshal duke de Richelieu, who was to command in chief by land on this expedition, while the count de la Galissoniere with his fleet was to prevent any succours being thrown into the fort from seaward, and to give battle to the fleet sent from England for its relief. On the eighteenth of April this armament arrived before Ciudadella, a castle situate in a port at the west end of the island of Minorca, about thirty miles from Port Mahon, where the troops were landed without the least opposition from the English, who had evacuated that place on the first appearance of the enemy, as altogether untenable against such a force.

Major-general Blakeney, governor of Minorca, on certain notice of the approach of the French fleet, took every precaution necessary for the defence of Port Mahon and Fort St. Philip; and as he had but about two thousand five hundred regular troops, he judged it better to collect them all into one body, than to let them be dispersed in small corps to garrison the lesser forts on the island, which he well knew must all submit one after another to the superior force of the enemy. He therefore withdrew them all, and ordered that they should spoil the roads, fell trees, and lay every obstruction in the way by which the French must pass on their march to Mahon, in order to render their access as difficult as possible thereto. At the same time, he directed all the cattle upon the island to be driven within the walls of Fort St. Philip; and his orders were so punctually executed, that after Richelieu had landed his troops and all his cannon, he found the road, which lay the whole length of the island (and no other practicable) so totally ruined, that it was impossible to draw them along. Besides, he was quite unprovided with beasts of draught, having brought none with him, and those upon the island being all secured. Under this disappointment, he was necessitated to reembark his

heavy artillery, and send it by sea to Cape Mola, at the entrance of the harbour of Mahon, the place where he intended to erect his batteries.

On the arrival of the French in the island, the governor sent a trumpet with a letter to marshal Richelieu, to demand the reason of this hostile invasion, as there was no declaration of war between the two crowns? To which he received for answer, that the French modelled their behaviour by that of the English, who had taught them a new way of making war without a declaration, by taking two of the king's ships in America the preceding year, and still continuing to make prizes of several of the French merchant ships, sailing in security upon the ocean under the faith of treaties.

The French marshal met with so many obstacles in forming the siege of Fort St. Philip, that he could not open the trenches before the night between the tenth and eleventh of May, which was upwards of three weeks from his landing. The reason of this slow progress appears to have arisen from the vanity of the French ministry, or that of their general, who had neglected to provide such a number of engineers as the service afterwards required, imagining that the bare sight of the French army would strike terror into the handful of men immured with their governor in Fort St. Philip. The marshal had erected his batteries first at Cape Mola, at such a distance on the other side of the harbour, that they could do no execution. He was therefore necessitated to change his plan of attack, and to make his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town. Having planted his new batteries, and invested the place, Richelieu sent his compliments to general Blakeney, offering him his own terms if he would capitulate. The brave general returned his compliments, and said, it would be time enough to talk of that when they should be near enough to shake hands together; and immediately ordered his standard to be fixed on the most conspicuous part of the castle, and to be nailed as fast as possible, declaring it should not be taken down while he and five men remained alive. But we must suspend for the present our account of the farther progress of this memorable siege, till we have related the success of admiral Byng's expedition for its relief.

Mr. Byng, before he left Gibraltar, transmitted to the lords of the admiralty an account of the situation in which he had found affairs in the Mediterranean; and in his letter made use of some impolitic expressions, which were afterwards exaggerated, and construed to his ruin. This letter consisted of two parts; the former contained a positive impeachment of the ministry, for their not sending a fleet to the assistance of Minorca sooner; for (as he expresses himself) had he arrived at that island before the French had landed, he should in all probability have been able to have prevented their getting footing there. He complains of having been sent out from England not fully provided; and that when he arrived at Gibraltar, the place was wholly unprovided with magazines for supplying the necessities of his fleet: that the careening wharfs and storehouses had been suffered to run to decay and ruin, although this was the only place for the king's ships to careen at, and to be supplied with necessaries, when Mahon was invested. The latter part does as good as tell them, that they had sent him upon an impracticable service; and that

if it miscarried, as in all probability it would, it must be laid to their charge, who had not sent a land force sufficient to raise the siege, as well as a fleet that was inferior to the enemy's.

Few ministers can bear to be schooled by their officers, whom they have in general been accustomed to consider as mere tools of the state, to do its business without presuming to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the service they may be ordered upon, or the counsels that have planned it. It must be supposed then, that Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty was by no means pleasing to those at the helm. It was some time before they could rightly determine what they should do with it; suppress it altogether they could not; and the publishing it, they feared, would set their conduct in a very arraignable light. However, as they saw that Minorca must fall, they endeavoured to shift the blame upon Byng alone, for which purpose he himself had furnished ample matter in his letter, where he very impolitically declared, that he thought the success of his expedition very doubtful. This was interpreted, and industriously propagated, as a certain prognostic that Mr. Byng had no desire to fight or hazard any thing to relieve Fort St. Philip. As the populace are ever ready to embrace the invidious side of a report, this construction was universally adopted; and the nation was less surprised than incensed when the news arrived of Mr. Byng's ill success. But to resume his history.

The wind continuing easterly after the English fleet left Gibraltar, it did not arrive on the coast of Minorca till the nineteenth of May, at break of day, when the admiral, about five in the morning, dispatched captain Hervey in the Phoenix, with two other frigates, a-head of his fleet, to take as close a view as possible of the harbour's mouth, and to observe in what place it was practicable to throw any succours into the castle. Captain Hervey was also charged with a letter to general Blakeney, acquainting him that the fleet was arrived to his assistance; and desiring to know, by the return of the officer, what place the general would think proper to have the officers and recruits landed at; as also, in what other manner he could be of most effectual service to the garrison. Captain Hervey had not been dispatched above four hours, and there being only light breezes of wind, was not yet out of sight, when the French squadron appearing in the south-east quarter, the admiral thought it advisable to call in the Phoenix and the other frigates, and then bore away for the enemy, and made the general signal to chase. For want of sufficient wind, however, the line of battle could not be formed so properly as otherwise it might have been. About six in the evening the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order, but tacked at seven, in order to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land-wind, in the morning tacked also, being then about four leagues off Cape Mola.

The twentieth in the morning, the weather proving hazy, the enemy's fleet was not to be seen at day-break; but about noon it came in sight, and each side prepared for action. The line of battle being formed on both sides, and our fleet being ranged opposite to that of the French, the admiral

made the signal for engaging: upon which the van under rear-admiral West bore down; and closing upon the enemy, attacked them with such fury, that the five headmost ships of the enemy which were opposed to him broke their line, and ran away to leeward, out of gun-shot. Had the van been properly seconded, there seems the greatest probability that the British fleet would have gained a complete victory, and Minorca would have been relieved: but the reverse happened; and the conduct of Mr. Byng on this occasion, though perhaps not so very bad as his enemies endeavoured to represent it, was still very exceptionable, and such as furnished matter for his subsequent ruin; for though he had under him a fine ninety gun ship, through a too rigid observance of discipline, or else through timidity, he forbore to bear down with his division to the support of the van; and the enemy's center keeping their station, rear-admiral West could not improve his advantage, without exposing himself to the danger of seeing his communication with the rest of the line entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's division, suffered so much in her rigging and hull that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position: upon which the admiral made the signal for his division to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confusion; by which the rear was still farther separated from the van, and retarded from closing with and engaging the enemy. Mr. Byng also, when pressed by the captain of his own ship to bear down, declared that he would not act but with his line entire; and was never properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. This hesitation of his, though proceeding from a care of his majesty's ships, and, as he declared, to avoid the error Matthews had fallen into in the Mediterranean fight, by breaking the line of battle, and exposing his own and other ships of his fleet to a fire they could not sustain, was certainly ill timed, and gave the French admiral, who was very desirous to put an end to the engagement, an opportunity to edge away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been defeated, and made the best of its way off; and though, towards the end of the action, when the French were manifestly flying, the admiral bore down with his division, yet the French ships, which were quite clean, were soon out of reach of ours, which were very foul, and altogether unfit for the pursuit of so nimble an enemy.

The English fleet continued four days on the place of battle, to repair their damaged ships and make them fit for action, in case the French should think proper to renew their attack: but no enemy appearing, a council of war was held to consult on the measures most proper to be pursued, when it was *unanimously* resolved, that as they had not land forces on board sufficient for the relief of Fort St. Philip; and as the French fleet might possibly be failed to Gibraltar to attack that important fortress, it was more expedient to return thither to prevent the execution of such a design, than to stay where they were sure it was out of their power to assist the garrison at Minorca. This resolution was likewise taken in an unfortunate hour; for if they had remained on their station but one day longer, they might have intercepted a large convoy of provisions and heavy artillery which Richelieu had sent for from

from France, and without which, in all probability, he would never have been able to reduce the place.

The admiral was about a month in his passage back to Gibraltar, where he found commodore Broderick, who had been sent from England with five ships of the line to reinforce him; and it was intended, after having supplied the fleet with proper necessaries, to go and face the enemy once more: but before the admiral was ready for sailing, the *Antelope*, a fifty gun ship, arrived in the bay, with sir Edward Hawke, admiral Saunders, and several navy captains; also the earl of Panmure and lord Tyrawley. The two admirals had orders to supersede, to put under arrest, and to send home the admirals Byng and West, and several other officers of the fleet; and lord Tyrawley had the like orders in regard to general Fowke, and those land officers who had signed the council of war for returning with the fleet to Gibraltar. Admiral Hawke obeyed his orders, and on the ninth of July sent the state prisoners on board the *Antelope*, who brought them home to England, where we shall leave them to their destiny, and return to the siege of Fort St. Philip.

On the twelfth day of May, about eight at night, the enemy opened two bomb batteries, with which they began to play against the castle; and from this time to the fourteenth an incessant fire was kept up on both sides from mortar and cannon, the French continuing to erect new batteries in every situation whence they could annoy the enemy. On the nineteenth of this month the garrison were elated with joy at the sight of the British squadron; and Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to pass in a small bark with six oars from St. Stephen's Cave, through a shower of cannon and musket-balls, into the open sea, in order, if possible, to get on board the squadron, to give Mr. Byng intelligence of affairs in the island; but was obliged to return, on being chased by two of the enemy's tartans, and got safe back by the same route he had passed. Short-lived was the joy with which the sight of our fleet had inspired the brave, but unfortunate garrison; for, to their inexpressible surprise and disappointment, in two days after they beheld the French squadron return quietly to their station off Cape Mola, and no English ships were to be seen. This, added to a general discharge or feu de joye in the French camp, persuaded them that Mr. Byng had been worsted, and obliged to retire, by the French fleet under La Galissoniere.

Discouraging as such an event must have been to people under the circumstances of the besieged, it in no wise damped their courage and vigour, which rather increased with their labour and danger. By this time they were invested with an army of twenty thousand men, and pried incessantly from sixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, besides the small arms which fired upon them continually from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. Nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortrefs was very inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subterranean works, which were impenetrable to shells or shot. From the seventh of June to the fourteenth the fire from the fort was weak; but on the fifteenth the besieged made a greater fire on the enemy than ever they had done since the siege

began, so that they were obliged to draw back. In short, they managed their cannon and ammunition so judiciously, that they fired none till they were sure, and seemed to let the French erect their batteries only to have the pleasure of demolishing them. The French miners likewise desisted from their attempts of undermining the works, the difficulty of piercing the rock having at length subdued their patience, and frustrated their hopes of success in this point. The garrison, however, by this time were reduced to two thousand five hundred men, while, on the contrary, the enemy's army, which had been constantly reinforced by troops, ammunition, &c. was stronger than at the beginning of the siege; and the duke de Richelieu, fearing that the prolongation of the siege so far beyond the time his court was taught to expect being masters of Minorca, might give his enemies a handle to lessen his abilities in his sovereign's esteem, thought he had nothing left but to push matters with the utmost vigour; and having, by dint of an unremitting fire, made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and demolished most of the strong forts and defences round the place, on the twenty-seventh day of June it was resolved to try the effects of a general assault that very night. Every thing being disposed for this purpose, the artillery continued to batter the forts till ten o'clock in the evening, when ceasing all on a sudden, one cannon-shot, and four bombs thrown into the castle, announced the signal for beginning the assault. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander the duke de Richelieu is said to have led them up to the works in person.

The besieged behaved like heroes, disputing the ground inch by inch. The assailants were mowed down as they approached with grape-shot and musquetry, and several mines were sprung with great effect, so that the glacis was almost covered with the dead and wounded. The French nevertheless persevered in the attack with uncommon resolution; and though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgment on the Queen's Redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Anstruther's Redoubt was also taken by assault, and the Argyll Redoubt by escalade. Lieutenant colonel Jefferies, the second in command, and indeed the principal acting man in the fort, was suddenly surrounded and made prisoner, as he was hurrying with a hundred men to the relief of the redoubts. Major Cunningham also, who had particularly distinguished himself during the siege by his courage, skill, and activity, though he had the good fortune to preserve his liberty, was so much wounded that he was not able to continue on duty.

Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken, and the other disabled. However, the enemy might have been perhaps dislodged from the posts they had seized, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpose, before they had leisure to secure themselves; but Richelieu, like a true Frenchman, had recourse to stratagem to effect what he could not accomplish by force, and ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permission to bury the dead and relieve the wounded, which lay in heaps about the place of action. This was impolitically granted; and the use the enemy made of this humane indulgence was

to secure the lodgments they had made, by introducing into them a considerable number of troops, through a subterranean passage which had been opened by a shell, and not discovered by the besieged till the day cleared up; and then it was too late to dispute the possession with the successful enemy, who by this passage had now opened to them a communication with all the other subterranean places, and by them with all the out-works. Upon this discovery the governor, while the cessation of hostilities yet continued, summoned a council of war, who having duly considered the impracticability of maintaining a fortress of such an extent by such a thin garrison, against such numerous forces, in possession of such advantageous posts, and the little prospect there was of receiving any assistance from the English fleet; and the officers of the artillery all declaring that the works were in a shattered ruinous condition, and irreparable in the present state of the garrison, the majority, upon all these considerations, declared for a capitulation, as the only means to preserve the remains of so brave a garrison, and the lives of a considerable number of his majesty's subjects. This resolution being taken, the chamade was beat; a conference ensued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garrison, in which a very high encomium was paid to the bravery of the governor; marshal Richelieu declaring therein, that he had been induced, by the noble defence made by the governor and the garrison, to grant them such generous terms, which intitled them to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. The articles of capitulation being signed, and the hostages given, the French were put in possession of the gate, as well as two of the forts; but the garrison remained in the other works till the seventh day of July, when they embarked.

Thus ended this famous siege, which will ever stand in the records of history as a perpetual monument of British bravery and British negligence: for, had the garrison been properly reinforced in time, or had a sufficiently powerful fleet been sent out at first with Mr. Byng, there is great probability the French would never have been masters of it.

Immediately after the execution of the articles of capitulation, M. de la Galiffoniere sailed back to Toulon, and in a lucky hour he made his retreat; for in a few days after the surrender of the fort, sir Edward Hawke's fleet, amounting to twenty-three ships of the line, made its appearance off the island: but Galiffoniere was gone, and the British admiral had the mortification to see the French colours flying upon St. Philip's castle. But although thus disappointed in his hopes of encountering the enemy's fleet and relieving our own garrison, he at least asserted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their squadron in the harbour of Toulon. Having continued for some time on this service, he returned with the homeward-bound fleet to Gibraltar, from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest to protect our trade in those seas, which suffered greatly from the French privateers, which now began to swarm there. General Blakeney did

not go to Gibraltar with the first division of the garrison, that he might have the more time to rest himself after the incredible fatigue and anguish of mind he had undergone. He arrived in England in the month of November; and tho' it has been generally thought that his merit was, by the partiality of the times, over-rated, in the same proportion that the misconduct of the unhappy Byng was exaggerated; yet his late majesty, who doubtless was perfectly well informed of every part of the attack and defence of Fort St. Philip, looked upon his conduct in so favourable a light, that, among other distinguished marks of his regard and favour, he was pleased to honour him with the dignity of a peer of Ireland, by the title of Lord Blakeney, of Mount Blakeney in the county of Limerick, of which place the general was a native.

I shall now proceed to a concise representation of the operations and transactions of our arms in distant parts of the world; and first, of the state of our affairs in America, which we broke off at the end of the year 1755.

The plantations, during the whole winter, were in the utmost disorder. The savage Indians ranged uncontrouled among the unguarded planters on the exterior parts of the colonies, whom they plundered, murdered, scalped, and used with the most inhuman cruelties. The parties that were sent out against them were often worsted, or fell into their ambushes. The cries and miseries of those who escaped were for some time ineffectual to procure them relief, although the governors of the several colonies were not insensible of the cruel usage of the people, and endeavoured with all their power to apply a remedy. With this view they were, during the winter, very intent in making due preparations for a vigorous campaign in the summer; and yet we shall find the enemy was very little annoyed, or any memorable exploits or expeditions performed by our forces, though numerous enough; nor our back settlements much better secured than they were before, save that a few forts were built, and that the Delawar and Shawanese Indians were pacified, and prevailed upon to lay down the hatchet, with which they had done so much mischief. General Shirley being recalled from his government of Virginia, his majesty was pleased, early in the spring of this year, to appoint John earl of Loudon (a Scots peer) general and governor in chief of that colony, and general and commander in chief of all his forces in North America. We shall leave his lordship in his voyage thither, to take a view of affairs in Nova Scotia, where the enemy met with several rebuffs.

General Lawrence, who had been remarkably successful in his attempts to humble the French, who had made prodigious encroachments on this infant colony, pursued his advantage, and set about extirpating the French neutrals and Indians there, who refused to conform to the laws of Great Britain, or to swear allegiance to king George, and had actually engaged to join, in the spring of this year, the French troops that were expected to arrive from Old France as early as possible, on that coast or at Louisbourg. General Lawrence did not only pursue these dangerous inhabitants with fire and sword, laying the country waste, burning their dwellings, and driving off their stock; but he thought it expedient, for his majesty's service, to

transport the French neutrals, so as entirely to extirpate a people that only waited an opportunity to join the enemy. He accordingly distributed about seven thousand of them among the British colonies; in which distribution too many were transported to those colonies where they might, with great ease, get to the French forts on the back of our provinces on the south of the bay of St. Lawrence.

It was in the most rigorous season of the year that these poor wretches were thus transported, without money or effects to help themselves; so that each government into which those neutrals were sent, found itself loaded with a very great expence for their maintenance. This occasioned some very warm altercations between the general and the aggrieved governments, who accused him of having acted in an arbitrary manner, by thus imposing upon them a charge they were so little able to defray. As one expedient to maintain them, therefore, it was proposed to sell them with their own consent; but when this was mentioned to them, they unanimously rejected it with the utmost indignation. They alleged, that they were prisoners, and expected to be maintained as such, and not forced to labour. They said, they had not violated their oath of fidelity which by the treaty of Utrecht they were obliged to take: that they were ready to renew that oath; but that an oath of obedience was required of them, which was a new thing, and by which, they apprehended, they should be obliged to bear arms against the French, which they thought they could not be compelled to do. Thus general Lawrence cleared the country of the French neutrals; and the Indians in their interest, who had been very troublesome, being most of them Roman catholics, retired to Canada for protection, which established peace in Nova Scotia for a time.

The departure of lord Loudon from England was attended with such delays, that before he reached the army in North America (which was in the latter end of July) the marquis de Montcalm, who had been appointed to succeed the baron de Dieskau in the command of the French forces in that country, had time to arrive at Canada from France with three thousand men, and to take the field before us, notwithstanding the navigation of the river St. Lawrence being shut up with ice till the month of May. To this delay was principally owing the capture of Oswego, the key of the Lake Ontario, which was the most disastrous event that could have befallen our American affairs at this juncture. General Abercrombie had been dispatched in the beginning of March this year from England with two regiments, and with orders to supersede general Shirley; but it was so long before he arrived in America, that notwithstanding the preparations which had been made by the provincials under Mr. Shirley to open the campaign early this year, in order to reduce the fort of Niagara, to cover the borders of New York, and to secure the navigation of the Lake Champlain, by the conquest of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, they were obliged to halt at Albany for the arrival of a commander in chief, and of the regular forces from England, till the latter end of June, when general Abercrombie arrived and took the command: but even then, though he approved of Mr. Shirley's

plan, yet he thought the season too far advanced to promise success, in so extensive an operation, with what forces he had under his command. He therefore waited the arrival of lord Loudon; and by that determination this year was lost, and the French left to strengthen their posts, and to distress our settlements unmolested.

Nor did they fail to improve the opportunity; they formed a camp at Ticonderoga, where, and at Crown Point, they had three thousand troops, and were daily increasing their numbers; and as they were well apprised that the English army could not undertake any expedition till the arrival of lord Loudon, which they knew could not happen till too late in the season for us to attempt Crown Point, or take any measures to prevent their progress, M. Montcalm resolved upon the siege of Oswego.

Oswego is a town of the Iroquois or Five Nations, in Canada, situate on the west side of the Lake Ontario, or Frontenac, three hundred and twenty-one miles west of Albany. Hither the English use to resort, to purchase of the distant Indians their skins and furs. It was a place of the greatest importance to us, not only for intercepting the commerce of the enemy, but also for impeding their hostile movements; and was, moreover, the only place on which we could build vessels for the navigation upon that great lake or inland sea, to preserve our interest and correspondence with the Indians that had not declared against us. Yet, notwithstanding the consequence this place was of to us, and the great advantage the possession of it would give the enemy in all their future operations, it had been so shamefully neglected, that the French might have made themselves masters of it the preceding year, but for some reasons of policy which then withheld them.

No sooner, however, did general Abercrombie receive certain advice that the French had determined upon the siege of this place, and that a large body of them were occupied on the eastern shore of the Lake Ontario, than he ordered a regiment of regulars, under the command of major-general Webb, to march to its relief. In the interim, lord Loudon arrived at Albany on the twenty-third of July; and although he greatly approved of Mr. Abercrombie's orders, yet the people of New England, New York, and the adjacent provinces, who had assembled an army of seven thousand men in order to attack Crown Point, insisted so peremptorily and obstinately on the executing of that measure, previous to all other operations, that altho' they were at last prevailed with to consent to the march of general Webb, the altercation on this matter took up so much time, that it was the middle of August before the regiment could set out from Albany. This period of inactivity on our side gave the enemy such an unlooked-for opportunity to complete their plan, that by the time general Webb got to the Carrying-place, between the Mohawk's River and Wood's Creek, he had the mortification to receive certain advice of the French having made themselves masters of Oswego and of Fort Ontario on the fourteenth of August, in four days after opening the trenches before them; and had made the garrison, and three hundred workmen and sailors employed to defend the passes to these forts, prisoners of war, who were sent to Montreal. The taking of Oswego struck a

damp upon all the British colonies, as that was the place of strength they could depend upon to prevent the invasions of the French and Indians into their territories.

Monsieur de Montcalm, after his success at Oswego, took the route to Crown Point, with a design of forcing his way through the New England army, under the command of general Winflow at Fort William-Henry, in which sickness had made great havock, in order to seize on Albany. He knew our forces were much divided, and that general Webb was on his way to Oswego with his regiment. But lord Loudon, apprised of the design of the foe, ordered the several posts that way to be abandoned, and with all the regulars proceeded to support the New England men. He also ordered up the recruits of the Royal American regiment, being upwards of fifteen hundred men, and received a reinforcement from New England, which increased his army to the number of about eleven thousand; so that M. Montcalm could not reap all the advantages he promised himself from the reduction of Oswego. Soon afterwards the army went into winter-quarters.

About the same time that Oswego fell into the hands of the French, Fort Granville, on the Juniata river (one hundred and fifty miles west of Philadelphia) was taken by surprize by the French and Indians, in the absence of the garrison, which had marched out a day or two before on an expedition, having left but twenty-four men in it for its defence.

In the East Indies the British fleet under admiral Watson was employed with success this year, in an expedition against the famous pirate Tulgace Angria, the scourge of those seas, whose territories, from a nest of pirates, was become a sort of empire, subsisting much in the same manner on that coast as the states of Barbary, which sprang from a like original, have made themselves formidable to several of the European powers. His piracies, which had continued for a long time, he now carried to so audacious a length, that it became an interesting concern to humble this common enemy. Accordingly admiral Watson, with four capital ships of war, besides bomb-ketches, and seven or eight of the East India company's ships, sailed in the beginning of March from Bombay to attack Angria in his strong fort of Geriah, who, struck with terror at the appearance of such a formidable fleet, so far beyond his apprehensions, soon surrendered, and gave up his castle, with one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of treasure in it, as also all his fleet, which lay in the harbour, and with which he had for so many years reigned a terror to the maritime powers of Europe frequenting those seas, as well as to his neighbouring states on the Malabar coast.

Our success on this coast, however, was greatly counter-balanced by our losses in other parts of the East Indies. The reader may remember, that we left the French commandants, at the close of the last year, seeking for a pretence for rekindling the war on the coast of Coromandel. Accordingly, Monsieur de Bussy having received a reinforcement of five hundred Europeans under Mr. Law, began the year (1756) by falling upon and making a conquest of Ingeram, Baudermalauka, and Vizigapatam factories, belonging to the English. This

having been foreseen, the greatest part of the company's effects were shipped off from the two former places immediately upon the fresh alarm of hostilities; and Vizigapatam being in no condition to withstand an army of ten thousand men, Europeans and Indians, with thirty pieces of cannon, which M. de Bussy brought against it, it surrendered by capitulation. By the capture of this place the French obtained entire possession of the coast, from Ganjam to Masulipatam. Nor did this misfortune come alone; for this same year Calcutta, and all the subordinate settlements or factories of our Indian company in Bengal, were taken and destroyed by Surajah Dowla, a new nabob of that province, who had been spirited up by our enemies to extirpate the English factories within his dominions, under various slight pretences of being treated with disrespect by governor Drake, of a right to certain duties which were refused by the company, and of their having given protection to certain persons who had fled from his tyranny.

About the end of May, 1756, this Surajah Dowla took the field with an army of thirty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and between three and four hundred elephants. His first operation was against Cassumbazar, a large town, situate in a very healthy and fruitful island of the Ganges, about one hundred miles above Huguely. He summoned the fort to surrender; but his demand not meeting with a compliance, and expecting a resolute and powerful opposition, the cunning nabob had recourse to stratagem to facilitate his intentions; and by proposing a truce for an amicable determination of the subject of complaint, he inveigled Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to his tent, under pretence of a conference, with a safe-conduct, as also two other gentlemen of the council; and having got them in his power, he treated them with the utmost indignity, and hurried them away to Muxadabad, and threatened to put them to death if the factory did not instantly surrender. These menaces had the desired effect: the fort was put into his hands on the fourth of June, the people of which he treated extremely ill, sending them also to Muxadabad, the capital of Bengal, to be confined in different prisons and dungeons.

Flushed with this success, the haughty eastern prince determined to proceed immediately with all his force against our principal settlement of Calcutta; before which place he appeared on the seventeenth of June, having driven the advanced guards from the passes into the fort. Mr. Drake, the governor, who was a quaker, resigned the business of fighting to Mr. Holwell his second; and taking with him all the treasure he could collect from the merchants, and the company's books, he retired with the ladies, and several other persons, on board the ships which laid off in the Ganges. Mr. Holwell resolutely kept within the place, which he declared he would defend to the last extremity, though the party that fled on board had carried one hundred soldiers from the garrison with them. The attack of the enemy, however, was so brisk, and their numbers so infinitely superior, that resistance seemed a madness; and the second day Mr. Holwell would gladly have made an honourable and safe retreat on board the ships; for

for which purpose he intended to have demanded a capitulation: but the ships were now fallen several miles below the fort, and no boat was left in which the besieged could attempt an escape. This the nabob knew, and therefore would not hearken to any terms for the surrender of the place, the gates of which were opened to him on the evening of the nineteenth, when the Moors rushing in, killed all whom they first met with, stripped the rest naked, and, by their brutal sovereign's order, crammed one hundred and forty-six into a dungeon, called the Black-hole, only eighteen feet square, and with but two windows in it, where one hundred and twenty-three of them died before morning, being smothered by the excessive heat. Mr. Holwell was in the number of those who survived, and with his companions was sent prisoner to Muxadabad, with circumstances of such inhuman treatment as would be too shocking to repeat. After some time, however, they were released, as was likewise Mr. Watts, and the rest of the gentlemen who had been carried by the tyrant from Calcutta to the ground; and wrote to the governor of Madras, that no English subject should for the future presume to settle within his territory of Bengal.

Let us hence return to take a survey of the transactions in Europe.

The two nations of England and France had hitherto been committing hostilities upon one another without any formal declaration of war, the French fleet in America, and the English afterwards by way of reprisals in the open seas: but the English ministry finding many inconveniencies attending this method of proceeding, advised his majesty to declare war, without any further delay, which was done accordingly on the eighteenth of May, in the usual form. This was answered by a like declaration of the French court, dated at Versailles, June 9; either of which would take up too much room to insert here.

It was generally hoped that the war, thus kindled between France and England, would have been confined to the two nations at variance: but ambition knows no bounds. France no sooner understood that a treaty was concluded between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia, than she struck up an alliance with empress-queen of Hungary, under the name of a treaty of friendship and neutrality, by which the contracting parties reciprocally obliged themselves to the guaranty of all their dominions in Europe, and to furnish each other with eighteen thousand foot and six thousand horse, or with a proportionable sum of money, in case of any attack from any power whatever. To this treaty the neighbouring powers were invited to accede, with the most solemn assurances that the contracting parties had no other view than to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe. But an alliance between the houses of Bourbon and Austria was deemed so unnatural, and their interests so incompatible, that notwithstanding these pacific declarations, it was easy to see that France could have no other view in it than to prevent the Prussian monarch from defeating any attempt that she might be inclined to make against his Britannic majesty's electoral dominions. As to the queen of Hungary, she had long regretted the loss of

Silesia, and only waited a convenient opportunity to dispossess the king of Prussia of this province. For this purpose, as I have elsewhere observed, she had entered into a secret treaty with the empress of Russia ever since the conclusion of the peace in 1748, whereby the latter engaged to assist her Hungarian majesty with one hundred thousand men, whenever required; who for the same reason gladly laid hold of this opportunity, by striking up an alliance with France, of increasing her forces by succours from that court, not doubting that, by such powerful assistance, she should be enabled not only to recover Silesia, but even to strip the king of Prussia of part of his dominions. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, is said to have been likewise partly concerned in the same scheme, for which he severely suffered in the sequel.

His Prussian majesty foresaw the storm that threatened him. It is even said, that early in the spring of this year he received certain intelligence that the two imperial powers intended to unite their forces in order to attack his dominions: he therefore determined to use every method in his power to prevent it. In what manner he effected this will soon appear in the course of this history. At present, the domestic affairs of Great Britain demand some portion of our attention.

It has been already mentioned that admiral Byng, on his arrival at Gibraltar, was superseded in his command by sir Edward Hawke, and sent home prisoner; as was also his second in command rear-admiral West, several of the captains of the fleet, and general Fowke, with some of the land officers belonging to the garrison of Gibraltar. The prisoners all arrived on the third day of July at Portsmouth, where Mr. Byng was immediately put under arrest, and soon afterwards conveyed to Greenwich, and committed to the custody of the governor of the hospital, by whom he was kept strictly confined till the time of his trial by a court-martial, which was delayed by the absence of many evidences in the Mediterranean, required both in his favour and against him. Admiral West and lieutenant-general Fowke were ordered up to London, where the admiral met with a most gracious reception from his royal master; but general Fowke was ordered to take his trial for disobeying his majesty's orders, transmitted to him by the secretary of war, relating to the embarkation of a battalion of troops to be sent in the fleet with Mr. Byng to reinforce Fort St. Philip.

The court-martial commissioned to try the general consisted of two generals, eleven lieutenant-generals, and three major-generals, general sir Robert Rich being president. Mr. Fowke, in his defence against the above charge, urged, that his orders were not absolute, but discretionary; and that the execution of them was left to his and Mr. Byng's discernment and judgment, for which he particularly referred to a letter from the secretary of war to him, as commander in chief of Gibraltar; the whole tenor of which imported a discretionary power remaining in him as to the execution of those orders. He moreover defended the steps he had taken in withholding the forces, by shewing, that if he had made the detachment of a battalion, and put it on board the fleet, he should not then have had much more than two reliefs of men (so wretchedly was this important garrison

garrison provided with defence) and this at a time when there was the greatest reason to believe that the place was in danger of being attacked. Notwithstanding this defence, and that the three letters from the secretary at war produced in court appeared to contain instructions that were very confused, at least, if not contradictory, his judges found him guilty of the charge; and he was sentenced to be suspended for the space of one year; a sentence which was not only confirmed by his majesty, but also accompanied with a dismissal from his service: nor was he restored during the course of this reign, though his case was generally thought to have been very hard.

In respect to the unhappy admiral Byng, no method had been left untried to inflame the nation to a degree of frenzy against him, by representing him as the sole cause of the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca; the importance of which (however little it seems to have claimed the attention of our ministry in the beginning) was now represented in the most striking colours. Admiral Byng had, before his return to Gibraltar, dispatched a letter to the admiralty, containing the particulars of the action off Minorca, and of the resolutions of the council of war he had summoned. This letter, however, was not made public till some days after sir Edward Hawke was sent out to supersede him; and even then it was curtailed, and mutilated in an extraordinary manner, several passages being suppressed which tended to his own justification, or contained any reflection upon the negligence or inattention of the ministry. This proceeding was certainly very unfair. Accordingly, the admiral's friends did not fail to publish his letter entire, with some remarks not very favourable to those who had thus garbled it.

His adversaries, however, had got the populace on their side; and there was not a species of libelling, in prose or verse, that was not exhausted to render him odious. They ridiculed and refuted the reasons he had given for returning to Gibraltar after his shameful rencounter with the French squadron: they inveighed against his insolence, his folly, his cowardice, and his misconduct: they even stuck not at making royalty itself an instrument of their artifice, by insinuating that his majesty had prognosticated Byng would not fight, from the contents of his first letter from Gibraltar. In a word, they exerted themselves so strenuously in maintaining and increasing the popular delusion, that no notice was taken of the misconduct of the ministry, while Byng was pointed out as the object of universal detestation. Addresses upon addresses were transmitted from all parts of the kingdom to the throne, particularly from the city of London, calling aloud for an examination into the cause of the infamy that had befallen the British arms by sea, and of the loss of the important island of Minorca, which by its situation drew to Great Britain the respect of Spain, the confidence of Italy, and the submission of the piratical states of Barbary.

His majesty, ever attentive to his faithful subjects, commanded an immediate examination into the causes of the loss of Minorca. We have already seen the punishment inflicted on Mr. Fowke; and now the whole magazine of political arts having been exhausted to fix the charge of cowardice, treachery, and treason, against the devoted admiral, he was at length ordered to prepare for his trial; the place appointed for which was on board his majesty's ship the *St. George*, in Portsmouth harbour; and the court was composed of four admirals and nine captains, whose names the reader will find at the foot of the page*. They sat thirty one days, Sundays excepted, (viz. from the twenty-eighth of December to the twenty-seventh of January) examining witnesses, and hearing the prisoner's defence. As this trial is in almost every one's hands, it would be needless to enter into a minute detail of particulars. Let it suffice then to say, that the court, upon summing up the evidence, were of opinion, "That admiral Byng did not do his utmost to relieve St. Philip's Castle, in the island of Minorca, then besieged by the forces of the French king;" and then came to the following resolution, That the admiral appears to fall under the following part of the twelfth article of the Articles of War, to wit, "Or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage; and to assist and relieve all and every of his majesty's ships which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve:" and as that article positively denounces the punishment of death on the delinquent, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court, under any variation of circumstances, they adjudged him to be shot to death. But it having fully appeared, by the evidence of lord Robert Bertie, lieutenant-colonel Smith, captain Gardiner (captain of the admiral's own ship the *Ramillies*) and other officers of the ship who were near the person of the admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion, either from his countenance or behaviour; but that he seemed to give his orders coolly and distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal courage: from these and other circumstances, the court being induced to believe that his misconduct arose neither from *cowardice* nor *disaffection*, did therefore unanimously think it their duty to recommend the said admiral John Byng to his majesty, as a proper object of mercy†. Also, when they made a report of the sentence of death they had passed on the admiral, they added thereto the following remonstrance to the lords of the admiralty in his favour:

"We the underwritten, the president and members of the court-martial, assembled for the trial of admiral Byng, believe it unnecessary to inform your lordships, that in the whole course of this long trial, we have done our utmost endeavours to come at truths, and to do the strictest justice to our country and the prisoner; but we cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding our-

* Thomas Smith, esq. vice-admiral of the red, president; Francis Holbourne, esq. rear-admiral of the red; Henry Norris, esq. rear-admiral of the white; Thomas Broderick, esq. rear-admiral of the blue; captain Holmes, captain Boys, cap-

tain Simcoe, captain Bentley, captain Dennis, captain Geary, captain Moore, captain Douglas, and the honourable captain Augustus Keppel.

† See Report of the Court-martial.

selves under the necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the twelfth article of war *, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only; and therefore, for our own consciences sakes, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his majesty's clemency."

In consequence of this recommendatory remonstrance from the court-martial, and the petitions of lord Torrington, nephew to the unhappy admiral, and other persons of high distinction allied to his family, the lords of the admiralty applied to his majesty that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken, whether the sentence of the court-martial was legal? The sentence was accordingly referred by the king to the judges, who declared it legal; in consequence of which, a warrant was signed by the lords of the admiralty for carrying it into execution: but it was again suspended, at the request of several members of the court-martial, who alleged, that they had something to disclose relative to the said sentence which greatly affected their own consciences; and application was made to the house of commons by one of the members, praying the aid of parliament to be released from his oath of secrecy, in order to disclose the grounds why sentence of death had passed upon the said admiral. Upon this, a bill for releasing the members from their oath of secrecy was ordered into the house of commons, and passed that house; and a respite was sent to admiral Byng for a fortnight: but when the bill came into the house of lords, and when the members were examined there, the same was rejected; so that this and every other tentative to get the admiral reprieved from his sad fate all proving ineffectual, he was, pursuant to his sentence, executed on the fourteenth of March, 1757, on board his majesty's ship *Monarque*, in Portsmouth harbour. A few minutes before he was called out of the cabin to die, he gave a paper to Mr. Brough, the marshal of the admiralty, who attended him, in which he declared himself "a victim, destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects." In his last moments, he behaved with a dignity and fortitude that never yet inspired a breast conscious of guilt or infected with cowardice.

Thus ended the enquiry into the conduct of general Fowke and admiral Byng; the one of whom was broke and dismissed his majesty's service, for not following instructions which contradicted themselves; and the other suffered an ignominious death for following the advice and opinion of a council of war, and for not having done every thing that was perhaps possible to have been done for distressing the enemy, and relieving the fortress they had besieged. I have collected the proceedings of this remarkable affair together into one point of

view, though they were, by several incidents, protracted nine months or thereabouts; as well that the reader might have a more distinct and clear idea of them, as to prevent any unnecessary digressions that would break in upon the chain of other events †.

As the success of the war now begun seemed to depend chiefly on a naval force, it will not be improper to give the state of the royal navy of Great Britain at the time it was declared, which was as follows:

1st Rates.	5	ships of 100 guns.
2d Rates.	8	90
	{ 11	80
	{ 6	74
3d Rates.	{ 29	70
	{ 4	66
	{ 3	64
		60
4th Rates.	{ 34	
	{ 32	50
5th Rates.	18	40 to 44
6th Rates.	{ 57	20 to 24
	{ 36	floops of 10 to 16
		3 bomb vessels.

In all two hundred and forty-six ships great and small; of which one hundred and thirty-two were of the line; besides a number of yachts, hoys, transports, smacks, lighters, and hulks.

Within a few weeks after the declaration of war at Paris, the world was presented with the following state of the French marine, published by authority.

	6	ships of 80 guns.
27		74
5		70
25		64
3		60
9		50 to 54
34		24 to 30

In all one hundred and nine ships, of which sixty-nine were of the line.

The court of Spain also, though lavish in declarations of her pacific intentions, was augmenting her navy from the shattered state it was left in by the last war, till it at this time amounted to

46	ships of the line
22	frigates
12	xebèques
2	packet-boats
4	bomb-vessels
4	fire-ships
5	gallies

In all ninety-five vessels, carrying four thousand fifty-one guns.

The zeal of the people of England for their sovereign's service and the honour of their country was never more warmly expressed than on the occasion of declaring war against France. Addressees

* By the twelfth article of war, 22 Geo. II. "Every person in the fleet who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall, in time of action, withdraw or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every of his majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to assist

and relieve, every such person so offending, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of a court-martial, shall suffer DEATH."

† The rest of the officers, as well of the fleet as army, who had been ordered home with the admiral and general, were upon their respective trials all honourably acquitted.

were presented to the king from the city of London, the merchants, and by most of the trading towns and corporations in the kingdom. All ranks and degrees of men seemed unanimous in their resolution to assist his majesty in any measures he should judge proper to be taken to annoy the enemy, and defend the kingdom. The landholders and corporations not only submitted with cheerfulness to the great supplies appointed by parliament, but also raised great numbers of men for the service of their country, by voluntary contributions and large premiums. Nay, a number of public-spirited merchants of the city of London taking into consideration the great utility that would arise to the naval service by training up a young nursery of seamen, from whence the government might, on any sudden emergency, always draw an immediate supply of hands to man their ships, formed themselves into that laudable association, known by the name of the Marine Society; and contributed considerable sums of money for equipping such orphans, friendless and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the service of the navy. In consequence of this truly patriotic plan, many thousands of wretched vagrants were rescued from misery, and rendered useful members of society, of which they must have proved the pest and reproach but for this humane interposition.

The first home expedition against the enemy, after the declaration of war, was that against the island of Chause, about two or three leagues distant from Granville in Lower Normandy, conducted by captain Howe in the Dunkirk, with three frigates, who on the fourteenth of July came to an anchor before the fort which defended the island, and was garrisoned by one hundred men, who did not give the English much trouble; for just as captain Howe had cleared his ship for action, the governor came on board and surrendered, without firing a gun. The island of Chause belonged to the farmers-general, but is inhabited only by tradesmen, and produces scarce any thing but wine. We kept the island some few days, then demolished the fort and other buildings, nailed up the cannon, and carried off all the live cattle, wine, and other effects of any value. After which the ships threw a few bombs into Granville, which did some execution; but not having a sufficient supply to do all the mischief they might have done, they returned to Spithead.

All this time, however, our trade suffered heavily from the enemy's cruizers, who were so numerous, and so properly stationed for intercepting our homeward-bound merchantmen, that by Michaelmas this year the French had taken two hundred and thirty of our ships; amongst which was the Warwick man of war and four privateers; one ship with eight hundred soldiers for New York, and another with eighty-eight people on board for Newfoundland. We had indeed, in the same space of time, taken from the French two hundred and fifty-one ships, amongst which were the Arc-en-Ciel, a man of war of fifty guns, a rich Martinico man, four ships with about three hundred soldiers and provisions on board for North America; but allowing the difference of value between the English and French cargoes, we had at this time little to boast of, and our trade was notoriously neglected.

Our adversaries the French, on the contrary, left no method untried to secure their navigation and commerce, by endeavouring to engage neutral ships in their service, when the circumstances of war might make it dangerous or impracticable to carry on a communication with their colonies. With this view his most Christian majesty licensed Dutch ships to trade with, or to carry the produce of their islands, from which, in common with other natives, he had excluded them in times of peace; and the Dutch on their side assumed a right which they pretended to claim on the faith of treaties, to carry the goods of our enemies, though at the same time the French king, by an ordinance, dated July 8, 1756, laid them and all other neutral nations under the severest prohibition not to carry British property. The British court, however, shewed a becoming spirit on this occasion; for his majesty's ships of war had orders to keep a sharp look-out for Dutch ships that should be found transporting either soldiers, arms, ammunition, or contraband goods, to any of the territories or plantations of the French king. Accordingly, a great number of them were brought into the Downs in the course of this year, laden with masts, yards, &c. for the use of the enemy, of which the Dutch complained as a very great hardship; but we shall have occasion to treat of this affair between us and their High Mightinesses more at large hereafter. Events of a more striking nature now claim our attention.

The empress of Russia, highly discontented with the treaty his Britannic majesty had made in the beginning of this year with the king of Prussia, without communicating the same either to herself or her ministers, carried her resentment of this proceeding so far as to renounce the late treaty she had concluded with Great Britain, and to reject the tender of the first payment of the stipulated subsidies. Not only so, but she acceded publicly to the treaty of Versailles, and soon after put those very troops in motion against the king of Prussia which Great Britain had agreed to take into her service, in order to prevent foreign troops from entering into Germany. The empress-queen, on her side, alarmed at the very extraordinary military preparations which his Prussian majesty had been for some time making throughout his dominions, assembled a considerable body of troops to guard against a surprize. At the same time, she ordered her minister at foreign courts to present a rescript in her name, in which she disclaimed all hostile intentions in the augmentation of her forces, declaring that it was intended only for a security to her own dominions, which she saw threatened with an approaching invasion: that in the late treaty she had concluded with the court of France, the maintaining the treaty of Westphalia in full force was absolutely and clearly stipulated: and that, notwithstanding certain reports had been industriously propagated that her alliance with the court of France contained secret articles, calculated for the total suppression of the protestant religion, she solemnly declared that she had contracted no engagements with that court which could in the least affect the protestant interest, or infringe the liberties of the Germanic body. In the same piece, which was dated the thirteenth of July, 1756, some reflections were thrown out against the king of England (as elector of Hanover) and his Prussian

British Statute Miles.



MAP
of the Kingdom of
POLISH PRUSSIA
and
P R U S S I A
from the Sieur Roberti
ATTLAS
with Improvements

GULPH OF DANTZICK

CURISH HAF



Longitude East from London.

Prussian majesty, as having entered into a league on these groundless suggestions against the house of Austria. The courts of London and Berlin did not suffer this rescript to go long unanswered. His Britannic majesty gave orders to his minister at the diet of Ratisbon to present a memorial in his name, as elector of Hanover, justifying his treaty with the king of Prussia, which he declared to have been entered into in consequence of the empress-queen's refusal of the succours stipulated by treaties when demanded, to guard against the designs of France upon his electoral dominions, which for some time had been too glaringly displayed for any one to be mistaken therein; and that neither himself nor his Prussian majesty had any farther views in the treaty in question than to form an alliance for the securing their respective dominions, and preserving peace and tranquillity in the empire.

His Prussian majesty in his memorial retorted upon the empress-queen the charge of being the aggressor, declaring that the military preparations he had made had been only in consequence of the great armaments which she herself had set on foot for some time past all over her dominions: that he had greater reason to be attentive to these dispositions, as he had received undoubted intelligence at the same time of the march of a considerable body of Russians towards Courland; and that these military motions, on the part of the two imperial crowns, having obliged him to demand of the empress-queen a categorical answer, whether they were designed against him or not? her imperial majesty had thought proper to return thereto a very ambiguous, dry, and unsatisfactory answer, which served only to confirm his majesty in his suspicion of a design being formed against his dominions; and that therefore it became his indispensable duty to take every measure which should appear most proper to guard against such an insult. Soon after delivering this memorial to the imperial diet, his Prussian majesty ordered M. Klingraaf, his minister at the court of Vienna, to assure the empress-queen that he would instantly put a stop to all his military preparations, provided she would promise that his dominions should not be invaded either this year or the next. This request, not to be molested for two years by one who had a right to claim the security of peace by the faith of treaties, was far from being impertinent or imperious. Nevertheless, her Imperial majesty disdainful, as she said, to be thus challenged and dictated to by a prince of the empire, returned a more haughty and less satisfactory answer to this demand than she had done to the former.

The moment his Prussian majesty was advised of this conduct of the court of Vienna, which he seems to have all along suspected, and therefore had held himself in readiness to take the field at all events; he lost no longer time in fruitless negotiations, but immediately put his troops in motion, and ordered his minister at Dresden to demand of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, a passage for his army through Saxony: to which the latter forbore giving any determinate answer; and dreading, as he had reason to do, the consequences of admitting the army of a doubtful friend, and of a prince who had already given sufficient intimations of his being well acquainted with the private engagements subsisting between the Saxon cabinet

and the two empresses against him, collected his whole forces with all possible diligence, and ordered them to fortify themselves in the strong fortrefs of Pirna, till he could receive such relief from his confederates as the nature of his distress, and of their common cause, required. He then ordered a written answer to be delivered to M. de Malzahn, the Prussian minister, in which, among other things, he said, that he flattered himself the king of Prussia would rest satisfied of his intention not to take any part in the differences that have arisen between his Prussian majesty and the empress queen, and not require any thing of his Polish majesty or his subjects, contrary to the liberty of a prince of the empire, or that should oblige him to have recourse to the Germanic body and the guarantees of the treaties of peace for the due execution of those treaties. This declaration was sent to the king of Prussia by lord Stormont, the British minister, accompanied by the count of Salmont, one of the Saxon ministers: but his Prussian majesty, who was already determined in the conduct he was to pursue, would admit of no other alternative than that of his Polish majesty separating the army he had assembled, and sending the troops encamped at Pirna back into quarters.

The truth seems to be, that the fate of Saxony was at all events to answer the designs of Prussia; for upon the king of Poland's refusing (as it was very natural to think any one in his circumstances would) to disband all his forces, the Prussian monarch immediately marched two armies into Saxony, one directing its route to Leipzig, under prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, and the other to Dresden; which latter place, as the least tenable, was abandoned by the king of Poland, who taking with him his two sons, Xaverius and Charles, fled before his invader to his strong camp at Pirna, the queen of Poland and the rest of the royal family remaining in Dresden.

Besides the two armies that marched into Saxony, the king of Prussia at the same time assembled two others in Upper and Lower Silesia, which possessed themselves of the passes communicating with the circles of Buntzlaw and Konighen-Gratz, besides a large body of troops assembled at Glatz, and another kept in Prussia to oppose the Russians. His Prussian majesty, on entering the Saxon territories, published a manifesto to justify his conduct. No sooner had he seized upon Dresden, the capital of the electorate, than he sent an officer to the queen of Poland, to demand the keys of the archives, the cabinets, and the treasures of her husband. The queen was forced to submit to this demand; but at the same time, having assembled all the foreign ministers, she begged of them, with tears in her eyes, to represent to their respective courts how rigorously the court of Saxony was treated by the king of Prussia. Deaf, however, to all her complaints, that monarch gave orders for blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Wirtemberg, and Torgau to be fortified; at which place he established the government under a Prussian ministry, after turning out all the Saxon ministers of state and members of the council. He appointed baron Wyllech governor of Dresden, who seizing upon all the Saxon officers found in that city, obliged them to swear not to serve against the Prussians, before he would grant them their liberty;

liberty; and stripping the city of all the artillery, arms, and ammunition found therein, he sent them down the Elbe to Magdebourg. Such a conduct sufficiently shewed that his Prussian majesty was determined to treat this wretched electorate in the same manner as the dominions of an open enemy.

Nor did the city of Leipzig, of which prince Ferdinand had taken possession, experience any milder treatment. The inhabitants were obliged to provide the Prussian army with provisions at a stated price (far short of their cost) on pain of military execution; and an order was issued for the payment of all taxes and customs to the king of Prussia. In this extreme distress his Polish majesty filled all the courts of Europe, in amity with Saxony, with the most pathetic memorials against these proceedings; proceedings indeed which struck most of them with astonishment; but none more so than his Britannic majesty, the faithful ally of Prussia, who was so far from being in the secret of this invasion, that he publicly avowed, and in some sense protested against it. His Prussian majesty, aware of the difficulties in which his conduct towards Saxony would embroil him, immediately circulated a memorial through Europe, in which it was declared, "That the steps he had taken were the pure effects of necessity, and of that regard which every one owes to his own safety; and that among the papers belonging to his Polish majesty of which he had possessed himself, he had found the original treaties, letters, &c. which had passed between the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, and Dresden, which would enable him to prove unanswerably the plot which had been formed by those powers to strip him of a great part of his dominions; but that, by the vigorous measures he had taken, the iniquitous schemes of an ungrateful and ambitious court (meaning that of Saxony) had been happily discovered, and their taking effect prevented."

The Saxon army continued still encamped near Pirna, in a place almost inaccessible, and very strongly fortified. The king of Prussia being joined by prince Ferdinand's army from Leipzig, closely invested the Saxon camp, and at the same time measures were taken to engage the Austrians who were coming to their assistance. The passes into Bohemia were all occupied by advanced guards of Prussians, and a detachment from the army was encamped at Aufsig, on the south side of the Elbe, under field-marshal Keith. By this means the Saxon camp was hemmed in, in the manner of a blockade, and those troops reduced to the utmost distress for want of provisions, while the Prussians were plentifully supplied with every necessary. This hastened the march of an Austrian army under the command of count Brown, a general in whom the court of Vienna placed the greatest confidence. The king of Prussia, whose vigilance nothing could escape, had early notice of their intended march, and determined to disconcert their measures. Accordingly, his majesty set out from his camp at Seidlitz on the twenty-eighth of September, and took upon himself the future conduct of the forces encamped at Aufsig, which consisted only of twenty-five thousand men, the king having been obliged to leave the main body of his troops in the neighbourhood of Pirna, in order to keep the Saxons blocked up.

His Prussian majesty being arrived in marshal Keith's camp, put his army in motion without delay, being resolved to march in quest of count Brown. He formed a van-guard of eight battalions, ten squadrons of dragoons, and eight squadrons of hussars. He put himself at the head of this body, and marched to Tournitz, leaving orders for the rest of his army to follow in two columns, the one by the way of Prescobot, and the other the same way the van-guard had taken. From Tournitz he marched with his van towards Welhmina, where he arrived that evening (the 30th) an hour before sun-set. From thence he could descry the Austrian army, with its right wing at Lowoschutz, and its left extended towards Egra. That very evening the king himself occupied with six battalions a hollow and some rising ground which commanded Lowoschutz, and which the Austrian general had by a great oversight neglected to secure, but which his Prussian majesty resolved to make use of the next day, in order to march and attack the enemy. His army arrived in the night at Welhmina, where the king only formed his battalions behind one another, and his squadrons in the same manner, which remained all night in this posture, the king himself not going to rest, but keeping watch (covered only with his cloak) before a little fire at the head of his troops.

On the first of October at day-break his majesty took with him his general officers, and shewed them the ground which he intended to occupy with his army, viz. the infantry, forming the first line, to occupy two high hills and the bottom between them, some battalions to form the second line, and the third to be composed of the whole cavalry. The Austrians, however, who had by this time discovered their error in neglecting those advantageous posts, now prepared to dispute the possession of them; and notwithstanding the king made all possible dispatch in strengthening the wings of his army upon these hills, and that the infantry were no less diligent in securing their post at the right, yet the enemy's Pandours, Croatians, and grenadiers, who were posted in vineyards inclosed with stone walls, so harrassed the left wing as it was forming, that it was obliged immediately to come to engagement.

The Prussians, however, continued advancing with great firmness, till they came to the declivity of the hills towards the enemy, from whence they saw the town of Lowoschutz filled with a great body of infantry, and a large battery of twelve pieces of cannon in front; their cavalry were formed chequer-wise, and in a line between Lowoschutz and the village of Sanschitz. His majesty having spent some time in reconnoitring the disposition of the enemy, gave orders to his cavalry to begin the attack by falling upon the enemy's horse, which were drawn up in their front. This attack was made with such vigour, that the Austrian cavalry presently gave way; but the enemy keeping up a terrible fire from several pieces of cannon, and from a great body of infantry which they had posted in some hollow places behind their horse, the Prussians could not pursue their advantage without running into needless danger; and therefore returned and formed again behind their line of infantry. They soon returned to the charge, however, which they maintained with such spirit and



An ACCURATE MAP
of
the KINGDOM of
BOHEMIA
Drawn from the
best Authorities.

English Miles 69 to a Degree.
German Miles 15 to a Degree.

- References to the Circles.
- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Elnbogen. | 8. Pilsen. |
| 2. Saatz. | 9. Beraun. |
| 3. Leitmeritz. | 10. Caurain. |
| 4. Bolestan. | 11. Czaclan. |
| 5. Koniggratz. | 12. Chrudim. |
| 6. Schlau. | 13. Mladan. |
| 7. Rakonitz. | 14. Prachatis. |
| | 15. Bechtin. |

a resolution, that in spite of the fire of above sixty pieces of cannon, which played upon them from the hollow ways and ditches, they totally defeated the whole Austrian cavalry, and even drove the infantry from the ditches in which they were posted. At the same time, by a masterpiece of generalship, the king ordered the whole infantry to march on gradually, and then on a sudden to wheel about and attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank. This service was performed with equal courage, conduct, and success, as the former, amidst a most terrible fire of cannon, and the resistance of a body of infantry prodigiously superior to themselves. The Prussians set fire to the suburbs of the town, carried the post, and put the whole Austrian army to flight.

Count Brown finding the battle irreparably lost, retired to the other side of the Egra, and pitched his camp at Budin, while his Prussian majesty kept the field of battle, and established his head-quarters at Lowoschutz. The army of the Austrians was sixty thousand strong; that of the king of Prussia, as I have already observed, did not exceed twenty-five thousand. The battle lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The loss of the Prussians was two thousand killed and wounded; among the former were one general of infantry, two major-generals of cavalry, and one colonel of the grenadiers. The loss of the enemy was computed to amount to between six and seven thousand killed and wounded, and five hundred taken prisoners; amongst whom was prince Lobkowitz; five pieces of cannon and three pair of colours fell also into the hands of the victors *.

The king, after gaining his point by disabling count Brown from marching to the relief of the Saxons under his blockade, ordered his victorious troops to return into that electorate, and join that body of his forces employed in this service. The wretched Saxons, on their part, seeing all hopes of relief by the way of Bohemia totally cut off, their provisions being also exhausted, and famine flaring them in the face, were reduced either to attempt an escape by stratagem, or to lay down their arms and surrender themselves to the king of Prussia.

An escape was most eligible, and they attempted it in the following manner: on the twelfth day of October, as soon as the day was shut in, they secretly threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigstein. At nine o'clock, having removed

almost all their artillery to the last mentioned place, they struck their tents, and by seven next morning his Polish majesty and the whole Saxon army passed the river undiscovered, or at least unmolested. This plan was concerted with count Brown, who, to facilitate the execution, secretly left his camp at Budin; and with a considerable body of horse, having marched sixteen German miles, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Konigstein the same day; and the day before general Nadasti arrived with about six thousand irregulars, which he posted in such a manner as to prevent the eight Prussian battalions that were encamped on that side the Elbe, at Lemon, from being joined by the Prussians that were at Scandau.

This disposition greatly facilitated the passage of the Saxons, which was likewise concealed by the darkness of the night, and a thick fog on the succeeding morning; so that it was near nine o'clock before the Prussians at Seidlitz knew that the Saxons had left their camp. The Austrian general, however, was again guilty of an oversight on this occasion, in neglecting to reconnoitre the country through which he was to escort the Saxon army. This neglect ruined the whole plan; for as soon as the Saxon advanced-guard had, with great difficulty, got about half way up a steep mountain over-against Konigstein, they found that the Prussians had already made themselves masters of all the defiles, and that it was impossible for them to force their way. The Saxon army now finding themselves surrounded on every side, and that their crafty enemy having foreseen their design, had suffered them to march into this toil, that he might the more easily secure them, they offered to capitulate, which was accordingly agreed to, and they surrendered themselves prisoners to his Prussian majesty. A proposal was then made to them to enlist under the Prussian banner, which the greatest part of them accepted, took the oath of fidelity to the conqueror, and were incorporated amongst his troops.

Thus deprived of all his military strength, the unfortunate king of Poland found it in vain longer to struggle with his fate: he therefore submitted to be sent, with the queen his consort, to Warsaw in Poland; thus in a manner abdicating the electorate of Saxony, which fell under the government of the king of Prussia.

While the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, the emperor was engaged by his consort

* It is worthy of remark, that in this battle, which opened the first campaign of a most bloody war, the two commanders in chief who fought against each other were originally subjects of the British crown.

Count Brown, who was at the head of the Austrians, was a native of Ireland, and had risen to the high rank he held in the imperial army entirely by his great military abilities, which he had displayed on several occasions, but more particularly in the last war the court of Vienna had waged against the king of Prussia.

Field-marshal Keith, who commanded under the king of Prussia, was younger son of George Keith, earl Marischal of Scotland, and born in that kingdom in 1698. When he was only seventeen years of age, he entered with his brother lord Marischal into the rebellion of 1715. The defeat of his party obliged him to seek his fortune abroad; and he obtained a commission in the Irish brigade, commanded by the duke of Ormond in Spain. Here he continued about ten years; but being recommended to Catherine I. the empress of Russia, then reigning, she received him in a most distinguished man-

ner, and in a little time advanced him to the rank of lieutenant general. In the war that broke out between Russia and Turkey in that reign, he gave such proofs of his courage and military skill, that his reputation at the court of Petersburg greatly increased, insomuch that the czarina sent him to the court of London, upon the return of the peace, in quality of her ambassador-extraordinary. His embassy being finished, he was sent into Finland against the Swedes, over whom he gained the famous victory of Wilmanstrand.

After the peace of Abo in 1743, he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to compliment the king of Sweden on the election of a successor to the crown; but the expences he incurred while in this high station so far impaired his fortune, that finding he could not support the dignity of a marshal with the Russian pay, he accepted of an invitation from the king of Prussia, who gave him a pension over and above his pay, and admitted him his companion in a private tour through Germany, Poland, Hungary, and other places, in disguise, and placed the greatest confidence in his abilities and integrity.

to issue three imperial decrees in full diet at Ratisbon against his Prussian majesty: the first, summoning him to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony; the second, commanding all the vassals of the empire employed by the king of Prussia to quit that service immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the empire to suffer any levies of soldiers for the Prussian service to be made within their respective jurisdictions. The French king's minister at the diet declared, that his most Christian majesty, considering the proceedings of the king of Prussia as a direct breach of the rights and liberties of the empire, was determined to succour, in the most effectual manner, the empress-queen, and other princes of the empire who had been insulted and injured by him, and for that purpose would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid as might be thought sufficient to maintain the liberty of the Germanic body. The like declaration was also made on the part of the czarina of Russia. The ministers of the empress-queen, both at London and at the Hague, demanded in her name the succours those two powers were bound, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to afford the house of Austria, which was peremptorily refused by both nations. The French were all this time labouring hard to throw the whole blame of the war, on the eve of breaking out in Germany, upon the treaty signed between Great Britain and Prussia at the beginning of this year, and to persuade the catholic princes that their alliance was formed with a particular intention to destroy the Romish interest and religion in Germany: and upon this assertion, which the court of France gave the authority of an incontestible fact, a convention was now concluded with the emperor, which regulated the number and service of the forces to be sent from France into Germany.

The season being now so far advanced, his Prussian majesty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dresden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia under the command of the count de Schwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were also distributed into winter-quarters; and thus this short, but most active campaign, was finished by the beginning of November.

During these transactions on the continent, our losses and disgraces both in the Mediterranean and North America, and the advantages gained upon us both by sea and land, occasioned great murmurings and heart-burnings among the people in England, who imagined they saw a great deal of mismanagement, as well in the directive as in the executive part of the government. Their discontents appeared not only in their addresses to the throne, but likewise in the instructions which the members of a great number of corporations gave to their representatives in parliament; the general purport of which was, to make a strict enquiry into the causes of our miscarriages; how the large sums that were granted in the last session of parliament had been applied; and to pass a militia-bill, whereby the hiring of subsidiary forces for the defence of the kingdom, on any future emergency, might no longer subsist. Some complained of the weak and ill-concerted measures of the ministry;

others, of the treachery, ignorance, and cowardice of our commanders, both at sea and land; that no wisdom or policy could be seen in our counsels; and, in short, that the nation was on the very brink of destruction, into which it must inevitably fall, if the conduct of affairs was still continued in the same hands.

So repeated, so loud and vehement were the clamours of the people, and of all persons, high and low, against the pilots of the helm, that at length they reached the royal ear. His majesty, ever glad of an occasion to convince his British subjects that he had their interest, glory, and advantage at heart, superior to all other considerations, proceeded as far as he in prudence thought advisable, to make such alterations in the ministry as might please his people. Accordingly, in November the duke of Devonshire was appointed first commissioner of the Treasury, in the room of the duke of Newcastle; the right honourable Henry Bilson Legge was made chancellor of the Exchequer, instead of sir George Lyttleton. By another commission for the marine department, the place of first lord of the admiralty, filled by lord Anson, was given to earl Temple, brother-in-law to Mr. Pitt; and the right honourable George Grenville was made treasurer of the navy. Lord-chancellor Hardwicke having resigned the seals, they were put in commission; and, lastly, to the infinite joy of the whole nation, who now began to idolize Mr. Pitt, that gentleman was appointed one of his majesty's secretaries of state, in the room of Mr. Fox. The fears of an invasion being now perfectly subsided, and Hanover thought in more danger than Great Britain, orders were issued for sending home the Hanoverian and Hessian troops, whose abode here had occasioned great disturbance and uneasiness.

A few days after the adopting these agreeable measures, his majesty, on the second of December, met his parliament, and by a gracious speech from the throne, in great measure obviated all applications which the representatives of the people had been instructed by their constituents to make.

He began "by expressing his hope, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people, would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown and the rights of his subjects against the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He assured them that the succour and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might be exposed, from the late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said, that an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and that in this great view he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people: that for this end, he earnestly recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in times of general danger. He observed, that the unnatural union of councils abroad; the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, shake its constitution, over-

turn its system, and threaten oppression to the protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation; and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He then informed them, that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people in defence of his person and realm. He said, that he fully confided in the wisdom of his parliament, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal, plan of war: that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burdens they should judge unavoidable, in such a manner as would least distress and exhaust his people; and concluded with these remarkable words, "Unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean have drawn from my subjects signal proofs how dearly they tender the honour of my crown; and they cannot therefore, on my part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of my people."

Most affectionate and loyal addresses were presented by both houses in return to this speech; after which the legislature proceeded to dispatch the national business.

In the course of this year a scarcity of corn, and dearness in consequence, of all sorts of provisions, was severely felt in most parts of England, owing in great measure to the iniquitous practice of engrossing, and had occasioned many tumults and risings among the lower sort of people. His majesty had in his speech recommended this matter to the consideration of his parliament, desiring they would take such measures as they should judge most proper to remedy the abuse complained of, and relieve the distresses of the poorer class of his subjects. The commons therefore had no sooner discussed the form of their address, than the house resolved itself into a committee to deliberate on this matter; and a bill was immediately framed to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of all kinds of corn, either in the grain or meal; and an embargo was laid on all ships laden with that commodity for foreign parts.

The committee of supply and of ways and means were next appointed, who proceeded to consider the public estimates, when it was resolved to strengthen the hands of government, by making the most ample provision for the prosecution of the war. The land forces were augmented from thirty-five thousand to forty-nine thousand seven hundred forty-nine effective men, including four thousand and eight invalids. The seamen were settled at fifty-five thousand men, including eleven thousand four hundred and nineteen marines, with sufficient to provision for their maintenance. His majesty was also enabled to perform his agreement with and provide for his Hessian and Hanoverian forces. Besides which, they granted ample sums for garrisons, for the ordnance, for levying new regiments, for forming and maintaining an army of observation in Germany, and fulfilling his majesty's engagements with the king of Prussia; for the support of the British forts on the coast of Africa;

for the relief of South Carolina and Virginia; the support of Nova Scotia and Georgia; for enabling the East India company to keep a military force in their settlements; and for several other uses and contingencies: which supplies in the whole amounted to eight millions three hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds some odd shillings and pence. Immense as this sum was, they who granted it found means to establish funds for the payment thereof to more than the amount, in order to prevent any deficiency that might happen in any branch of the ways and means.

The Hessian troops having been denied winter-quarters by the publicans, who could not be compelled to receive them by law (as being foreigners) and these troops having suffered extremely by the severity of the winter, the parliament thought proper to pass a bill to make provision for quartering foreign forces, which received the royal assent by commission on the seventeenth of December. By this act, foreign troops were in every respect to be treated as the native troops of this kingdom, till their return home.

The next object that engaged the attention of the legislature was a bill for the establishment of a national militia; a measure that promised infinite advantages to the public. This scheme had frequently been attempted in former sessions, but had always been attended with such a train of difficulties, and such a clashing of interests, as had hitherto rendered it abortive. It had been a constant source of dispute and contention between the crown and the commons; but now both appeared to concur in rendering it serviceable to the community. This bill was mentioned so early in this session of parliament as the fourth day of December, by colonel George Townshend, eldest son to the lord viscount Townshend, a gentleman alike distinguished by the abilities of his head and the virtues of his heart. The motion being approved, the task of preparing the bill was assigned to the proposer, and a considerable number of the most able members in the house: but, by the many difficulties which this committee had to encounter, and the competitions of interests they had to reconcile, it was the twenty-seventh of January, 1757, before it was ready for the first reading. After mature deliberations and various alterations, it was carried through the lower house, and sent to the lords for their concurrence. There it underwent several considerable alterations; the most disagreeable of which was, the reducing the number of militia-men to one half of what the commons had proposed, viz. to thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty men for England and Wales, instead of seventy thousand. This amendment occasioned some warm debates in the lower house, when the bill was returned, and several conferences were held with their lordships. At length, however, the two houses agreed to every article, and the bill was soon confirmed by the royal sanction.

A violent opposition, however, was raised to this constitutional bill without doors, chiefly occasioned by the intrigues of some discarded people in power, who, disappointed in their endeavours to get it thrown out by the parliament, resolved to make use of every art to prevent its being carried into execution: in a word, such a dislike to this new service

service was every-where propagated amongst the lower and middling class of people, that in counties whose lieutenants were well disposed and well officered, it was the utmost difficulty to raise the common men by ballot; and scarce any where could it be performed for some time, without great discontent, and even riots. The farmers and landholders were frightened with an opinion that the militia would rob them of their servants; and the labouring men were terrified with the suggestion that they would be misused, and sent to fight the battles of some foreign prince or state, or be transported like felons to the plantations of America. Prejudices were thus formed in their minds, which could be hardly removed by some length of time, and the most serious and laboured representations of the expediency of the act, and of the evil designs of those who had set them against so salutary a law; and, after all, the nation would have been deprived of the advantages of a serviceable militia, had not the same spirit which carried the bill through the parliament, exerted itself in the execution of it.

Though a national militia is of too much importance to this kingdom to render any thing that can enforce or explain it unnecessary, yet as the act now established for that purpose is of too great a length to be inserted entire, I have therefore substituted the following abstract thereof for the information of my readers; which, for its brevity and plainness, at the same time that it includes every essential part of the said act, is superior to any other I have met with. It was printed and distributed throughout the city of York, by the direction and at the expence of George Fox Lane, esq. member for that city, for the better information of persons chosen by lot to serve in the militia for that county.

The PAY, PRIVILEGES, and DUTY, of a MILITIA-MAN.

PAY.

A private man, for each day he is employed in the militia, shall receive one shilling. There shall be one corporal to every twenty private men, who shall be paid one shilling and six pence every day he is employed.

Out of the private men, vacancies, on the death or removal of serjeants, may be filled up, in the proportion of one to every twenty private men;

Who are in that case discharged from serving as such,

And shall have the pay of a serjeant, viz. every day in the year one shilling.

The serjeant-major must be made out of the serjeants, and shall be paid two shillings and six-pence more a week.

PRIVILEGES.

No militia-man can be compelled to march out of the kingdom;

Nor be obliged to go above six miles from home, to perform exercise, in companies or half companies;

Nor be detained, on days of exercise, longer than six hours; or under arms, without refreshment, more than two hours.

He shall be dieted and billeted at public houses, paying for diet and small beer, four-pence each day.

Having served three years, he may retain his cloaths.

He shall be exempted from doing any highway duty, or serving as a peace officer, or parish officer.

He shall not be liable to serve, unless by consent, in any of his majesty's land or sea forces.

Having been called out into actual service, and being a married man, he may set up any trade in any town. Disabled by sickness on a march, or at a place of annual exercise, he shall be provided for (by an order from one justice of the peace, or magistrate) by the officers of the parish where he shall then be, who shall be reimbursed by the officers of the parish for which he shall serve.

If ordered out on actual service, he shall receive a guinea before the day he is ordered to march.

If ordered out, leaving a family not of ability to support themselves, the parish officers where such family resides shall relieve them by a weekly allowance, until his return, and be reimbursed out of the county stock.

Having served three years, he shall not be liable to serve again, until by rotation it comes to his turn.

Being thirty-five years of age, and having served two years, or on shewing just cause, he may be discharged;

And at any time he may be discharged by subdivision meetings.

If maimed or wounded in actual service, he shall be equally entitled to Chelsea-hospital with any other soldier belonging to his majesty's other forces.

Parishes may offer, and deputy-lieutenants may accept volunteers, instead of those chosen by lot.

DUTY.

Every militia-man shall appear at the subdivision-meeting, on notice, and be inrolled to serve for three years, or find a substitute.

He shall be exercised in half companies, on the first Mondays in the months of March, April, May, June, July, August, September, and October.

In whole companies, on the third Monday in the said months.

And if they cannot be exercised in half companies, by reason of the distance, then in smaller bodies; and

In regiments, or battalions, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, in Whitfun-week.

The days of exercise may be altered to any other day in the same week, Sunday excepted.

The two days in any one month, in harvest, may be changed to Tuesday and Wednesday in Easter-week.

If any day is inconvenient, on account of fairs and markets, it may be altered to any other day in the same week, except Sundays.

Notice of the several places of exercise shall be fixed on the church or chapel doors of the parishes respectively; or, in case of no church or chapel, on the door of some church or chapel next adjoining.

After exercise, every man shall clean and return his arms, cloaths, and accoutrements.

Changing his residence, he shall serve in the division he shall remove to, on giving previous notice

to the deputy-lieutenants, and receiving a certificate from them.

And, in case of invasion, imminent danger thereof, or a rebellion, he may be drawn out for actual service, and in such case only, and in this kingdom only, and not elsewhere.

By the numerous armies which the French were now preparing to send into Germany, to assist the empress-queen against the king of Prussia, it was apparent that the electorate of Hanover would be exposed to their hostilities: to prevent which it was judged necessary to form an army of observation, to act as occasion should require on the frontiers of his majesty's German dominions, to protect them from the insults of the enemy. Accordingly, a message was delivered, February 15, by the king to Mr. secretary Pitt, to be by him presented to the house of commons, signifying, "that it was always with reluctance his majesty asked any extraordinary supply of his people; but that as the united counsels and formidable preparations of France and her allies threaten with the most alarming consequences Europe in general; and that as these most unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally the king of Prussia, his majesty does confide in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would cheerfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence and preservation thereof, and to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause."

This message met with as favourable a reception as could possibly have been wished. It was read in the house of commons, with a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia, which was approved, and his majesty's request granted, two hundred thousand pounds being appropriated for the relief of the king of Prussia, and maintaining the army of observation. Smoothly as this measure passed down with the legislature, it was by no means relished by the bulk of the nation, who could not without regret behold us thus hurrying into a continental war, which might embarrass our operations by sea, take off our attention to the capital object of America, and tend to increase the enormous load of taxes and debts under which the people and the kingdom already groaned: but the popularity of the new secretary, and the vigorous opposition he and his colleagues had ever made to German connections, charmed the nation into a compliance with a measure, the bare suspicion of which would have lost any other ministry all the confidence of the people.

His royal highness the duke of Cumberland having been appointed, by his majesty, commander in chief of the army to be raised in Germany to observe the motions of the French, he set out accordingly for Hanover in the beginning of April.

The change in the ministry which had taken place at the close of the last year, had been generally considered as an act of prudence, and a just regard to the general voice, which was heard from all quarters of the kingdom, exclaiming against the mal-administration of those in power. The

public was pleased with the change, especially when it was observed what measures the new ministry took to correct and amend the false steps of their predecessors, to restore the honour and credit of the nation, to lessen public expences, by reducing the enormous salaries of the great officers of state, and the vast number of useless places; and put the national affairs upon such a footing as to give lustre to the crown, and safety to the people. This was visible in all their proceedings.

In the very beginning of this year a design was formed for reducing the important fortress of Louisbourg under our dominion; and eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, a bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, were ordered, under the command of sir Edward Hawke, to get ready for North America. The admiral was to take on board six thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, to be commanded by general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay. Admiral Osborn was sent with another squadron to reinforce that already in the Mediterranean under admiral Saunders. A squadron was also dispatched to the East Indies under the command of commodore Stephens; and our interest in the West Indies was consulted by sending a fleet to Jamaica, under the command of admiral Coates.

But as faction is ever restless, and envy ever blind to merit, these gentlemen, whose views carried with them all the appearances of a noble disinterestedness, as well in the senate as in the cabinet, could not escape the common lot of patriots. Those of the old ministry who had been displaced to make room for these, were too much concerned, both in interest and reputation, to sit down quiet under their dismissal, especially when the conduct of their successors gave daily opportunities for drawing comparisons so very humiliating to their administration; and so well were they versed in the intrigues of a court, that they found it no difficult matter to poison the royal ear, by the most injurious representations of the new ministers, whom they set forth as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty. In these endeavours they were powerfully assisted by such of their faction as had been still continued in places of power about the crown. Add to this, that as they still sat in the same senate and council with their antagonists, they to the utmost of their power combated every scheme that was proposed by them. Thus, by clogging the wheels of state, and distracting our councils, the good purposes of the ministry were frustrated, and the government put into such an agitation, that his majesty was in a manner forced into a new change of administration. Accordingly, on the ninth of April Mr. Pitt, by the royal command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the Exchequer to the right honourable lord Mansfield, chief-justice of the court of King's Bench, whom we have formerly mentioned by the name of Mr. Murray, and who had been lately ennobled in consideration of his eminent services. Mr. Pitt's dismissal was accompanied with those of several of his friends. The board of admiralty was changed, and the earl of Winchelsea put at its head; and some other removals were made, all of the same tendency. Mr. Fox,

who had been secretary of state, but displaced to make room for Mr. Pitt, was gratified with the lucrative office of paymaster-general of the forces; but no gentleman could be prevailed upon to succeed Mr. Pitt in his employment; and indeed it was at this time a very ticklish post: the strain of popular favour ran with such vehemence on the side of the latter, and his colleague Mr. Legge, that it required a person of the most distinguished abilities to give common satisfaction in the management of national affairs. In the mean time, the people, who idolized the now displaced ministers, seemed to vie in displaying their respect and affection for them, which was immediately shewn by presentations of freedoms from a number of the most populous and opulent corporations, with addresses of thanks to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge for their integrity and services, inclosed in gold boxes, and other elegant materials, enriched with emblems conveying the sentiments of national approbation. But as I shall have occasion again to touch upon this head, I shall say no more at present, but resume the account of parliamentary proceedings, and continue them to the end of the session, to preserve entire the connection of the many other interesting events, as well foreign as domestic, that distinguished this year.

It must be acknowledged, to the honour of this parliament, that they were in general extremely ready to adopt any scheme that seemed calculated for the interest of the nation. The society of the Free British Fishery presented a petition, importing, "That having been obliged, in the infancy of their undertaking, to incur a much larger expence than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves such considerable losers, as to be utterly incapable of carrying on the fisheries with any prospect of success, unless assisted by farther bounty from parliament; that they therefore hoped, that, for the prosecution of the fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries, each buss carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting which, by the fishery acts, they were then bound to carry; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and that, inasmuch as many of the stock-proprietors were unable to advance any farther sum for carrying on this branch of commerce; and others unwilling, in the present situation, and under the present restraint, to venture any further sum in the undertaking; that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the interest of the society."

The house having taken the substance of this petition into consideration, granted the several requests therein contained, and augmented the bounty of thirty shillings per ton to fifty. About the same time, and in consequence of a petition presented by the city of London, a bill was prepared and passed into a law, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river of Thames and water of Medway;

and for the better regulating the fishery in these rivers. The two next measures adopted by the parliament which merit our notice were, first, a bill for the relief of the poor and distressed silk manufacturers, who were deprived of all employment, and consequently of the means of subsistence, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy. By this bill, therefore, liberty was given to any persons to import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatever, till the first day of December 1757, organzine thrown silk, of the growth or produce of Italy, to be brought to the custom-house of London wheresoever landed; but that no Italian thrown silk coarser than that of Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy, nor any thrown silk of the growth or produce of Turkey, Persia, East India, or China, should be imported by this act, on pain of forfeiting the commodity. This bill was doubtless a deviation from the famous act of navigation, and was remonstrated against as such by petitions from divers merchants and importers of raw silk, and others, who thought their interests hurt by it; but the parliament overlooked this temporary inconvenience, for the sake of furnishing a present supply to the poor manufacturers, who were actually reduced to the lowest depth of distress.

Such were the miseries which the poor had suffered, both the last year and this, by the excessive price of corn, that it had driven them into repeated riots in different parts of the kingdom; and in many instances the behaviour of the rioters had been destructive of all law and society. Nevertheless, as it was notorious that the frauds of fore-stallers and engrossers had in great measure occasioned the scarcity, the government was very sparing of punishment towards the ill-judging authors of these tumults; and the parliament taking this affair into their consideration, resolved to apply such a remedy as appeared to them most likely to prevent the return of this national calamity; and a bill was brought into the house of commons, to explain and amend the laws against regrators, fore-stallers, and engrossers of corn. Enquiry was also made into the abuses of millers and bakers, with regard to bread, who were accused of having adulterated this indispensable necessary of life with common whiting, lime, allum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution.

But the most interesting measure pursued by the house of commons during this session, and that to which at once most excited the attention, and flattered the wishes of the people, was the enquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had raised such universal clamour throughout the nation. Pretty early in the session the commons addressed his majesty, That he would be pleased to order to be laid before them copies of all the letters and papers, containing any intelligence received by the secretaries of state, the commissioners of the admiralty, or any others of his majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majesty's possessions in Europe, since the first day of January 1755, to the first day of last August. They likewise begged leave to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the 1st of August 1755, to the 30th day

day of April in the following year; with the copies of all sailing orders sent to the commanders during that period; as also the state and condition of his majesty's ships in the several ports of Great Britain, at the time of admiral Byng's departure, with the squadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made to the admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and borne on board the respective ships. They demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the secretaries of state or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inspection of all papers which could in any manner tend to explain the loss of Minorca, and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's squadron.

To these addresses his majesty most graciously gave his acquiescence; but they whose safety depended upon intricacy, confusion, and a majority, which they spared no arts of whatever kind to obtain, so managed, that this enquiry was committed to the whole house, and the papers were swelled into such a preposterous number, that it required more time than a whole session of parliament would allow. However, the proceedings of the ministry received the protection of a parliamentary approbation, though this could by no means silence the murmurings of the people, who expected at least that the examinations that came before the committee, in the course of their enquiry into this important affair, and their proceedings in consequence thereof, would have been made public; but in this they were all disappointed. However, it must be confessed, that the readiness his majesty shewed to gratify his people by sifting this shameful affair to the bottom, and the exemplary, though perhaps severe punishment inflicted upon the supposed author of our naval disgrace in the Mediterranean, without any regard paid to family, former services, or even favourable circumstances, struck terror into our commanders both by sea and land, who were now clearly convinced, that they could hope for no countenance from their sovereign, should they betray a timorous or inactive conduct in the day of trial. Thus it was the means of reviving that courage and vigour for which Britons had been so long and so justly famous, and greatly damped the spirits of our boasting enemy, whose valour had arisen only from our timidity, and whose success was owing to our negligence.

On the fourth day of July, the session was closed with a speech from the throne, wherein his majesty was pleased to assure the parliament, that the success and preservation of America had been his constant care, and, next to the security of his kingdoms, should continue to be his great and principal object: that he had taken such measures, as, he trusted, by the blessing of God, would effectually disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts: that he had no farther view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments; to preserve tranquility, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; and to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe, from being oppressed and en-

dangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

We now come to another change or rather settlement in the ministry; and indeed, it was high time that this material point should be adjusted, as our councils had been for some time in a continual fluctuation, so that no schemes could be pursued, no enterprise of moment undertaken for the good of the nation. Three months and upwards had elapsed in this uncertainty; the trading part of the kingdom in general wished to see Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge replaced in their former stations; but the other party, I mean the old ministry, could not bear the thoughts of seeing the highest and most lucrative places of the state occupied by those who were the only means of turning them out. Long and warm was the contest betwixt them, which perhaps would not have ended without some terrible convulsion in the state, had not some leading men, of moderate principles, interposed with their salutary advice, which was, for both parties to consent to a compromise, and by taking in some of each, to form a coalition. This was a prudent and well-judged expedient, as it offered the only possible means of allaying the rage of faction, and healing those divisions which were likely to prove more pernicious to the public than were the mistaken conduct and counsels that had been so much complained of. This expedient being approved of and adopted, his majesty, in consequence thereof, was pleased to restore the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the twentieth day of June, and five days after, Mr. Legge was reinstated in the office of chancellor of the exchequer, promotions that afforded universal satisfaction: sir Robert Henley was made lord keeper of the great seal on the thirtieth day of June; the custody of the privy seal was committed to lord Temple; a new board of Treasury was appointed with the duke of Newcastle at the head; and lord Anson was appointed the first lord of the admiralty; the earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and Mr. Fox paymaster general: in a word, the royal favour was so equally distributed, that all animosities being now forgot, and former irregularities buried in oblivion, all parties seemed to harmonize in one view, the public good; which happy disposition produced effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations, and this prudent arrangement was highly applauded by all who were not under the influence of violent attachment to party, or a narrow and exclusive spirit.

Having given this succinct view of the state of the administration at home, let us now turn our eyes to the continent, where we shall find the beginning of this year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm, in the attempt made upon the life of the king of France, on the fifth day of January, at Versailles, in presence of his son the dauphin, and surrounded by his guards and all the great officers of the crown. This extraordinary affair happened in the following manner:

A wretch of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damien, born in a little village in the neighbourhood of Arras, had lived a considerable time as a servant with several families in Paris, but had been successively dismissed from his places on account

account of a passionate and gloomy disposition, which approached to a degree of madness. The general murmurings which he had heard about the banishing the parliament, on account of the disputes concerning the administering the sacraments, had heated his indignation: it seems he had no design to kill the king, which indeed he might easily have done, but only to wound him, in order (to make use of his own words at the time of his trial) that God might touch his majesty's heart, and work on him to restore them to their former footing. The archbishop of Paris, he said, was the sole cause of all these troubles; and that, for his part, the only motive that urged him to the commission of this act was "for religion's sake." All those who have attempted the lives of christian princes, have made use of this pretext: it is sufficiently known that Henry III. and IV. of France fell by the hands of fanatics, but there was this difference between them and Lewis XV. that they were murdered because they appeared to be enemies to the pope, and Lewis was stabbed for having seemed desirous to oblige the pope.

The assassin had provided himself with a clasp knife, one side of which had a long sharp pointed blade, and the other was to cut pens with, and was about four inches long: he waited for the instant the king was to get into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near six o'clock in the evening, the day was shut in, the weather was excessively cold, so that almost all the court were wrapped up in large cloaks. The villain, who wore a large cloak also, pushes through the guards, brushes the dauphin as he passes by him, gets in between the body guard and the king, who was just stepping into his coach, strikes him with his penknife in the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs, returns his knife into his pocket again, and remains upon the spot with his hat upon his head. The king finding himself wounded, turned about, and seeing a strange man standing close by him, with his hat on, and his eyes staring wildly, cried out, "I am wounded! stop that man, but do not hurt him."

Happily the king's wound was but slight; however, as there remained suspicion that the instrument might have been poisoned, several experiments were made upon animals, all of which served to relieve the people from their apprehensions. As for Damien, he made no attempt to escape, but suffered himself quietly to be seized; he was conveyed to prison, and soon brought to his trial, when all his answers served to discover that he was in an absolute state of insanity, and what was the cause of his madness; it was evident, that the king's treatment of the parliament, and the complaints both they and the public made against the archbishop of Paris, had turned the brain of the criminal, and stirred him up to this attempt. The unhappy wretch was afterwards put to the torture, in order to extort a confession, if he had any accomplices; but notwithstanding every species of cruelty that human invention could devise was practised upon him, it had no effect; no sufferings being sufficient to make him break silence. To render his punishment more public, he was conveyed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, a relation of which would be equally foreign to our purpose and disagreeable to our inclination; suffice it to say, that his miseries were at length terminated by being drawn asunder by four young and vigor-

ous horses; after which, his body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family, banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty.

Lewis had no sooner recovered, than in order the more effectually to fulfil his engagements with the empress queen, he raised two great armies. The first of these, consisting of eighty thousand men, the choicest troops of France, were put under the command of M. d'Estrées, a general of great reputation, under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, the count de St. Germain, all officers of distinguished bravery and abilities. This formidable army crossed the Rhine early in the spring, marched by Westphalia, seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever belonged to the king of Prussia in East Friesland, and by slow marches made the best dispositions to over-run Hanover. M. d'Estrées fixed upon Munster for his head-quarters.

The other army of the French consisted of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of the prince de Soubise, and was destined to join the imperial army acting against the king of Prussia and his allies; and before Soubise passed the Rhine, he took possession of several places belonging to the king of Prussia in the Low Countries.

In the mean time the empress of Russia, true to her engagements with her imperial sister, dispatched one hundred and thirty thousand of her troops to her assistance, under the command of general count Apraxin, who began his march in the month of November of the preceding year 1756, and advanced to the borders of Lithuania, with a view particularly to invade Ducal Prussia, while a very strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to act in concert with this numerous army.

The Austrian army assembled in Bohemia, consisted of upwards of an hundred thousand men, headed by prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown. The Swedes, though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian majesty, were very inclinable to accede to the general confederacy against him; and the duke of Mecklenburgh embraced the same party, and engaged to join the Swedish army, whenever it should be assembled, with six thousand men. The destruction of his Prussian majesty now seemed so certain, that the Aulic council no longer kept any measures, but openly declared him to have incurred the ban of the empire in his quality of elector of Brandenburg, and to have forfeited all his rights, privileges, immunities, &c.

Frederick, thus surrounded on all sides by enemies, did not however lose for an instant that courage and prudence which have ever distinguished him in all his situations, and have gained him the admiration of all Europe. He ordered Mr. Henouin, the French minister at Dresden, to depart that city; and having thrown two bridges over the Elbe, early in the spring he commanded the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to furnish him with great numbers of waggons, each drawn by four horses; the circles of Misnia and Leipzig were required to provide four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion: and as he was well informed, that the alarming progress of the Russian troops was stopped, by the want of provisions and of forage, he adhered to the wise maxim he had always adopted, of removing the seat of war as far as possible from his own



A New Map
of the
EMPIRE
of
GERMANY
Divided into
CIRCLES
Drawn from the best
Authorities

German Miles to a Degree
British Miles to a Degree

5 10 15 30
10 20 40 60 80 100 120 140

own dominions, and determined to carry it into Bohemia, there to attack the Austrians with his united force.

With this view he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia, to enter Bohemia in four different places at the same time; the first body or grand army he took under his own command, attended by marshal Keith; the second was commanded by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick Bevern; and the fourth by that gallant and experienced general marshal Schwerin. All these armies began to move the same day, viz. April the eighth; and the design was so well concealed, and their several routes so wisely directed, that they entered Bohemia almost without opposition, the Austrians never suspecting the least of such a visit, till the Prussians were considerably passed the frontiers.

To deceive the Austrians, the king dispatched the prince of Bevern with his army towards Egra. From this appearance the enemy judged, that though he designed the Bevern and Schwerin armies should penetrate into Bohemia, yet he did not intend to join them with his own; and seeing the Prussian troops thus divided, M. Brown sent a considerable detachment, under the command of general Aremberg, to oppose the corps marching towards Egra. This event the king of Prussia had foreseen, and was prepared for it; for by a sudden motion towards the left, he cut off all communication between Aremberg's detachment and the main army. The Austrians, however, did not perceive the king's view, but exulted in an event which was the certain prelude to their own destruction. They mistook this stroke of generalship for a retreat, and confidently gave out that the Prussians were fled.

Mean while, the prince of Bevern advancing at the head of his army from his quarters of cantonment near Zittau in Lusatia, made himself master without the least opposition of the first post of Bohemia, at Krottaw and Grottenstein, drove away the enemy from Kratzow, and continued his route towards Reichemberg, where the enemy's army, consisting of twenty-eight thousand men, commanded by count Konigsfeg, was posted. This brought on an action on the twenty-first of April, which redounded highly to the honour of the prince of Bevern; for though there were many defiles in his way, and the enemy was in possession of several advantageous eminences, he gained a complete victory, driving the enemy before him above a mile. This action began at six o'clock in the morning, and lasted five hours. The loss of the enemy was said to amount to 1000 killed and wounded, twenty of them officers; 400 soldiers were taken prisoners, and three standards remained with the victors, who on their side had only seven subaltern officers, and one hundred rank and file, killed; one general, sixteen other officers, and about one hundred and fifty rank and file, wounded.

Marshal Schwerin's army marched with incredible expedition, and reached Koningshorff, on the Elbe, the twentieth. He entered Bohemia in five different places at once, and found the inhabitants in the utmost consternation. The enemy immediately filled the dangerous defile of Gulder Oussel with Pandours, to dispute his progress in Bohemia;

but they were defeated as soon as discovered. A considerable magazine, consisting of forty thousand bushels of oats, and two thousand barrels of meal, was seized at Jung Buntzlau. The Austrians every where fled before him; and he joined the prince of Bevern almost without loss, making himself master of the circle of Buntzlau; and the neighbouring country submitted to the Prussians almost without opposition. The prince of Anhalt Dessau with his corps drew near the king of Prussia's army.

Mean while the king, at the head of the principal army, moved along the Elbe, and after passing the Eger, advanced to Budin; whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, withdrew to Wastwarn, half way between Budin and Prague; and as his majesty thought, from the motions of count Brown, that the Austrians would make a stand at the plain of Giffchen, he passed the Moldau at the head of thirty thousand men, leaving the command of the rest of the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt Dessau.

I have already observed, that by a sudden and masterly movement, his majesty had cut off all communication between the detachment of twenty thousand men, which had been sent to watch his motions, under count Aremberg, and the main army of the Austrians. Having gained this advantage, to weaken the enemy, the latter became more cautious; and though they had been reinforced by an army from Moravia, by the remains of the troops lately defeated by the prince of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, so that they were now near one hundred thousand strong; yet, instead of marching in quest of the invaders, to prevent their uniting, prince Charles of Lorraine and count Brown resolved to wait their approach, having strongly intrenched themselves on the banks of the Moldau, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature and art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians was secured by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi.

The vivacity of the Prussian hero was not, however, to be damped by these difficulties. Being joined, immediately on his crossing the Moldau, by the troops under marshal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, according to the excellent dispositions he had made for that purpose, he resolved to attack the enemy in their camp with these united forces the same day, being the sixth of May. Accordingly, orders were given for the army to file off on the left of Potschernitz, in order to execute this design. Upon this motion of the Prussians, count Brown was obliged to wheel to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued their march to Bichowitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little while separated the infantry from the rest of the army; and they having begun the attack with too much precipitation, were at first repulsed. Here that brave general, marshal Schwerin, received a mortal wound as he was encouraging the men, and died at the age of eighty-two, covered with military honour, and deeply regretted by his sovereign and the whole army. The infantry which had been separated in their march being now rejoined, made a fresh attack on the enemy's right wing, and entirely broke it; while the cavalry on the left, after

three charges, compelled all the Austrian horse in their right wing to retire in great confusion; the Prussian troops in the center then attacked and entirely routed that of the enemy. The left wing of the Prussian army now advanced towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack on the Austrians, who were retreating towards Saszawa. In the mean time, the troops on the right attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so courageous, as to leave little to be done by this part of the cavalry.

Prince Henry of Prussia and the prince of Bevern performed wonders, taking from the enemy, sword in hand, two of their batteries; and prince Ferdinand of Brunswic took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the king with his left, a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldau. In a word, after a very long and obstinate dispute, and many signal examples of valour, the enemy was forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind them the greatest part of their baggage, and indeed their whole camp. The remains of their left wing, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled toward Benetschau, where they were afterwards assembled by M. Pretlach, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, with their commanders prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown; but they were greatly harassed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under M. Keith. The number of the prisoners taken on this occasion by the victors amounted to four thousand, thirty of whom were officers of distinction. Their loss amounted to about two thousand killed and three thousand wounded. Among the former, besides M. Schwerin, were the prince of Holstein Beck, one other general, and three colonels; among the latter, five generals. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater. Marshal Brown received a wound which, from the chagrin he suffered, proved mortal soon after.

As the greatest part of the Austrian army, soon after their defeat, retreated and took shelter in Prague, that large city was presently invested by the victorious Prussians, commanded by their king on the side of the Moldau, and by marshal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and entrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off, and about forty-eight thousand Austrians inclosed within the walls, with prince Charles of Lorraine, marshal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, and most of their chief generals.

Every thing remained quiet on both sides, scarce a single cannon being fired for some time after the blockade was formed. The Austrian general, however, in order to ease the city of the multitude of forces cooped up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions, formed a design to attack the Prussian army in the night, and, if possible, cut a way through the camp of the besiegers. With this view, in the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of May, the Austrians made a furious sally with 12,000 men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine in person, and attacked the Prussians on the side of marshal Keith's quarters at Weissenberg. Happily his Prussian

majesty had received intelligence of the enemy's design by a deserter that very afternoon, and was prepared for their visit; so that the Austrians found the attack turned upon themselves; and were forced to retreat into the town with very considerable loss. On the twenty-ninth, the Prussian artillery being arrived, they began to batter and bombard the town in a most furious manner, which they continued without intermission till the eighteenth of June, whereby the city was reduced to a heap of rubbish, and the inhabitants and numerous garrison were reduced to such distress for provisions, that they were obliged to subsist upon horse-flesh. The Prussian monarch and his army now shared in imagination the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, whose affairs were indeed in a most desperate situation. The distance from Prague to the archduchy of Austria was not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube. Vienna trembled lest she should next experience the horrors of a siege; and all the empress-queen's hereditary dominions lay open and exposed.

In this critical state of affairs the empress-queen appointed Leopold count Daun to the command of the Austrian forces. This general had never commanded in chief before, but had acquired great experience under the best officers in Europe, particularly the great Khevenhuller, who was extremely fond of him. He was cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious: he never trusted that to hazard which could be effected by a prudent delay: he was circumspect in all his measures, and impenetrable in his designs. Such was the general on whom the court of Vienna now cast its eyes, as the properest person to stem the torrent of disgrace that had well-nigh overwhelmed its arms, to save his country from ruin, and by his prudence and cautiousness to check the fire and vigour of the Prussian monarch, who, setting no bounds to his ambition and arms, seemed to trust all to his good fortune and military skill.

Count Daun arriving at Boemischrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the defeat of the grand army, he began to collect the fugitive corps that had fled from the fate of that day; and soon assembled a force so considerable as to attract the attention of his Prussian majesty, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons to observe his motions, and with orders to attack him before his numbers should become too formidable: but Daun acted on more sure principles than to stake the ruin of a cause he was sent to retrieve, on the chance of a battle, with troops that were sunk in disgrace, and in want almost of every necessary, against an army flushed with victory, and abounding with all conveniencies for subsistence and action. Accordingly, he no sooner heard that the prince of Bevern was on his march towards him, than he retreated to the Elbe, and intrenched himself strongly in a camp at Mallechau near Kolin, opened a way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and by this conduct and situation inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, who expected soon to be relieved.

In the mean time the king of Prussia, distracted with impatience at the length of the siege of Prague, whose surrender within a few days after

being

being invested he had looked upon as certain; and finding that count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be able not only to oppose the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but even in a condition to raise the siege; resolved to march and give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. Marshal Keith remonstrated earnestly against this measure, and advised him to wait for the Austrians attempting to raise the siege, as thirty-two thousand men, which was the whole number set apart by the king for that service, was a very inadequate force to attack an army of sixty thousand men (for so many did Daun by this time count under him) commanded by a brave and experienced general. Impetuous in valour, and blinded with his amazing successes, Frederic rejected this sage counsel, bid defiance to all opposition, and on the thirteenth of June quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern's army at Milkowitz. After this junction the king advanced on the eighteenth towards Kolin, in the neighbourhood of which count Daun had his camp, defended by a prodigious train of artillery which he had caused to be brought from Olmutz, and had placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts, with lines and heavy pieces of cannon at every accessible part of the camp.

When the Prussians came in sight of the enemy, they found them drawn up in three lines, on a very high ground, between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist, which was rendered almost inaccessible by several difficult defiles that ran along the foot of the hills. Notwithstanding this advantageous position, his majesty began the attack between two and three in the afternoon, and made himself master of two eminences, on which were the enemy's principal batteries, and two villages defended with infantry; but could not force the third post, the fire of the enemy was so violent, though they returned seven times successively to the charge, led on by that valiant soldier and great general prince Ferdinand: but as their cavalry could not act in their support, they were obliged to give it up. The king was now in an agony of despair at the fatal consequences that were likely to attend his precipitate resolution, taken contrary to the good advice of a faithful servant, whose valour was tutored by experience. He resolved, however, to make one more furious effort to retrieve, if possible, the disgrace he had sustained. With this resolution, he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and attacked the left wing of the enemy with the greatest bravery, exposing his person in the most perilous situations, in order to animate his men: but his was a lost cause; the enemy repulsed all his efforts. Fortune however befriended him so far, that he drew off his forces, with all his baggage and artillery, in good order, in sight of the enemy, without their making one attempt to pursue him. Thus ended an action that might more properly be called a carnage than a battle, both armies losing a prodigious number of men. The Prussians had upwards of eight thousand killed and wounded, and a great number were made prisoners or deserted. The Austrians had above ten thousand killed and wounded.

Having seen his army make good their retreat, the king of Prussia's next and immediate care was to prevent the bad effects of this day's work, should the news thereof reach Prague before he could take proper measures to secure that part of his troops, artillery, &c. employed in the siege of that city. Therefore, though he had been on horseback all day, and present at every attack, he left his army at Nimburg, under the command of the prince of Bevern, and with an escort of twelve or fourteen hussars only set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning, and immediately gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage, which were all safely withdrawn; and the troops had begun their retreat before the Austrians in the city heard of the battle; but when they saw the Prussians retiring, a large body of them sallied out under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine (marshal Brown being by this time dead of his wounds) and came up with the rear of the Prussians, but found it so well covered that they could do very little execution.

Count Daun now entered the city of Prague, amidst the loud acclamations of the imprisoned Austrians, who received him as their deliverer; and the united forces of the imperial generals being now greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia, that prince was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia and retire into Saxony. The king attributed the loss of the battle of Kolin wholly to himself. The candour with which he acknowledged his mistake is so extraordinary in a king and a conqueror, that I am persuaded the reader will not be displeased to hear it in his majesty's own words, in a letter to the earl Marischal, which also gives the best narrative and proof of this affair. He first does justice to the valour of his enemy: "The imperial grenadiers, says he, are a noble corps: one hundred companies defended a rising ground which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honour to Lichtenstein who had the direction. Only the Prussian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of theirs. They had the advantage of a rising ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulsed by their musquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers: they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it: she is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry. Success, my dear lord, often occasions a destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge sixty thousand men from an advantageous post. Another time we will do better. I have no reason to complain of the bravery of my troops, or the experience of my officers: I alone was in fault, and I hope to repair it." Then, after taking notice of the formidable confederacy against him, he concludes thus: "I know not whether it will be a disgrace to

to me to submit; but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

He supported his disaster, however, with a magnanimity that did him infinite honour; and notwithstanding his severe trial, and the melancholy prospect that surrounded him, he soon rose above his misfortunes, and by an amazing vicissitude of events, turned his disgrace upon his enemies with ample retaliation. We shall leave him, however, for the present, and turn our eyes to the other side of Germany, which we shall find involved in the general bloodshed and confusion that now began to desolate the whole empire.

When the designs of the French upon the electorate of Hanover became too obvious to admit of the least doubt, it was thought high time for his Britannic majesty to take such steps as might most effectually conduce to the defence and preservation of his paternal dominions: therefore, very early in the spring of this year, orders were sent thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition, and not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; as also to provide the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men, who were to form an army of observation.

But such was the equity of his Britannic majesty, and his precaution to avoid the least apparent cause of provocation to any power to invade his German dominions, that he would not bring an army into the field until he had published to the world the just motives that had compelled him to have recourse to those means Providence had put in his power to repel the hostile designs of his enemies. Accordingly, he emitted the following declaration or manifesto, dated at Hanover, in the month of April:

"His Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswic-Lunenbourg, did his utmost to prevent the war which hath arisen between him, as king, and the crown of France, and to regulate in an amicable manner the differences which occasioned it. His majesty's endeavours for this end having proved ineffectual, he made it his study to hinder the war from spreading, and the peace of his German dominions in particular, and that of the empire in general, from being involved in disturbances, in the motives whereof they had no concern.

"For these reasons, and in consideration of the great probability in the autumn of 1755, that the crown of France, in resentment of those differences, meditated an attack upon the king's German dominions, his majesty in the beginning of the following year concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia; the intention whereof was, to compel that crown to drop its designs, which it was natural to expect would be the consequence. And another war having, contrary to his majesty's expectation, broke out soon after in the heart of Germany, his majesty has carefully avoided taking any part in it.

"It is impossible for the impartial world, after considering his Britannic majesty's conduct on this occasion, which manifestly tended only to the aforesaid ends, not to see the injustice of the motives and pretexts which the court of France would allege to justify their invasion of the electoral territories of Brunswic, which are under the protection

of the empire. If they build their pretext on the war that has broke out between England and France, it is evident that this war, both in its rise and object, are entirely foreign to his majesty, as elector, and to his German territories. As to the second war, namely, that which hath been lighted up in Germany, the crown of France, as guarantee of the peace of Westphalia, hath not, on one hand, the least pretext to act against the aforesaid states, whilst they cannot convict his majesty of any contravention of the said peace: and, on the other hand, France cannot, as the ally and auxiliary of the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, act against a member of the empire, who is not at war, nor hath the least difference with her imperial and royal majesty.

"Whereas, nevertheless, a numerous French army hath entered the empire by Westphalia, which, after putting a garrison in the imperial city of Cologne, is advancing towards the electoral dominions of Brunswic, hath already penetrated into the bishopric of Munster, and there exacted contributions; by which their views and designs against the said electoral dominions of Brunswic are clearly manifested: his Britannic majesty, as elector of Brunswic Lunenbourg, sees himself unwillingly reduced to the indispensable necessity of assembling an army, and ordering it to march, in order to divert, with the assistance of the Most High, all violence, injustice, and usurpation from his own dominions, and those of his neighbours.

"In order to prevent any person from being deceived by a groundless suspicion, his majesty would not omit this opportunity of declaring, in the face of the whole empire, that he is very far from designing to act offensively against any of his co-estates in the empire, nor even against the crown of France: and that by the armament and march of his forces, to which step he has been forced, he seeks only to divert, as has been said, with the Divine Blessing, all invasion, violence, and hostility; and do in that event, as a principal member of the empire, what is just in the sight of God and man, and what he owes to the safety of the country which God hath entrusted to him.

"He rests assured, that no person will misconstrue or misinterpret the justice of this self-defence to which he is forced: in particular, he trusts to the amicable confidence of his co-estates in the empire, that they will not counteract his views, which are favourable to themselves, and tend to remove war and its calamities from their frontiers; but that they will rather concur with and promote them: that, knowing that his majesty's forces will observe the most rigorous discipline, they will, in return, give them proofs of their good-will, particularly, by supplying them, for ready money, with what provisions and forage they may stand in need of; and, in fine, that they will not furnish to the adverse party the smallest thing that may be prejudicial to his dominions or to their own."

This declaration was immediately followed by assembling the army of observation, which consisted of Hanoverians, Hessians, and the troops of some less respectable states, to the amount of forty-seven thousand men, to be joined by a body of three thousand Prussians; the whole to be under the command of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, who, as we have already observed,

set out from England in the month of April to put himself at their head.

As soon as his royal highness arrived at Hanover, he immediately put the troops in motion, and ordered them to repair to the camp marked out between Hamelen and Nienburg. In a few days after the army passed the Weser, and arrived at the camp at Bielefeldt, and took possession of the castle of Retberg, which the French had abandoned. Here the duke fixed his head-quarters, to be at hand to learn the disposition of the French army, and act in consequence. Hither also the generals appointed to command the several divisions repaired, to concert the plan of operations with their royal commander.

His royal highness's army was posted in the following manner: at Bielefeldt, six battalions and six squadrons, under the command of lieutenant-general baron de Sporcken; six battalions under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervord and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg, in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under major-general de Haufs, near Nienburg.

This was certainly a most admirable disposition; but his highness soon receiving intelligence that the French army assembled on the Lower Rhine and the duchy of Cleves, consisting at that time of seventy battalions (of six hundred men each) forty squadrons (of three hundred men each) and fifty-two pieces of cannon, under the command of the marshals d'Etrées and Contades, had received orders to march forward, and that the design of this march must be to get between him and the Weser, he determined at length to break up his camp at Bielefeldt, and remove to a more advantageous and safe situation, as it was impossible on that ground to withstand the vast superiority of men the French generals were bringing against him. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of June he ordered his army to proceed towards Hervorden; and on the fourteenth the allies encamped at Cofeldt, and staid there the next day. These motions of his royal highness induced the French generals to march forward with their army, and either oblige the duke to repass the Weser or to stand a battle: but being too weak for the latter, he chose to retire as the French approached; and on the twentieth of June repassed the Weser, and encamped his troops between Minden and Oldendorp, in a most advantageous situation, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and morasses. In the mean time, the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the allies had abandoned.

It was universally believed that, in this situation, the army of the allies would have vigorously disputed with the French the passage of the Weser, which secures Hanover against foreign attacks; but how greatly was the world disappointed in its expectations, when they were informed by authority that the French, after possessing themselves of Embden, had passed that river on the tenth and eleventh of July with their whole army, without the loss of a single man! By the accounts transmitted of this affair, we find, that while marshal d'Etrées, by feigned marches, concealed from the

duke of Cumberland the real dispositions that were made for passing the Weser, the marquis d'Armentieres, who had laid his bridges between Hoxter and Blanckenow, in the district of the abbey of Corby, passed that river with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon. The duke of Cumberland could not oppose it, as he lay with his army below Hamelen, extending towards the Lower Weser; and the duke de Broglie and M. de Chevert, each with a body of troops, drew his attention towards Minden and Rintelen. The last-mentioned town was defended by a fort, in which were three hundred Hessians, who surrendered prisoners of war. The French abandoned that fort, after taking out of it twelve iron cannon, two culverins, two mortars, and what stores they found in it.

By the afternoon of the eleventh the whole of the French army had effected its passage; and having seized the important pass of Stadt Oldendorff, they pitched their camp upon the fine plain of that name. The French proceeded immediately to raise heavy contributions in Hanover, their general sending to the regency of that electorate a requisition, demanding that deputies should be sent to his head-quarters to treat about the matter; with which they were obliged to comply.

His royal highness the duke of Cumberland having no longer any reason to doubt that the French were bent upon attacking him, he drew up his little army on the heights between the Weser and the woods, with his right towards the river, and his left close to the woods; on the point of which he erected a battery of twelve pounders and haubiters, supported by the hunters and two battalions of grenadiers, posted in the corner of the wood, upon the left of the battery, under the command of major-general Schulemberg, with the village of Hastenbeck in his front. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a continual morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. In the evening of the twenty-fourth of July he called in all his out-posts, and kept the whole army on their arms all night.

On the twenty-fifth in the morning the French army was seen advancing in columns, and soon began to cannonade the allies very severely, which they continued the whole day, and made several feints as if they intended to attack the right, the left, and the center; but nothing was done that day. The duke's army continued on their arms all the next night. The battery at the end of the wood was repaired, and count Schulemberg reinforced with six battalions of grenadiers, under major-general Hardenberg, and two pieces of twelve pounders. His royal highness also gave orders for erecting a battery of twelve and six pounders behind the village of Hastenbeck; and, in fine, took all the precautions that the best general could possibly do to give the foe a warm reception; and as soon as it was day-light got on horseback to reconnoitre their position, which he found to be the same as on the preceding day. At a little after five the French began a very smart cannonading upon the battery behind the village that was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, whose countenance and steadiness, amidst so severe a fire, was truly admirable. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies,

when his royal highness ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunswickers, to support the grenadiers in the wood if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading went on all the time, rather augmenting than decreasing; but it did not create the least disorder in the confederate troops.

The fire of the small arms on the left increased, and the French seemed rather to gain ground; whereupon the duke detached three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons round the wood by Afforde, who towards the close of the day drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army. The grenadiers in the wood, however, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, thought it adviseable to retire nearer the left of their own army; by which unfortunate motion the French got possession of the Hanoverian battery on the left without opposition. On this occasion the hereditary prince of Brunswick distinguished himself, at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle guards, and another of Hanoverians, who with their bayonets fixed retook the battery from a much superior force of the enemy: but the French being in possession of a height that commanded and flanked both our lines of infantry and our battery; which attack they could support under cover of a hill, and his royal highness could not dispute without exposing his flank both to the artillery and musquetry; and finding it was impossible to dislodge them without exposing his own troops to too great a hazard, he ordered a retreat, which was effected in the greatest order, to Hamelen, without the least molestation on the part of the enemy, whether it was owing to what they had suffered, or to the firm countenance of the allied troops. The loss of the allies in this engagement, which may be said to have lasted three days, was five hundred and forty seven killed and missing, and nine hundred and seven wounded. The French, according to their own accounts, lost two thousand and upwards; but they gave out that it would not have exceeded seven or eight hundred killed and wounded, had it not been for a mistake between a regiment of Beauce and that called the Little Switzers, which fired upon each other so long and so furiously, that the latter was almost destroyed. Wherever the blame of this blunder lay, it certainly was of great advantage to the duke in making his retreat unobserved, and without pursuit.

The duke of Cumberland made but a short stay at Hamelen; and leaving a small detachment for its defence, continued his route to Nienburg, where he encamped. As for Hamelen, it soon submitted to the French, who dismantled the walls, and carried off sixty pieces of brass cannon, several mortars, with large quantities of provision and ammunition, and even part of the equipage of the allied army. Here the French halted for some time; and here it was that M. d'Etrées was, by the order of his most Christian majesty, obliged to resign the command in chief of the French forces to the duke de Richelieu, who had been raised to that post by court intrigue, through the means of madame de Pompadour, Lewis's female favourite. Two days after Richelieu's arrival at the French camp, which was in the beginning of August, he

detached the duke de Chevreuse to take possession of the city of Hanover, with the title of governor of that city. The regency finding that all the measures taken for their defence were now of no use, enjoined the inhabitants to remain quiet, and receive the French within their walls without opposition: upon which the Hanoverian garrison, after being disarmed, was left at liberty to go where they pleased; but an ordonnance was published by the new governor, enjoining the inhabitants to dispose of their fire-arms, of what kind soever, under severe penalties.

About the same time marshal Contades, who had been sent with a detachment to reduce the territories of Hesse Cassel, was met at Warburg by the prince of Hesse's master of the horse, who declared in his master's name, that the French should be furnished with every thing the country could afford; and the magistrates of Cassel presented the marshal with the keys of the city gates. The marquis d'Armentieres, another French general, ordered Gottingen to supply him, within a limited time, under pain of military execution, with four thousand pounds of white bread and two thousand bushels of oats, which was more than the whole country could afford, an hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

The duke of Cumberland continued all this time retreating from Nienburg: he retired into the duchy of Verden, and from thence to Stade, where the archives and many valuable effects of the electorate of Hanover had been deposited. His royal highness reinforced the garrison of this city with two regiments, and a camp was marked out on the glacié for the army. All the provisions and forage which he had at Verden were brought hither, his royal highness being made to believe that he should be able to maintain his ground between the Aller and the Elbe, and be effectually supported by four English men of war which at that time lay off the port of Stade, in case the French should attempt to attack him.

It must be confessed that his royal highness made the wisest dispositions for a defence; but what could avail the greatest generalship without an army capable of disputing the ground with an enemy that was in a condition, and determined to force their way? Richelieu followed the duke step by step with his whole army, as far as the Aller. He hemmed the allied army in on every side; and notwithstanding the four English men of war just mentioned, got possession of a fort at the mouth of the Zwinga, which cut off the duke's communication with the Elbe.

The two armies being now very near each other, many skirmishes happened, and several places were taken and retaken. But the duke's army, though in a strong situation, was by far too weak to think of holding out against the numerous forces of the French, which, as I have already observed, almost surrounded him. Under this pressure of untoward circumstances, not in a condition to fight, nor in a situation, there appeared no other possible means of preventing the total destruction of the allied army but by coming to some sort of terms with the enemy. The king of Denmark opportunely stepped forth and interposed his mediation, which was accepted by the commanders in chief of both armies; and on the eighth of September, 1757, the duke

of Cumberland signed a convention for a neutrality with the French, well known by the name of the Convention of Closter Seven, from the place where it was signed, and by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

The overtures for this convention, it seems, were made by the regency of Hanover, without the participation of the British court. Now, as by this step the king of Prussia's dominions were exposed to the whole power of France on that side, it was but natural to suppose that such a procedure might perhaps be a means of lessening, if not dissolving, that confidence and mutual friendship which subsisted between their Prussian and Britannic majesties: and indeed his Prussian majesty no sooner was apprised of the convention of Closter Seven being signed with the French marshal, than he wrote a very sharp letter with his own hand to the king of England on that subject, in which he complained bitterly of being made a sacrifice; and peremptorily insisted upon his majesty's not listening to any engagement in which he was not comprehended. His Britannic majesty, in answer to this letter, thought proper to order a declaration to be communicated to all foreign ministers residing at the British court, on the sixteenth of September, in which he disclaimed any share in making the said convention, and declared his resolution to act in constant concert with the king of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies; promising at the same time punctually to fulfil all his engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour.

The convention of Closter Seven, however, was attended with the most fatal consequences to the king of Prussia, who was thereby not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, but also actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all sides, the duke de Richelieu soon after entering the Prussian territories, near Wolfenbüttele, with one hundred and ten battalions, one hundred and fifty squadrons, and one hundred pieces of cannon; and penetrating into Halberstadt and Brandenburg-Prussia, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing such excesses that would give horror in the relation. Nor were the French the only enemy let loose upon his Prussian majesty. The Russians, who for a long time had proceeded but slowly, all at once quickened their march, and entered Ducal Prussia, under marshal Apraxin and general Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that could be expected from an army of lawless barbarians. A large body of Austrians entering Silesia, advanced as far as Breslau; then turning back, they laid siege to Schweidnitz, the key to Silesia. Another body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, reduced the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubise, was preparing to enter Saxony, and thus left the Austrians under count Daun at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. Another

body of Austrians piercing through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting itself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution.

The total ruin of his Prussian majesty was now generally prognosticated; but he met with effectual resources in the fidelity and bravery of his troops, and his own courage and policy. The Russians were the first object that drew his attention: he therefore detached field-marshal Lehwald into Prussia with an army of thirty thousand men, to endeavour to stop the inhuman ravages of those savage invaders, during the absence of his master. This general was encamped at Velau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, the first town in Ducal Prussia, in the month of July, pitched their camp in a well-fortified situation, near Nertutten. Notwithstanding their great superiority, M. Lehwald, provoked by the distresses of a country he was not able to defend or deliver from the cruel invaders by any other means, determined to attack them in their intrenchments with his little army. Having sent colonel Malachowski with a party to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, he gave orders for beginning the attack the next day, being the 30th of August.

The Russian army was formed in four lines, each line defended by a numerous artillery, and with batteries erected on all the eminences, containing in all two hundred pieces of cannon. The Prussians began the attack at five in the morning, which was carried on with so much vigour, that the whole first line of the enemy was entirely broken, and they were driven from all their batteries. The duke of Holstein Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which he cut in pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second intrenchment, M. Lehwald, seeing he could not attempt it without exposing his whole army, took the resolution to retire, which he did in the best manner, and without the enemy's daring to stir out of their intrenchments to pursue him. The Prussian army returned to its camp at Velau.

The loss of the Prussians did not exceed three thousand killed and wounded; whereas that of the Russians amounted to upwards of ten thousand. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken prisoner, but was sent back upon his parole. The Prussian army had at first made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but these they were obliged to abandon, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed, but the Prussians lost no general nor officer of distinction.

After this engagement, M. Lehwald altered the position of his army, by drawing towards Peterfswald; and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprize of every one, retreated out of Prussia with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen thousand, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which bent its course towards Memel, whilst the other took the nearest way

way through the bailiwick of Abfternen. Both columns burnt every village they passed through without distinction, and strewed the roads with the mangled bodies of the wretched inhabitants. M. Lehwald detached prince George of Holstein with ten thousand horse in pursuit of these barbarians; but he was stopped in his course, by the bridges thrown over the river Memel having been broke down by the violence of the stream.

It does not at this time appear what could be the real cause of this sudden retreat of the Russians; but as the czarina was about this time seized with an apoplectic fit, it was given out that the army was ordered home, to support the regulations she had made about a successor, in case of a vacancy in the throne. It is most probable they wanted subsistence. However this might be, his Prussian majesty was by this turn delivered from the powerful diversion made to his arms by the Russians in favour of Austria: but his affairs were still in a very deplorable condition. He had no troops to spare for the defence of his territories invaded by the French, nor to give them battle; wherefore the French marshal revelled with impunity in the open country, collecting the public revenues, and fattening on the contributions which he drew from thence and the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests which defrayed the expences of the war. Gueldres was reduced, after a long blockade, on the twenty-fourth of August; so that the whole country was exposed to the enemy as far as Magdebourg.

Just before the retreat of the Russians, the Swedes, who had now resolved upon an open rupture with his Prussian majesty, invaded Prussian Pomerania with an army of twenty-two thousand men, seized upon Anclam and Demmin, and prepared to do the same by Sterin, the capital of the duchy of that name. While every one was greatly at a loss to account for the reason of this invasion, the Swedish commander, count Hamilton, published the following declaration in vindication of his master's conduct: "That the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the king of Prussia; and that therefore all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country, must pay what money they had in their hands to general Hamilton, who was commissioned to receive the same for his Swedish majesty: that, moreover, an exact account was required within eight days of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should be made to observe the strictest discipline."

To this declaration his Prussian majesty replied, by his general Manteuffel (who had a command of twelve thousand men in Pomerania, to cover Stetin from any surprize) "That the crown of Sweden could not, upon any legal foundation, lay any thing to his charge, to make it appear that he really disturbed the peace of Westphalia; and enjoined his vassals, magistrates, and subjects, in the Anterior Pomerania, not to pay any regard to the Swedish declarations, but to preserve their fidelity and allegiance to him their lawful sovereign, upon pain of incurring his most rigorous indignation."

While both sides were thus employed in defending their respective measures, M. Lehwald finding himself at liberty by the drawing off of the Russians, detached prince George of Holstein Gottorp to the relief of Pomerania with sixteen thousand men, and soon after followed with the rest of his army. The Swedes were in expectation of being joined by fifteen thousand French and six thousand Mecklenburgers; but M. Lehwald coming upon them so opportunely prevented this junction; and the Swedish general was reduced to such straits that he retired with the utmost precipitation. In a word, the Prussian general not only recovered all the country the enemy had seized upon, and drove them entirely away, but, by the end of the year, added to his master's dominions all Swedish Pomerania, except the fortified town of Stralsund. Thus ended the Swedish campaign, after their army, without fighting a single battle, had been reduced by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, to one half the number it consisted of when they first took the field.

It may not be improper to take notice here of some events, which could not easily be introduced before without breaking the thread of my narration.

Towards the beginning of July the empress-queen recalled her ministers, count Colorado and monsieur Zohern, from London; in consequence of which, Mr. Keith, our minister at the imperial court, set out from Vienna; as did also Mr. Dayrolles, our resident at Brussels, about the latter end of the same month.

Much about the same time an order was issued by the imperial court for all communication with England to be broke off; and our vice-consul at Ostend was desired to order the packet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empress-queen till farther measures should be concerted; which order was immediately obeyed. In this ordonnance the following reasons were assigned by the court of Vienna, for thus excluding the English from ports that had been procured for that house by English arms and treasures, viz. "That her Imperial majesty, the empress-queen, could not with indifference behold England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most Christian king, her ally, had sent to her aid; and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the king of Great Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing by a message to his parliament, that she had formed, with the most Christian king, dangerous designs against that electorate: therefore her majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the fore-mentioned orders; and at the same time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great Britain had, without scruple, openly violated."

But notwithstanding these orders, they suffered our packet-boats with letters to pass as usual to and from Ostend, as the postage of our letters brought in a good revenue to the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands. Ostend and Nieuport, however, by order of her Imperial majesty, admitted each of them a French garrison, though the empress still reserved to herself in both of them the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty, an oath being administered to the French commandant for this purpose. The magistracy of *Hamburgh* had likewise notice given them, in the names of their Imperial and French majesties, not to admit any English men of war or transports into their harbour, on pain of having a French garrison sent to take possession of their city. Lastly, before the end of the year, the Aulic council issued a decree against the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, on account of his conduct in the present conjuncture of affairs.

I will now resume the history of military transactions, beginning with those conducted by his Prussian majesty.

Upon that monarch's quitting *Bohemia*, after the unfortunate battle of *Kolin*, he retired, as we have already observed, towards *Saxony*, when he pitched his camp at *Leitmeritz*, on the river *Elbe*. Various skirmishes, and some disadvantageous actions, followed the loss at *Kolin*. *Gabel*, an important pass, and well garrisoned with four battalions, under the command of major-general *Puttkammer*, situate between *Boemish-Leypa* and *Zittau*, was surprised and taken by a strong detachment of Austrians, under the command of the duke of *Aremberg* and *M. Macguire*, on the eighteenth of June. Prince *Henry* of Prussia, the king's brother, who had been sent with a detachment to watch their motions, was soon after in danger of being surrounded by the enemy, who followed him, laid *Zittau*, a strong trading town in Upper *Saxony*, in ashes, by a dreadful bombardment, and obliged the garrison to surrender. This called for immediate relief. His Prussian majesty did not hesitate a moment to quit his camp, with part of his army; and leaving the remainder under *M. Keith*, to guard the passes of the mountains of *Bohemia*, he by forced marches came suddenly upon the Austrians near *Bautzen*, obliged them to retire, and delivered his brother's army. The king was soon after joined, between *Bautzen* and *Gorlitz*, by *M. Keith*, whom he had ordered to quit the mountains of *Bohemia*, when the united force of these two armies amounted to sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which were stationed at *Pirna*, under the prince of *Anhalt Dessau*, to prevent any surprize from *Dresden*.

By this time his Prussian majesty had received undoubted intelligence that the army of the empire, commanded by the prince of *Saxe Hildburghausen*, and that of the French under the prince de *Soubise*, making together about sixty thousand men, were advancing towards *Saxony*, in order to recover that electorate from him. He determined, if possible, to force the Austrians to a battle, before the imperial army should have time to effect its designs. With this view, he transferred his head quarters to *Bernstedel*, and on the fifteenth day of August came in sight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon-shot of it. In this position the king continued five days, trying every expedient

to bring the Austrians to a battle, who as constantly declined it, notwithstanding their prodigious superiority, being at least one hundred and thirty thousand strong, which was more than double the forces of the king of Prussia. The king, finding all his art and stratagem could not bring his design to bear; and hearing that the army of execution were now advanced as far as *Erfurth* in *Saxony*, he set out from *Lusatia*, accompanied by *M. Keith* and thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of his army in a strong camp near *Gorlitz*, under the prince of *Bevern*, to observe the enemy's motions. He now made a quick march by the way of *Leipfic* towards *Erfurth*, to give battle to the combined army of the French and the empire; but by the time he arrived at *Erfurth*, which was on the fourteenth of September, the combined army had retreated to *Gotha*; and it was generally supposed they would retreat farther back, until they could be joined by a large detachment which they expected from *Richelieu's* army, who, after the signing of the convention of *Closter Seven*, had entered the country of *Halberstadt*. Against him the king of Prussia detached prince *Ferdinand* of *Brunswick*, who scoured the country, beat up the quarters of the French at *Egelin*, and made twenty officers and four hundred soldiers prisoners; but when the grand army advanced against him, he retired to *Wansleben*, where he so posted himself as to cut off all supplies of provision from the enemy.

After the king of Prussia had left *Lusatia*, the Austrians came out of their camp; and after a bloody skirmish, in which they had considerably the advantage, obliged the prince of *Bevern* to retreat with the Prussian army from *Gorlitz* to *Rothenberg*; from whence he proceeded to *Buntzlau* in *Silesia*, and by a forced march reached *Breslau* on the first of October, without suffering any farther loss, though the numerous Austrian army was for some days always in his rear. The prince chose a very strong camp on the river *Oder*, where he intrenched himself, and in that position remained to cover the last-mentioned city. In the meantime, the Austrians made themselves masters of *Lignitz*, and a considerable part of *Silesia*.

From *Gotha* the combined army, on the approach of his Prussian majesty, retreated towards *Eysenach*, where they intrenched themselves in a very strong camp. By the nineteenth of September the Prussian army was advanced to the neighbourhood of *Gotha*; on which day a skirmish happened between the advanced parties of the two armies, in which general *Seydelitz* defeated a large corps of the enemy, consisting of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, besides a numerous body of Croats and Pandours; obliged them to abandon the town and castle of *Gotha*, of which they had possessed themselves, and to retire with great precipitation to their main army. In this action the Prussian general took several officers prisoners, and killed about three hundred men. Soon after this skirmish the king of Prussia advanced to *Eysenach*, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly intrenched that it was impracticable; and as he found he could not provoke or draw them out of their camp, he was obliged, by scarcity of provisions, to return back to *Erfurth*, and soon after towards

towards Naumburg: whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weimar.

The king of Prussia, finding that all his attempts to draw the enemy from their intrenchments to engage him in the open field were fruitless, had recourse to one of those masterly strokes by which a general is better seen than even by the gaining a victory. He made a feint about the beginning of October, as if he intended to march to Berlin with the greatest part of his army, leaving general Keith with only seven or eight thousand men to defend Leipzig. Upon this the French and German generals, believing their passage was now open; and knowing how much the Prussian forces were divided, and at great distances from each other, they resolved to seize the opportunity of making themselves masters of the course of the river Sala, of Leipzig, and of the Prussian magazines at Torgau. Accordingly, having advanced to the Sala, they crossed that river, presented themselves before Leipzig, and summoned M. Keith to surrender. To which that gallant general answered, That the king his master had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his command. The enemy then thought of laying siege to the town; but before they could make any one preparation for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the king of Prussia, who, wisely foreseeing the effect of his feint, had by previous and private orders collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder. The Prussian army arrived near Leipzig on the twenty-seventh day of October, and remained the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected that a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen: but the enemy, who still continued bashful, had, on advice of the king's approach, repassed the Sala, and burnt down the bridges over that river; but they were soon repaired, and the whole Prussian army crossed over, and on November 3, in the evening, drew up over-against the enemy. This brought on the ever-memorable battle of Rosbach, fought on the fifth of November, 1757. The king was going to make the attack on the fourth, but deferred it on perceiving that the enemy had changed the position of their camp. That whole day, therefore, was spent in a cannonade, which did no great execution on either side. The king of Prussia, in the mean time, made the necessary dispositions, agreeable to what he had reconnoitred of the enemy.

This delay of the Prussian army seems to have misled the enemy into a notion, that they had no disposition to risque an action with the combined army, who were very advantageously posted; and to determine them not only to wait for the Prussians, but to attack them in their camp at Rosbach: for on the fifth of November, about nine o'clock in the morning, the infantry of the combined army, which had drawn nearer upon the rising grounds towards the Prussian camp, filed off to the right, and the whole army was put in motion. It was two o'clock at noon, however, before the king of Prussia could form any certain judgment of the intention of the enemy's movements, which were various and complicated. At length, however, it was manifest that they intended to attack him, and that their dispositions were made with a

view to surround the Prussian army, and to open the action by an attack on its rear. His Prussian majesty, however, with that presence of mind and military skill peculiar to himself, caught them in their own snare. He drew up his army in order of battle, and by a half turn to the right marched parallel with the enemy.

In this position, and just before the battle began, the king made the following speech to his army: "My dear friends! the hour is come, in which all that is, or ought to be dear to us, depends upon the swords which are now drawn for the battle. Time permits me to say but little; nor is there occasion to say much. You know, that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, no watching, no danger, that I have not shared with you hitherto; and you now see me ready to lay down my life with you, and for you. All I ask is the same pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. And let me add, not as an incitement to your courage, but as a testimony of my own gratitude, that, from this hour, until you go into quarters, your pay shall be doubled. Acquit yourselves like men, and put your confidence in God." The effect of this speech may be more readily conceived than described. An universal shout proclaimed the general emotion. An heroic phrenzy seemed to take possession of every individual; and to this disposition the victory that ensued may perhaps be in a great measure ascribed, since we want not many instances in history, where prodigious superiority of numbers have been forced to give way before the martial enthusiasm of a handful of men.

The following is the account of this famous battle, as published by authority, from the best relations transmitted from the scene of action:

"The king of Prussia having taken the resolution to march up to the enemy and attack them, had determined to begin the charge with one wing only; and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be with the left wing: but the very instant the battle was going to begin, his majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline it, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and above all, to prevent being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left, which was done at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over-against that of the enemy. The cavalry moved on immediately; the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with the greatest spirit; but having afterwards reached an eminence which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so thorough a defeat, that they betook themselves to flight in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon.

"Whilst the cavalry charged, the infantry opened themselves. The enemy cannonaded them very briskly during this interval, and did some execution; but the Prussian artillery was not behind hand with them. This cannonade having continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry

fantry began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valour of the foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. These batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing advanced, the right changed its position; and having soon met with a small rising ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting sixteen heavy pieces of artillery on it. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby.

"At five the victory was decided, the cannon ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them; and it may be said that the night alone was the preservation of this army, which was so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to hurry on to Freyburg, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march.

"The king set out early in the morning with all his cavalry to pursue them, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the whole infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Freyburg, when the Prussians arrived on its banks; and as they had burned the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which however was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckertberg. It was too late to force them there; and the king therefore thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success the hussars had, in taking near three hundred baggage waggons, and every thing in them."

This glorious victory, glorious both in the action and in its consequences, was more agreeable to his Prussian majesty than any one he had ever gained, as it was obtained with so very inconsiderable loss to his troops, of whom not above five hundred were killed and wounded. Amongst the latter was prince Henry of Prussia and general Seydelitz, but their wounds were of no consequence. As for the loss sustained by the enemy, it appears, from the accounts of their own officers, to have amounted to upwards of three thousand killed upon the field of battle, and above six thousand made prisoners; amongst whom were eight French generals, besides several German generals, and two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks; sixty-four pieces of cannon, with kettle drums, standards, and colours, in great number, fell also into the hands of the Prussians. General Revel, brother to the duke de Broglie, died of his wounds the day after the battle of Merleburg. This heavy misfortune which befel the combined army was generally attributed to the injudicious dispositions of the two commanders, and in part to the discontent of the men, who were not only unpaid, but had actually been without a morsel of bread for two days preceding the engagement. What renders this victory more remarkable on the side of the Prussians is, that the king having been obliged to leave some detachments to secure certain posts, and to cover the baggage during the

battle, the whole force he brought into the field scarcely amounted to eighteen thousand effective men; whereas the enemy boasted that they were seventy thousand strong; but admit that they were no more than fifty thousand, it was a vast superiority to be thus shamefully beat.

The French under the duke de Richelieu were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but hearing of the defeat of the combined army, they again put themselves in motion, and a large body of them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the prince of Soubise, who with great precipitation made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the imperial army, which was almost entirely dispersed, whole battalions deserted, and went over to the victor of Rosbach.

While things went on thus successfully for his Prussian majesty in Germany, his troops were closely pressed by the Austrians in Silesia. Schweidnitz, the only town of strength in that duchy, was closely besieged by a superior force under general Nadaſti, and the little army of the prince of Bevern cut off from its relief by the main army of the enemy, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and count Daun, who, while Nadaſti was employed in the above siege, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder, while the prince covered it on the right. Schweidnitz surrendered after a siege of near three weeks; during which time it sustained a furious bombardment. Nadaſti having supplied it with a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops and joined the Austrian main army.

In the mean time, his Prussian majesty, while he was improving the victory he had gained over the French and Imperial armies, received advice of the siege of Schweidnitz, and the situation of the prince of Bevern. Sensible of the danger, and firmly persuaded of the fidelity of his generals and the bravery of his troops, and that they would defend themselves to the last extremity, he formed the resolution of marching to their assistance with a considerable part of the victorious army; though, what is almost incredible to relate, part of them had been assembled but a few days before from places more than an hundred miles distance. The king set out from Leipzig on the twelfth of November for Silesia, and in a few days attacked Naumburg, on the Queiss, having in his route detached M. Keith with a considerable part of the army to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia; which he did so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Sartz and Leitmeritz, and even to strike terror into Prague itself. His majesty continued his march with the rest of the army with unparalleled rapidity, and by the twenty-eighth of November got to Barchwitz, near the Oder, where his vanguard surprised a detachment of one thousand one hundred Austrians, fifty of whom were slain, and one hundred and fifty made prisoners. After detaching M. Keith, as before observed, the king had left himself only 15,000 men, but on his march was reinforced by the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which by a surprising effort of courage had made their escape from the Austrians.

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This garrison, which consisted of about four thousand men, had seen with the utmost indignation the capitulation which the general who commanded at Schweidnitz had made, not only against their consent, but even in spite of their repeated offers to force their way through the besiegers, or perish every man. Being at last, however, obliged to submit, as the Austrians were conducting them into Bohemia, where they were to be confined, they learnt by chance the great victory their monarch had obtained near Rosbach; which news animated them so far, that they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which was not very strong, and put them entirely to flight. Thus freed, they marched on without very well knowing their way; but fortune still continuing to favour them, they came directly upon the army commanded by their king, to whom their junction added a considerable strength.

The whole army of the Austrians being now united; and advice having been received not only of the king of Prussia's late victory over the combined army, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, the Austrian generals took a resolution to attack this last in his intrenchments, and if possible to dislodge him. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine o'clock in the morning, they put their resolves in execution, with a force three times superior to that of the prince of Bevern. The Prussians, however, with surprising intrepidity, stood two of the most violent attacks that could be made; but at the third, overpowered with numbers, and assailed on all sides, and night coming on, the prince of Bevern, to prevent a total defeat, withdrew the greatest part of his army to a rising ground on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which in all probability they might have defended till the king had come up to its relief; but on the twenty-fourth, the prince of Bevern going to take a view of the position of the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in with a party of Croats, who took him prisoner. In consequence of this misfortune, his army decamped that same night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, under the command of lieutenant-general Leswitz, who, unable to maintain himself in a place so extensive and so ill fortified, capitulated the next day, on condition that the garrison should march out with all military honours, but that they should not act against the empress-queen during the course of the war.

When an account of the battle before Breslau was brought to Vienna, the news at first occasioned great joy at court; but it was much abated by the particulars of the action, one of the most bloody that history can furnish an instance. The Austrians owned that such another victory would annihilate their army, for it cost them the lives of twenty thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the prince of Bevern's army before the battle. This will not appear exaggerated, when it is considered that the heat of the action lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning till five in the evening; and that four almost impregnable intrenchments were to be forced, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot for seven hours successively. The Prussians were never put

into confusion, and retreated in good order. Their loss was not above four thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

The prince of Bevern's army having passed the Oder at Glogau, joined the king of Prussia at Barchwitz on the second of December. He had also been reinforced on his march by a body of troops which he had ordered from Saxony, and the garrison of Schweidnitz, as before related. Hearing that prince Charles of Lorraine had left Breslau with his army, and that he had taken post at Lissa, a village about sixteen miles distance from that city, the king, who, with Cæsar, thought "*Nihil actum dum aliquid agendum*," determined, notwithstanding the inferiority of his forces, to attack the Austrians in their intrenchments, whose right wing was covered by the village of Neerpen, and their left by that of Golau, with the rivulet of Schweidnitz in their rear.

On the fourth of December the Prussian army marched to Neumarck, where they seized upon the enemy's ovens, and upon a considerable magazine, and made prisoners six thousand Pandours and hussars that guarded them. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the provisions he had taken, his Prussian majesty resumed his march towards Lissa.

General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horse, about seven in the morning of the fifth fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which had been detached by the Austrian generals, in order to retard the king's march, and conceal their own motions; for they held the small number of Prussians in such contempt, that their intention was to have met the king, and to have saved him two German miles to come at them. The Prussians, however, drove this advanced party back to their camp, took six officers and about five hundred men prisoners. As soon as the Prussian army had got to the high grounds about Lissa, general Zithen perceived that the enemy's whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered, who, after having himself surveyed their disposition, made his own with that quickness and true judgment that has always rendered him so justly celebrated.

He gave orders for his troops to extend themselves to the right as far as the rivulet of Schweidnitz, and to charge the left wing of the enemy. The action began in a wood, where the enemy had posted some regiments of infantry, with forty pieces of cannon. The Prussians carried this battery, tho' with a considerable loss; drove the Austrians out of the wood, and turning the enemy's cannon upon themselves, plied them with a most furious fire. The Austrians hereupon were obliged to change their position; they had lost the post that covered their right wing, which put them under the necessity of taking precipitately to the first post that came in their way, in order to prevent the Prussians raking their whole army from wing to wing. They posted some brigades of foot on an eminence that lay behind the wood, which was soon attacked by the right of the Prussians, and carried, after an obstinate resistance. The enemy then formed a new line near the village of Lenten, where they defended themselves for some time with great bravery, but were at length obliged to give way, the

the Prussians continuing to advance with that slow and regular pace for which they were remarkable, without once stopping or giving ground a single instant. During all these different attacks, the right of the Austrian cavalry and infantry came up, when the left of the Prussian cavalry charged theirs, and broke them; after which the regiment of Bareut took the Austrian infantry, which was posted on an eminence, in the rear, at the same time that the left of our infantry attacked them in front.

At length the enemy gave way on all sides; and after having by a quick retreat got at some distance, recovered themselves three times, animated by their officers and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with fresh vigour, and every time with success. Towards night the Austrians fell into disorder: their two wings fled in confusion: one of them, closely pressed by the king, ran towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city: the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, fled towards Canth and Schweidnitz. The action began at one o'clock in the afternoon, and ended at four. If day-light had lasted another hour, the defeat of the enemy would have been still greater: as it was, six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement; and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed and two thousand wounded, made twenty-one thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety officers; took one hundred and sixty-eight cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage. In short, so great was the consternation of the fugitives, that a cornet of Zieten's regiment, with a party of ten men only, took, disarmed, and brought one hundred of them prisoners to the king of Prussia's head-quarters; for which gallant action his majesty advanced him to the rank of a captain, and honoured him with the Order of Merit. Never was a more complete, a more decisive victory; and future times cannot but read with astonishment, that the same man who, on the fifth of November, triumphed over France and the empire at Rossbach, was on the fifth of December at Lissa, where he defeated likewise the whole force of Austria.

The consequences that followed this victory sufficiently declared the greatness of it. The siege of Breslau was immediately undertaken, and with such success, that it surrendered on the twentieth of the same month. The garrison, consisting of thirteen thousand men, were made prisoners of war. Among these were fourteen officers of distinction. The military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. The season being now far advanced, and the weather too severe to undertake any enterprise of consequence, his Prussian majesty contented himself with retaking some few towns of which the Austrians had possessed themselves in Silesia; and having fixed his head-quarters at Breslau, put the rest of his army which was not out upon excursions into winter-quarters, where we shall leave them till the next campaign brings them into the field again.

As to the remains of the Austrian army under prince Charles of Lorraine and count Daun, soon

after their defeat at Lissa they returned into Bohemia, where they entered into quarters of cantonments, the head-quarters being fixed at Konigsgratz; and as soon as every possible measure was taken for their security, prince Charles repaired to Vienna.

The reader will easily recollect, that upon the signing of the convention of Closter Seven with the French, and the negotiating a neutrality for the electorate of Hanover, the king of Prussia wrote a letter to his Britannic majesty, complaining of such a step as abandoning him to the mercy of his enemies, &c. &c. and that the king of Great Britain, in answer to this remonstrance, published a declaration, disavowing the said convention, and all thoughts of a neutrality, and promising vigorously to support the king of Prussia. This inclination to afford assistance to an ally in such distress he was soon enabled effectually to gratify, by the shameful conduct of the French in Hanover, who, if not by the express order, at least by the apparent countenance, of the duke de Richelieu, their commander, exercised every imaginable act of pillage, rapacity, and insolence; and perceiving that the Hanoverians, though subjected to the yoke of the capitulation, were still formidable, in order to prevent any resistance on their part to the oppressions laid upon them, the French general resolved to add one violation more to the many they had already committed of the late treaty, and actually attempted to deprive the Hanoverians and Hessians of their arms. In this distressed situation, into which they had undoubtedly been brought solely by their connections with England, the regency of Hanover demanded immediate succours from the British nation.

The court of London did not pretend to contravert the justice of the Hanoverian plea, but were willing to try, before they had recourse to extremities, what might be effected by pacific measures, and proposed an extension of the convention of Closter Seven to a general armistice, and to found thereon a negotiation for a general peace: but this could not be brought about, the French being resolved to keep territories so dear to his Britannic majesty in their possession, to turn to their advantage, according as the occurrences of the war should direct. These tentatives towards a compromise failing, it was resolved that the Hanoverian army should immediately assemble, resume their arms, and stand in the defence of their country against all invaders: and it was farther resolved, to put in motion, maintain, and keep together, an army of observation, and to recommend a vigorous execution of this measure to the ensuing parliament.

By this time his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, disgusted with the treatment he had received from Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in the ministry, who had absolutely refused, to his most earnest solicitations, the transporting six thousand troops to Hanover to strengthen the army of observation, had quitted the command of that army and returned to England, and, determined never more to engage in public affairs, resigned into the hands of his royal father all his military employments. Hereupon his Britannic majesty immediately, at the instance of his Prussian majesty, nominated and appointed prince Ferdinand of Brunswick (brother to the duke of Brunswick) already distinguished for his military abilities, commander in chief

chief of the army of observation. This promotion was followed with a declaration of his majesty's motives for breaking the convention of Closter Seven on his part, as elector of Hanover; which, as it contains a candid and impartial relation of the facts on which this resolution of the king of Great Britain was founded, I shall here insert in the words and order as it stood.

"It is notorious, that in September of this present year, 1757, a convention was respectively agreed upon at Bromervorde and Closter Seven, between his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and the marshal duke de Richelieu; but the court of France was no sooner informed of this, than she plainly signified that she neither could nor would acknowledge the validity of the said convention, but on this condition only, namely, that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage not to serve again, during the present war, against France or her allies. And not content even with this claim, she positively insisted, that the auxiliary troops should, upon returning into their own country, be disarmed.

"His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, who had on his part honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention, and caused part of the troops destined for the county of Lawenbourg to begin their march, could not consider this new demand otherwise than as a manifest contravention; the marshal duke de Richelieu having not only engaged to let the auxiliary troops depart freely, but the convention also setting forth in express terms, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone the condition of laying down their arms could take place. Upon this his royal highness sent orders to the said troops to halt.

"Every method was tried to reconcile the difference. Expedients were proposed, which left no shadow of pretext to the opposite party; but all in vain: the French would never be brought to give up their mortifying demand: it is but lately they begun to soften their language a little. In the mean time the troops, pent up in the narrow district which was assigned them, were exposed to the rigour of the season, and deprived of necessities and conveniences of any kind.

"The French, at present, pretend to treat the convention as a military regulation only. And indeed it was at first, and originally, nothing more. But on account of the above declaration of the court of France, which expressly suspended its validity, and in consequence of the negotiation for disarming the auxiliaries, in which the French general would never answer categorically, but waited always for an answer from the court of Versailles; the nature of that act is totally changed, and what was at first a matter between general and general, is now become an affair of state between the two courts.

"However hard the conditions of the convention might be for the troops of his Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover, the king would have acquiesced in them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army and his dominions. It is they themselves who, by the most evident contraventions, and most outrageous conduct, have set the king free from every obligation under which he was laid by the convention.

"The great end of the conventional act (an end in itself of the very nature and essence of every provisional armistice) was to pave the way for entering immediately on a negotiation of peace, in order to prevent the total ruin of the countries which composed the electorate of Brunswick-Lunebourg, and procure an accommodation for his majesty's allies. The court of France yielding a deaf ear to the propositions offered for that end, not only declared, time after time, that she would not lend a hand towards a definitive pacification with his majesty, in quality of elector, but has shewed too plainly, by her continual violences, excesses, and insupportable exactions since the signing of the convention, that her resolution is to complete the ruin of the king's electoral estates, as well as those of his allies.

"In the midst of a truce, the most open hostilities have been committed. The castle of Scharzfels has been forcibly seized and pillaged, and the garrison made prisoners of war. The prisoners made by the French before the convention, have not been restored, though this was a point expressly stipulated between the generals who settled the detail, and was exactly fulfilled on our part, by the immediate release of the French prisoners. The bailies of those districts, into which the French troops were on no pretence to enter, have been summoned, under pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, in order to compel them to deliver up the public revenue in their hands. The French have appropriated to themselves part of these magazines, which by express agreement were to be left to the electoral troops; and they still go on with seizing the houses, revenues, and corn belonging to his majesty, in the city of Bremen, in spite of the reciprocal engagement entered into, to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. And, lastly, they have proceeded to menaces, unheard of among a civilized people, of burning, sacking, and destroying all before them, if at present, when they find their account in executing the convention, the least hesitation be made about observing it.

"All these violent and unjust proceedings, (which are so many incontestable proofs, that the French will not admit the convention as obligatory, any farther than as it may prove ruinous to his Britannic majesty; whilst they pretend to be tied to nothing, and claim a power of acting at will) have been carried to an insupportable height, and exhausted the king's patience, who holds himself, before God and the whole impartial world, not only entitled, but obliged, without further regard to the convention, so often and so openly violated by the French, to have recourse to arms, as the means which the Almighty has put into his hands for delivering his faithful subjects and allies from the oppressions and vexations which they now groan under.

"As his majesty (conformable to his solemn declaration made and repeated to all nations, and to the Germanic body in particular, from the very beginning of the present unhappy war) has never thought of arming offensively against any power whatever, but solely with a view of defending himself and his allies, he reposes his confidence in God, and hopes for his benediction on the justness of his enterprizes."

The duke de Richelieu no sooner was apprised of the king of Great Britain's resolutions, and that

the Hanoverians were in motion, and repairing to the command of prince Ferdinand, than he sent a letter to that general, intimating his surprize at the late movements of the Hanoverians, which, he said, seemed to indicate a design to break the articles of the convention of Closter Seven, which, for his own part, he was resolved to fulfil exactly in all points; but at the same time declared, that if the Hanoverians should proceed to take any step contrary thereto, or commit any act of hostility, he should instantly retaliate, by destroying every dwelling in the electorate by fire, from the royal palace to the smallest cabin, and make this country feel all the most dreadful horrors of war.

To this letter, which was enforced by the count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador, who had mediated the convention, prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic answer, importing, that he would give the duke de Richelieu an answer in person at the head of his army.

Every thing now bespoke a renewal of the war between the two parties. The Hanoverians, spirited up with resentment for the oppressive treatment they had experienced, were eager to come to blows with the French, and deliver their country from these merciless invaders. About the latter end of November they were wholly assembled at Stade, under the gallant leader prince Ferdinand, who immediately took the field, and marched with all expedition against the enemy, to drive them out of the electorate. Indeed no conjuncture could have been more favourable than the present to the Hanoverians, for taking revenge on these open violators of the most solemn treaties, and recovering their own liberty: for Richelieu, intent only on increasing his own fortune by the indiscriminate plunder of friends and foes, had extended his oppression to the very army which he commanded, whose pay, subsistence, and cloathing, he is said to have converted into money for his own use; so that those troops which were in so fine and respectable a condition, when M. d'Etrées resigned the command, were now diminished in their numbers, decayed in their health and spirits, destitute of necessaries, without arms, and without order. Add to this, that Richelieu had been guilty of a capital error in dividing his forces into such distant quarters of cantonment, that they might easily be attacked separately, and reduced by a much inferior army, before they could give each other any assistance.

Hostilities were now commenced, by the Hanoverians seizing upon some waggons of wood designed for the French garrison of Harbourg: soon after which there were several skirmishes between them and the enemy; the most considerable of which was that on the fourth of December, when a division of prince Ferdinand's army, under count Schuylemberg, came up with two thousand of the French, who were marching back to Zell, whom he attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and entirely defeated, twelve of their officers and one hundred and eighty soldiers being made prisoners, and about one hundred and thirty killed and wounded. There was another on the fourteenth of the same month upon the Aller, between a body of seven or eight thousand Hanoverians, and one of about ten thousand French; wherein the former, under general Zastrow, remained masters of the field of battle.

These skirmishes and advantages animated the Hanoverian army, and struck such a panic into the enemy, that they offered little or no resistance; so that the former recovered possession of Lunenburg, Zell, and all that part of the Brunswic dominions next to Prussia; but their operations were considerably retarded by the resolute defence of the French governor of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he continued to defend against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested, till at length, the fortifications being entirely destroyed, he submitted by capitulation. This delayed the march of the Hanoverians, and gave the French time to recall their distant parties. The severity of the season, however, now forced both parties to put their forces into winter-quarters, prince Ferdinand occupying Ultzen and Lunenburgh, and the duke de Richelieu retreating into Hanover, in whose capital he fixed his head-quarters; though there continued to be frequent skirmishes, with various success, between the out parties.

Richelieu, who by no means expected so vigorous an exertion on the part of the oppressed Hanoverians, gave a cloose to the most inhuman and unmanly sentiments of revenge: he not only delivered up the city of Zell to be plundered by his troops, against all the rules of war, but also reduced the suburbs to ashes, and even gave orders to set fire to the orphan house of helpless children, who miserably perished amongst the flames. These were, however, but a small part of the calamities that the poor inhabitants suffered in the countries in subjection to the conquerors in the late war: wherever the French, the Austrians, or Russians had gained the ascendancy, the most horrible barbarities were committed by them: the French troops in particular have, on divers occasions, acted in a manner which is not easily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility.

The empress-queen was no sooner informed of these transactions, which she considered as infractions of the treaty of neutrality, than she sent a messenger to the baron de Steinberg, minister to the king of Great-Britain as elector of Hanover, acquainting him, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with her ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in consequence of which intimation he retired, after having procured the necessary passports for his departure.

The conduct of the Dutch, during the whole course of the war that now raged in Europe, was pusillanimous to the last degree. They had, with surprizing facility, granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht, for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this very campaign; and they had beheld the towns of Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the same nation, with the most perfect indifference. The former step had already exposed them to a sharp remonstrance from the court of London; and the latter now drew upon them another representation no less spirited from the same quarter, delivered by colonel Yorke, his Britannic majesty's minister at the Hague. It was conceived in the following terms.

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"Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the king of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself, that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your High Mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands.

"It was with the utmost surprize the king heard, that, without any previous consent of yours, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both.

"The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty, is indeed so unmerited, and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your High Mightinesses.

"The king never doubted, that your High Mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts, newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it.

"Your High Mightinesses will have perceived, that your silence on the first step, encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the empress-queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England.

"But, high and mighty lords, it is but too evident, that the two powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states.

"The late demand made to your High Mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements thro' some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention. The sincere friendship, and parity of interests, of Great Britain and Holland, require that they should no longer keep silence, lest in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights.

"The king commands me, therefore, to recall to your High Mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your High Mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest.

"In the treaty between your High Mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht on the eleventh of April, 1713, in the fifteenth article,

are these words: "It is also agreed that no province, fort, town, or city of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his Catholic majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the most Christian king, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France."

"In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: "His Imperial and Catholic majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolved to the crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, or marriage contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the successor of the states of the house of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said lords the States-general."

"A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your High Mightinesses: and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may allege, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident, while these two courts are unable to prove, that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or agreeable to those treaties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your High Mightinesses easy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands.

"The king hath so much confidence in the good sense, prudence, and friendship of your High Mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance; and of your being pleased, in concert with his majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce."

However strong these arguments, so powerful was the French faction in Holland, that no regard was paid to them by the States-general. It should seem indeed, that they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France. but unwilling to forego the commercial advantages they continued to derive from observing a neutrality.

The intrigues of the French ministry seem to have been no less successful at the court of Spain, which at this time discovered such evident marks of partiality for that nation, as convinced the more discerning part of the English, that the Spaniards would seize the first favourable opportunity of joining with their enemies. In the course of this year the Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of gentlemen who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthièvre Indiaman off the port

of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds; and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain, for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his Catholic majesty, with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the *Penthièvre* was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer.

I shall now proceed to lay before the reader the other transactions of this year, in which the nation was more immediately interested.

The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year having made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprize, Mr. Pitt and his friends, willing to approve themselves worthy of the honours the people had conferred on them, determined to make a vigorous descent on the coast of France. They imagined, that should such a measure prove successful, it would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom; and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favour of the Prussian monarch and our other allies in Germany, by converting the attention of the French to the defence and protection of their own coasts. The English ministry likewise foresaw, that by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of admiralty, and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony.

Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound security: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the

enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the superstitious drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation.

At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France near Rochfort, or Rochelle.

On the evening of the fifteenth orders were issued that confirmed their suspicions, and spread the utmost joy and alacrity among the men. Regulations were made with respect to the manner of landing; and the corps directed to attack, had injunctions to march up vigorously to the enemy, reserving their fire till they came very near, and then running in upon them with their bayonets: orders which had all the air of a resolution to do business.

The seventeenth farther orders, respecting the debarkation, were issued; but on the nineteenth the whole fleet was surprized with a signal to lay-to, though the wind was fair, the night clear, and the headland distance about twenty leagues; in which situation eight hours, a space of time invaluable in such a conjuncture, were lost, before the signal was made to proceed on their course.

On the twentieth the fleet made the Isle of Oleron, and then sir Edward Hawke sent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque road, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French man of war's standing in to the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the *Magnanime*, captain Howe, and *Torbay*, captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately sent.

While the above ships, with the addition of the *Royal William*, were attending the French man of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to the windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander in chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful had there ever been occasion to put them in execution.

On the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochfort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of six hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the *Magnanime* approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but

captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course, till having gained the length of the fort, he dropt his anchors close to the walls, and poured out so incessant a fire as soon silenced them. It was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was entrusted to vice-admiral Knowles.

Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the king's express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed laying a sixty gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprise on Rochfort. This, a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after the ship had been lightened for that purpose, vice-admiral Knowles reported that a bomb ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled for reasons which we need not mention. It was at length determined in a council of war, held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to go from the transports to the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. A number of men of war's boats, under the command of a lieutenant, were appointed to attend each regiment, and to receive the grenadiers picquet companies, and in a number proportioned to their bulk; but with great caution not to overcrowd the boats. The colonel of each regiment was directed to land with the first detachment, if it amounted to three companies. The troops were ordered to proceed silently and quietly to the place of rendezvous appointed for the division, and then to receive their commands from a captain of a ship of war, which they were enjoined scrupulously to obey. It was strongly recommended to the soldiers to imitate the example so lately before them, the cool and determined valour that appeared in the attack of the Isle of Aix. They were required to form and attack whatever appeared before them on their first landing; and colonel, now general Kingsley, was directed to march with the grenadiers on their landing; with lieutenant-colonel sir William Boothby, and major Farquhar.

However judicious and agreeable to military rules these orders might appear, they did not fail to raise astonishment in the troops. The transports were at that time above four miles from shore, the enemy alarmed for eight days, and putting themselves in a posture of defence; several battalions had been seen marching along the coast from Rochelle; the shore, it was probable, was now lined with batteries; the sea was rough and the weather boisterous; the first body of men landed, which

could not amount to eighteen hundred, must defend themselves for the space of six hours before a second disembarkation could be effected, and that without the hopes of a retreat, as the boats were ordered immediately to row back to the transports to take in more forces. All these, with a variety of other difficulties, were too obvious to escape the most unobserving soldier on board. Notwithstanding the dangers, but too apparent, there was the utmost alacrity among the troops; and every thing was pursued with so much spirit and expedition, that all the boats were filled an hour sooner than the time appointed. Here they remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land: when at length an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, wholly abandoned.

The succeeding days were employed, in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, in consequence of a letter from sir Edward Hawke, the land officers took the final resolution of returning to England without any farther attempts, fully satisfied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry, and chusing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry sovereign, the murmurings of an incensed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money!

The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament. The ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprise, who had put the nation to great expences before they obtained the necessary information. Certain it was, the blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves, and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appease the public clamours, and afford general satisfaction.

The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriage of the expedition to his prejudice; but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament; or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked, whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip's, invested by a powerful army,

army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publicly mentioned that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the isle of Oleron, as occasioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth; and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found there?" Such rumours as these, every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the minister who had projected it.

Accordingly a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, were appointed by his majesty, pursuant to the following warrant, to inquire into the reasons why the fleet should have returned without having executed his majesty's orders. "Whereas we were pleased, in August last, to send a number of troops on an expedition against France, with orders and instructions to attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the French coast, at or near Rochefort; in order to attack, if practicable, and by a vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of their power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, that should be found there; and to exert such other efforts as should be judged most proper for annoying the enemy, as by our several instructions to the commander of the said forces does more fully appear: and whereas the troops sent for these purposes are returned to Great Britain, no attempt having been made to land on the coast of France; concerning the causes of which inaction, we think it necessary that enquiry should be made by the general officers herein after named, in order that they may report those causes to us, for our better information: our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby nominate and appoint our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor Charles duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general; our trusty and well-beloved George Sackville, commonly called lord George Sackville, and John Waldegrave, major-generals of our forces, to examine and inquire touching the matters aforesaid. And you are to give notice to the said general-officers when and where they are to meet for the said examination: and the said general-officers are hereby directed to cause you to summon such persons (whether the generals or other officers employed in the expeditions or others) as are necessary to give information touching the said matters, or shall be desired

by those who were employed in the expedition. And the said general-officers are hereby farther directed to hear such persons as shall offer to give them information touching the same: and they are authorized, impowered, and required, strictly to examine into the matters before mentioned, and to report a state thereof as it shall appear to them, together with their opinion thereon. All which you are to transmit to our secretary at war, to be by him laid before us for our consideration."

This warrant, dated on the first day of November, was directed to Thomas Morgan, esq. his majesty's judge-advocate; and in consequence of it, the three general-officers met on the twenty-first of the same month. To judge of the practicability of executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to inquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first and most important was a letter sent to sir John, now earl Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clarke. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy council, and contained in substance, That colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar in the year 1754, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable, in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetment flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covert way, and in many places no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side, appeared; and on the land side he observed some high ground, within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition, the colonel was told by the engineer, the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had got a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart; but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochfort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand.

This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe, that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It was true, that colonel Clarke made his observations in time of peace; but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made, on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with

with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coast would be insulted.

The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy council. This person declared, that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded a good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathom water, as far as Bayonne; the channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhe was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the *Magnanime* alone could destroy: that the largest ships might come up to the vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, upon a meadow, where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no where intercepted by ditches and morasses. Great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was inclosed only with pallisades, without a fosse.

To the intelligence of colonel Clark and Thierry, the ministry added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces; whence it appeared highly probable, that not more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux.

In consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions given to sir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his majesty's arms.

The board of enquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister, previous to his sailing. Then they examined the report made to sir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; sir Edward Hawke's letter to sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the general's

answer on the twenty-ninth: after which sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a coup-de-main, or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute, if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made; nay, that his majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops, was discovered; particularly where the ships could protect them, and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, was found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a coup de main. Judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which from its construction appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts from Brest and St. Malo's to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise: the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy, and executing his majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather: and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land-officers, to return to England.

Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of enquiry gave in the following report to his majesty; a report, at that time, deemed equivocal, artful, and unsatisfactory.

"It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed, is the not attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeable to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by admiral Hawke (Thierry the pilot having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose)

pose) but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the *Barfleur*, the ship designed for that service, was on ground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon.

"We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from rear-admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been sent out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned and held on the twenty-fifth; in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither adviseable nor practicable: but it does not appear to us, that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty: neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed, in respect of its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's command.

"And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible dispatch.

"We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council: but, as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition; since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside, in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

However vague, and even inconsistent, this report, signed by the general officers Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, might appear to many persons, it probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which sat soon after, upon the conduct of the commander in chief of the expedition. The enemies of the minister made a handle of it, to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon farther examination. But the people were still his advocates: they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful,

though prudence perhaps might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity: the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation, than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his majesty. It is even thought that sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinized, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established. His majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the third day of December. The court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued by several adjournments to the twentieth.

Lieutenant-general sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him; namely, "That he being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his majesty, under his royal sign manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, hath disobeyed his majesty's said orders and instructions." The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of enquiry. The same evidences were examined, with the addition of sir Edward Hawke's deposition; and a defence, differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner; but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered; and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial, as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accused of tergiversation, and of shewing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character: his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service by his sovereign.

The operations at sea during the course of this year were neither numerous nor important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been fitted out in the islands of Martinique and Guadalupe. The *Greenwich* ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels.

These losses, however, were more than compensated by the advantages obtained by the English commanders. The *Duc d'Aquitaine*, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after an obstinate engagement; and about the same time the *Aquilon*, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest by the *Antelope*, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns,

guns, called the *Emeraude*, was taken in the Channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchrist, a brave and active officer, who distinguished himself in the sequel by very extraordinary feats of valour. All the sea officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to outvie each other in the service of their country; and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and converting their whole attention to advantageous prizes, now attacked the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

History perhaps cannot furnish a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exhibited in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the *Terrible*, under the command of captain William Death, armed with twenty-six carriage guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and took a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his fourth lieutenant and three seamen: then he secured with sixteen men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course towards England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the *Vengeance*, a privateer of St. Malo, carrying thirty-four large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and fifty men.

Their first step was to retake the prize, which was easily effected; then the two ships bore down upon the *Terrible*, whose main-mast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, she maintained such a furious and desperate engagement against both as can hardly be equalled in the annals of Britain. The first and third captains of the Frenchman were killed, with two thirds of their company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered that it could scarce be kept from sinking, and the whole displayed a most dreadful scene of blood, carnage, and desolation. Even the victor lay a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the *Terrible* into St. Malo, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement.

In the month of November captain Lockhart, a young gentleman who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy, as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by taking the *Melampe*, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his ship in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was followed by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the *Countess of Gramont*; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, com-

mander of the *Antelope*. In a word, the Narrow Seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst stir out of their harbours, while the British traders carried on their traffic without molestation.

Let us now turn our eyes to the continent of America, where we shall see as disagreeable and disgraceful scenes as those exhibited, during the course of this year, by the British arms in Europe.

Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the earl of Loudon to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumstances required, that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general.

The enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes, in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed that had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort indeed was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudon, after the commander in chief, and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: but this by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood Creek, and filled it with logs. Every person the least acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time, lord Loudon was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral

Holbourn

Holbourn arrived at Halifax with the squadron and transports under his command on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of men of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax. Some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigour, in spite of all dangers and difficulties. Their disputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet, bound from Louisbourg for France, was taken by one of his majesty's ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Halifax were fully apprized of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt: it was therefore almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprize abortive.

This resolution seems indeed to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief. Lord Loudon's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all which he was repulsed by the vigour and resolution of the garrison. But his disappointment here was bal-

lanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay-boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy way-laid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three battoes to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Halifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William-Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George. It was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of general Webb, posted at no great distance. When the marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and with a good train of artillery began playing on the garrison.

On the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to colonel Monro, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. "A detachment of your garrison has lately, says he, experienced their cruelty: I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed; which will not be in my power in other circumstances. Your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the sieur Funtbrune, one of my aid-de-camps. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm."

General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's designs and motions; yet, either despising his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or at least have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy, meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with

with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit, till they had burst almost all their cannon, and spent their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promises or threats could prevail upon them to surrender, while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from general Webb: they even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender. Colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries into the garrison. At length necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties; whereby the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessaries of war; escorted by a detachment of French troops, or interpreters attached to the savages. It was agreed, that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of the soldiers, and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified: that the garrison of the fort, the troops in the retrenchment, and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most Christian majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleryists, commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North America, be delivered in the space of three months at Carrilon; in return for which an equal number of the garrison of Fort William should be capacitated to serve, agreeable to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: that in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six pounder.

Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, that they were perfidiously broke, in almost every

instance. The savages, in the French interest, either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of the few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, scalping, tomohawking, and again acting the tragedy at Oswego, with a thousand additional outrages and barbarities. The throats of many women, we are told, were cut, their bodies ript open, bowels torn out, and insultingly thrown in their faces, with such savage marks of rage and horrible cruelty, as, for the sake of humanity, ought to be discredited. Can posterity be brought to believe, that two thousand Britons, with arms in their hands, could be tame spectators of these, and more shocking barbarities? That they would permit a rabble of brutish savages to seize infants and children by the heels, and wantonly beat out their brains against trees and stones! Yet were these and other enormities, equally disgraceful to humanity, committed in sight of the French and British forces, if we may credit the testimony of credible evidences. However, the greatest part of the British garrison got safe, though in a miserable condition, to Fort Edward, after being pursued for seven miles by the Indians; and the rest, flying for protection to the marquis de Montcalm, were by him sent home. A little time after the enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt.

Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with a vast increase of forces, a clear superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred, in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

We could not, without interrupting the principal operations, take notice of two occurrences which ought to have been mentioned.

In the month of July a stratagem, contrived by the enemy, had very nearly occasioned the loss of Fort Johnson. They proposed rushing into the fort in the evening, when the gate was open to admit the Negroe women, sent out every day to milk the cattle. Happening to be a few minutes too late, the gates were fortunately shut before their arrival: upon which they knocked for admission, were challenged, and fired upon by the sentinel. Immediately the cannon were fired to alarm the country, and the enemy, perceiving their scheme baffled, retired with precipitation.

The other occurrence we mention is of a civil nature. The governor and council of Nova Scotia, taking into consideration the most expedient methods for carrying into execution those parts of his majesty's commission and instructions, relative to the manner of holding the general assembly of that province, came to a resolution, that a house of representatives of the province should constitute the legislature of Nova Scotia, in conjunction with his

his majesty's governor and commander in chief for the time being, and his majesty's council of the said province. It was further resolved, that the general assembly be elected and convened in the manner following, viz. Twelve members to be elected for the province at large, till such time as it is divided into counties. Halifax was appointed to send four members, and other towns and corporations in proportion to their bulk and value to the province, making in all twenty-two; the number of representatives to sit in the house.

As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately on lord Loudon's departure from Halifax, admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire ship. What the object of this cruize might have been, can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength; while others persuaded themselves, that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August; and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength; and it is obvious, that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken in a terrible storm from the southward. When the hurricane began, the fleet was about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks, and breakers on that coast. Here the wind providentially shifting saved the whole squadron, except the *Tilbury*, shipwrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were dismasted; others threw over their guns; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year.

In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuit. Faction in the mother country, produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained

for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprize, that firmness and resolution, which constitutes the commander, and without which the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

In the East Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great Britain. Here the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the interest of their country. We left admiral Watson and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the thirty-first of January the admiral with two ships appeared before the town, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned so warmly that the enemy's guns were soon silenced; and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, invested the town, and made the attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provisions, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A few days after, Hughly, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here his store-houses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughly, the viceroy of Bengal assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement; and six hundred men under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and begun the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great numbers of draught bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet did it sufficiently intimidate the Nabob into concessions much to the honour and advantage of the company. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the *phirmand* granted by the Mogul: and that all merchandize belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, would be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining; that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired.

paired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta, in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption: that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the Nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company by the spirited and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements: but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. The chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandernagore, a French settlement, higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where on his first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the admiral. On the eighteenth of March the admirals Watson and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war; and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tiger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive with the king's troops took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors.

By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church-ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit which have deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation, before they alarmed the French; and now, when the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the Nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, second in council at Calcutta, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to insure success.

When the plan was fully concerted between the disaffected Indians and the council, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen, to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island Calsimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river on the twenty-second, and the same day attacked the viceroy at the head of twenty thousand men with his own forces only, Ali Khan declining as yet to declare himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavat, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents.

It was before concerted, that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of Nabob: accordingly, the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose the Sulajud Dowla, and, with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as suba, or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Soon after the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies such liberal rewards, and granted the company so extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandanagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond the most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; above two millions sterling paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify their losses; the soldiers and seamen gratified with the sum of six hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. But the public joy at these signal successes was, however, considerably diminished by the death of admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob.

Having now particularized all the foreign transactions of this year, I shall, previous to my entering upon the history of the next session of parliament, as well as to prevent the narrative of parliamentary affairs being interrupted, mention a few domestic occurrences which happened during the year 1757, and which deserve to be recorded, however desultory, unconnected, and incapable of historical embellishment they may appear. Among the most interesting we may reckon those tumults and riots of the populace in Kent, Hertfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, York city and county, to oppose the execution of the militia bill. Many disorders were committed on these occasions; and the people, incensed at the irregularity of the proceedings of those gentlemen appointed to carry the act into execution, and with certain defects in the act, seemed wholly to neglect the real advantages which in time must necessarily flow from a measure the most constitutional and salutary that can be imagined, for the defence and protection of public liberty.

His majesty having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive and pro-

tect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected. How far his majesty's directions have been complied with, the number of merchantmen taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coast, sufficiently indicates. His majesty likewise, reflecting on the late hardships sustained by the innholders in the county of Kent, by the constant quartering of soldiers in their houses, was pleased to direct the sum of three thousand pounds to be transmitted to them, and distributed by Mr. Austen, clerk of the peace for that county: a well-timed act of liberality, that fully evinced his majesty's extreme affection and tender regard for the interest and happiness of his people.

On the first day of December his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which he declared, that it would have given him a most sensible pleasure to acquaint them, at the beginning of the session, that his success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose: that, for his own part, he had the firmest confidence that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, and which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments which, he trusted, might be retrieved, by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his parliament for his majesty's honour and the advantage of their country: that it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown in America, and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force as by all other methods: that another great object which he had at heart was, the preservation of the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe; and, with that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies: that, for this cause, he would decline no inconveniences; and, in this cause, he confidently expected their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance: that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them: that he hoped they would be of opinion, that his good brother and ally the king of Prussia ought to be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause deserved: that it gave him, indeed, the most sensible concern, that the large supplies they had already granted had not produced all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance: that he desired only such supplies as should be necessary for the public service; and they might rest assured that the best and most faithful oeconomy should be used: that, notwithstanding his firm conviction of the loyalty and good affections of his faithful subjects, he could not help taking notice of that spirit of disorder which had lately shewn itself among the common people in some parts of the kingdom; he hoped they would use their utmost endeavours for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority:

authority: and, finally, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves."

Addressees of thanks having been presented by both houses, the commons proceeded to settle the supply. They granted for the sea service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines; and the standing army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the address from the commons, they now allotted four millions twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seven pounds seven shillings and three-pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand four hundred twenty-one pounds five shillings and eight-pence: towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds seventeen shillings and eleven pence: towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds: for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff-officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to the treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty pounds nineteen shillings and ten pence three farthings.

To the Foundling-hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governor and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy; and two hundred eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds four shillings and nine pence one farthing for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy.

They granted six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe Gotha, and the count of Buckbourg, together with that of general and staff-officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the last, to the twenty-fourth day of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of four hundred and sixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds six shillings and ten pence: and furthermore, they granted three hundred and eighty-six thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds thirteen shillings and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and losses whatsoever incurred, or to be incurred on account of his majesty's army, consisting of 38,000 men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive.

For the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other services, incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds fifteen shillings and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-six thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above twenty thousand for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia: for reimbursing to the province of Massachusetts Bay and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for his majesty's service in the campaign of the year 1756, the sum of forty-one thousand one hundred seventeen pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence halfpenny; to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the parish-church of St. Margaret in Westminster, they allotted twenty-nine thousand pounds.

The East India company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of ten thousand pounds was given, as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa: and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty pounds were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and cloathing to the militia; and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred for the service of the

the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the sum of ten millions four hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fifty-seven pounds and one penny.

The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to make good these liberal grants, consisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the Exchequer produced from the sinking fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum: these several annuities to be transferable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security; one million six hundred and six thousand seventy-six pounds five shillings and one penny farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund; a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds; an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April; an additional tax of six-pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain, which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great Britain, the exportation of British gunpowder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations, to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expence; an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of six-pence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, assayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined; a cessation of all drawbacks payable on the exportation of silver plate; a law prohibiting all persons from selling by retail any sweets or made wines, without first having procured a licence for that purpose; and a loan, by Exchequer bills, for eight hundred thousand pounds,

to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament. These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds six shillings and ten-pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred and ninety-three thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds six shillings and nine-pence; the surplus being intended to supply the deficiencies that might happen in collecting the several duties.

The supply granted by the commons for maintaining the Hanoverian army was, in consequence of a message, communicated by Mr. secretary Pitt, intimating, that the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again into motion, that it might act with vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia; and that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate, having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian majesty, could be laid before the house, the king relying on the constant zeal of his faithful commons, for the support of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the house the speedy consideration of such a present supply as might enable his majesty in this critical conjuncture to subsist and keep together the said army. This message was no sooner read by the speaker than it was referred to the committee of supply, who immediately granted the sum above-mentioned.

At the same time, in order the more effectually to provide for the security of Hanover, and the support of the protestant cause in Germany, the ministry concluded a new treaty or convention with his Prussian majesty; which, that it might have the firmer consistence and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy-counsellors who had any share in the administration*. This treaty, which was signed at Westminster on the eleventh day of April, imported, That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their mutual defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and efficacious method; and their majesties having judged it proper, that thereupon a convention should be made for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorized their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations: that the king of Great Britain should

* These were, sir Robert Henley, lord-keeper of the privy-seal; John earl Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles, duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the Treasury; Robert earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, esq. an-

other of the principal secretaries of state. In the name and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the sieurs Dado Henry, baron of Knyphausen, his privy-counsellor of embassy, and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of London; and Lewis Michel, his resident and chargé d'affaires.

pay in the city of London, to such person as should be authorized to receive it by his Prussian majesty, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be payed at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian majesty: that this prince, on his part, should apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security proposed by their said majesties: that the high contracting parties should conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended: and, finally, that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, within the terms of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible.

All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal assent. The militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention; but the scheme was not yet prosecuted with any kind of spirit, because seemingly discouraged by the remnant of the old ministry, which still enjoyed a considerable share in the government, and indeed almost wholly ingrossed the distribution of pensions and places.

The commons having presented an address to his majesty, with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the house, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They gave it as their opinion, that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified so as to afford safe riding and anchorage to the trade and navy of Great Britain: that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to form a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design: that if proper use were made of this valuable, though long-neglected, harbour, the distressful delays, so often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and advantage of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated, by the want of an harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature for such a convenience. This report appeared to be so well founded, in fact, that a bill was prepared and passed into a law, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke.

Other laws of national importance were enacted in the course of this session, with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the

commons received a petition from the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty free, should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the house a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain, while the high price should continue; and praying they would take the premises into consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn, as to them should seem necessary and expedient.

This being a public grievance that equally affected the nation in general, and the manufacturers in particular, it was canvassed and discussed with remarkable dispatch. In a few days a bill was passed through both houses, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the present year, the three acts of last session; prohibiting the exportation of corn, restraining the distillation of spirits, and permitting the importation of corn duty free.

A second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting those to severe penalties who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole house, a bill was prepared for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary: but this bill, after having been twice read and committed, was first postponed and finally let fall.

In pursuance of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was framed and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill being passed by the commons, was sent up to the lords, who examined the matter with great attention, and, by divers messages to the lower house, desired the attendance of several of its members. These messages were no sooner communicated than several precedents were produced; and a debate arose about the propriety of complying with their contents.

The house therefore unanimously resolved, that a message should be sent to the lords, acquainting them, that the house of commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their lordships desired the house would give leave to such of their members as were named in the said messages to attend the house of lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill; the commons hoped their lordships would make them acquainted with their intention.

The lords, in answer to this request, gave the commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages,

sages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the house of lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea affairs, touching the inconveniencies which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed; and the bill having passed through their house, though not without warm opposition, was finally confirmed by the royal sanction.

The militia act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law, which still continues in force.

The great number of houses upon London-bridge, and the narrowness of the passage as well over as under it, had frequently been the cause of many accidents, and had always been considered as a public nuisance. Some steps had already been taken, and certain sums of money allotted for removing this inconvenience; but these being deemed by no means sufficient, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, presented a petition to the house of commons, alleging, that the toll upon loaded vessels, and other craft passing through the arches of London-bridge, granted by a former act passed in the year 1750, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious and insufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared for explaining and rendering that act effectual.

A committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. These were heard by their counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes.

Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, delivered another petition, representing, that, in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-bridge, and directed the rest that were standing to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preserve a public passage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finished; which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a farther considerable expence: that the sum necessary for carrying on and completing this great and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at four-score thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-bridge, was calculated for the general good of the public, for the

advancement of trade and commerce, for making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they therefore prayed the house to take the premises into consideration.

This petition being recommended by his majesty to the consideration of the house, was referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of, An act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burthensome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his majesty's subjects: they said, they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards, hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labour under.

They alleged, that the surveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built: that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built: that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion that the foundation was of wood: that there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which they apprehended would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle-horses. This remonstrance made such an impression on the house, that several amendments were made to the bill, and an express clause added, that none of the tolls imposed by the act of the twenty-ninth year of his present majesty should be exacted after next Midsummer. Thus altered and amended, it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent.

The interest of the manufactures was promoted by an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant essentially necessary in dying and printing calicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was found upon enquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to ascertain the tythe of it; and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tythe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the session of parliament next ensuing after the expiration of that term.

The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present

present reign, intituled, An act for the better adjusting and more easy recovery of the wages of certain servants and of certain apprentices.

No country in the world can boast such a number of laws made in behalf of the poor, as those that are daily enacted in England: in no other country is there so much money raised for their support, by private charity as well as by public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of the insufficiency of the laws, or the most shameful neglect in the execution of them.

Such scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance, had lately been acted at all the elections for members of parliament, that it was found absolutely necessary to provide some remedy for this growing evil. Accordingly, sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself by his free and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of such elections. He was permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, the lords North and Carysfort: and in the usual course the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law under the title of "An act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for that part of Great Britain called England."

The preamble declared, That though, by an act passed in the eighteenth year of the present reign, it was provided, that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire, within England and Wales, without having a freehold estate in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless, certain persons who hold their estates by copy or court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have at certain times presumed to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature. For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in such action might only set forth in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alledging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof; and upon trial of any issue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgment given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with salutary consequences; but, in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered, inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of licence, drunkennels, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and throws the whole nation, at the commencement of a parliament, into a state of the most brutal intoxication.

The proprietors of the privateer called the *Antigallican*, which had taken a rich French ship homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and restored her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice; representing the great expence at which the privateer had been fitted out, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which they the petitioners had suffered, and imploring such relief as to the house seem reasonable.

Though these allegations were supported by a number of concurrent evidences, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign power, the house, upon this occasion, paid little or no regard to the petition, either disbelieving the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spaniards alleged, as an excuse for their own conduct, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, inasmuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses; but this circumstance was never sufficiently proved, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

The African trade being justly considered as a matter of great importance to the nation, an annual sum had for some years been granted for the support of the settlements in that part of the world, and for the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sum granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the African company, recommended in a message from his majesty, was presented to the house, soliciting farther assistance for the ensuing year.

In opposition to this petition, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants interested in and trading to the British sugar colonies in America, alleging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast; a circumstance that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was of great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be the putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the com-

commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave-trade to Africa; and that, by an act passed in the year 1750, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandize in the forts and settlements on the coast.

They therefore prayed that this part of the act might be repealed: that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other of his majesty's subjects who were settled, or might at any time thereafter settle in Africa, should have free liberty, from sun-rise to sun-set, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandize in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves or other purchases, without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charges of their respective owners. The house having taken this petition into consideration, enquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolved, That the committee of the African company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them; and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world.

Some attempts were made in the course of this session to revive the act for triennial parliaments; but as this measure had been found, by former experience, to be attended with more bad than good consequences, it was rejected, on a division, by a considerable majority.

Several committees were likewise appointed to enquire into the expence incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England, consider the laws relating to them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards, to be used for the future. The commons were perfectly satisfied with the new works which had been raised at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions; but no further progress was made in this enquiry except an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix: however, as the boxes containing the standards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the house, it seemed as if they had some intention to resume the subject in the ensuing session.

On the ninth day of June several bills received the royal assent by commission, his majesty being indisposed; and on the twentieth day of the same month the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both houses, expressing his majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection demonstrated in their late proceedings; in their zeal for his honour and real interest in all parts; in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty; and their ardour to maintain the war with the utmost vigour: circumstances which must convince mankind, that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force. They were given to understand, that the king had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their public-spirited views and

wishes: that, with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majesty had been enabled not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine: that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the king of Prussia, by new engagements: that the British fleets and armies were now actually employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel in those parts the real strength and importance of Great Britain. The commons were thanked for the ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously given; and assured on the part of his majesty, that they should be managed with the most frugal œconomy. They were desired, in consequence of the king's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures; and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

The king, it must be owned, had great reason to be satisfied with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unlimited confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed bent upon prosecuting the war with such vigour and activity as might soon bring the enemy to reasonable terms. New levies were made, new ships equipped, fresh expeditions planned, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government loans with surprising alacrity. An uncommon spirit of courage and intrepidity seemed to animate all the individuals that composed the army and navy; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very lowest of the populace. Such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to undaunted resolution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the losses and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had on a very solemn occasion lately declared his belief, that there was a fixed resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of their country.

He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of danger, could with confidence be trusted. He mentioned in particular, the inactivity of one general in North America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived the greatest expectations. He complained, that this commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting

neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper. He observed, that, with a force by land and sea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained; with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest; a shameful dislike to service every where prevailed; and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries.

The censure pointed at the commander in America seems, in a great measure, to have been founded on mistake: the inactivity of that able general was principally, if not entirely, owing to the spirit of discord and dissension that prevailed among the English provinces in America; and which, while it continued to subsist in its full force, effectually prevented the accomplishment of any enterprise of importance.

Having thus brought the history of this session of parliament to a conclusion, I shall now, agreeable to the method I have hitherto pursued, open the military transactions of this year with recording the progress of the war in Germany; observing, first, however, that the beginning of the year was a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his majesty's third daughter, the princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable endowments, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety and unbounded benevolence.

When the Russian general, Apraxin, retreated from Pomerania, marshal Lewald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes; and he accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning of January they were entirely expelled from the Prussian Pomerania, and Lewald, in his turn, invaded their dominions. He in a little time subdued all the Swedish Pomerania, except Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and possessed himself of several magazines which the enemy had established.

The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head quarters being fixed at Koningsgratz. The king of Prussia having recovered all his part of Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he straitened with a blockade, sent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breslau, to invade the Austrian or southern part of that province, where they reduced Troppau and Jaggorsdorf; while he himself remained at Breslau, entertaining his officers with concerts of music: not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from more important objects. He laid Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of five hundred thousand crowns from the electorate of Saxony. Having received information that the duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French

army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only took possession of the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, accompanied by the French minister.

In order to give the reader a more distinct idea of the transactions of this campaign in Germany, it may not be improper to acquaint him, that the forces brought into the field by the empress-queen of Hungary, the states of the empire, the czarina, and the kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; whereas the armies maintained by the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, the only powers that acted on the other side, did not amount to above two hundred and twenty thousand. The consequence of this inequality was, that the confederates of the former party gained many advantages over those of the opposite side, by invading, and even conquering their dominions, particularly Hanover, the government of which was now entirely changed.

In the month of December of the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faigy, to whom the French king had granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of state, empowered to receive the revenues not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his most Christian majesty in the course of the campaign; and to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room.

The French king, by the same decree, ordained, that all persons who had been intrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or estimates, relating to the administration of revenues, should communicate them to John Faigy or his attornies; that the magistrates of the towns, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faigy, or his attornies, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year 1751, together with an authentic account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred.

It appears from the contents of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter Seven and Bremeworden*, the court of Versailles had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the ninth day of August; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in seizing places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by

* Six days after the convention was signed at Closter Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremeworden, between the generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the

release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.

the decree above-mentioned, the administration of John Faigy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, with the infraction of articles? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his most Christian majesty?

The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, being desirous of securing his dominions against the like calamities, not only promised to renounce all connection with the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him into the number of its dependants; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the duc de Deuxponts delivered at Versailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty, to be founded on the following conditions: That the landgrave should enter into no engagement against the French king and his allies, nor give any assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majesty and the other confederates: that he should never give his vote, in the general or particular assemblies of the empire, against his majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his influence, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the empire; and that, for this end, his troops which had served in the Hanoverian army should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his most Christian majesty should restore the dominions of the landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature which might pass through his dominions: that the king of France should guaranty all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse Cassel, particularly the act of assurance, signed by his son the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the emperor and the empress-queen, that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the estates of his serene highness should be attacked, his most Christian majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours.

This treaty, it must be confessed, exhibits but a very indifferent specimen of the fidelity of a German ally. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel had been

retained as a subsidiary of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his enmity prejudice, the interests of Great Britain: but he had been retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future storm or commotion. How little he merited this confidence and favour appeared too plainly by his present conduct, when the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline; and his own dominions having suffered so much by the fate of war, he not only discovered an inclination to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be enlisted into the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

Nor was the landgrave of Hesse Cassel the only prince that acted this ungrateful and disingenuous part towards the king of Great Britain. The duke of Brunswic, still more nearly connected with that monarch, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the sinking fortune of Hanover, that, in ten days after the convention of Closter Seven, he concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that, in all probability, the negotiation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the duke of Brunswic, accepted and signed the conditions which the French king and his Austrian ally thought proper to prescribe.

These imported, That his most Christian majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswic and Wolfenbuttle during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed; and take an oath that they should not, during the present war, serve against the king or his allies: that the duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles; but the regulations made by the mareschal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire: that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanic body had assembled; and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the dyet, approved and confirmed by the emperor.

In return for all these concessions the duke was restored to the favour of the French king, who graciously promised that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded but winter-quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswic.

How faithfully soever the duke might have intended to perform the articles of this treaty, his intentions were defeated by his brother prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops

troops of Brunswic, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his son to retire from the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke either was, or affected to be, so offended at this step in his brother, that he wrote him with his own hand the following letter :

“ S I R,

“ I know you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness: nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed it afflicts me greatly. Mean while, I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you, that this step is contrary to the law of nations and the constitutions of the empire; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your country, which you pretend to serve.

“ The hereditary prince, my son, was at Ham-
burgh by my order, and you have carried him to
Stade. Could he distrust an uncle? an uncle who
hath done so much honour to his family? Could
he believe that this uncle would deprive him of
liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest of-
ficer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland:
could not the lowest officer have done as much?
Let us suppose, for a moment, that my troops,
among whom he served, were to have stayed with
the Hanoverians; would it not still have been in
my power to give an officer leave of absence, or
even leave to resign his commission? and would
you hinder your brother, the head of your family,
and of such a family as ours, to exercise this right
with regard to a son, who is the hereditary
prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you can-
not be ignorant? It is impossible you could have
conceived such designs, without the suggestion of
others. Those who did suggest them have tram-
pled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of
the princes of Germany: they have induced you
to add to all these the most cruel insults on a bro-
ther whom you love, and who always loved you
with the warmest affection.

“ Would you have your brother lay his just
complaints against you before the whole empire,
and all Europe? Are not your proceedings with-
out example? What is Germany become? What
are its princes become, and our house in parti-
cular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the
cause of your country, and my cause, that you
pretend to support? I repeat it, brother, that this
design could never have been framed by you. I
again command my son to pursue his journey; and
I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruc-
tion: if you should (which I pray God avert) I
solemnly declare that I will not be constrained by
such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe
to myself.

“ As to my troops, you may see what I have
written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry.
The duke of Cumberland, by the convention of
Closter Seven, dismissed them, and sent them
home: the said ministry gave me notice of this
convention, as a treaty by which I was bound.

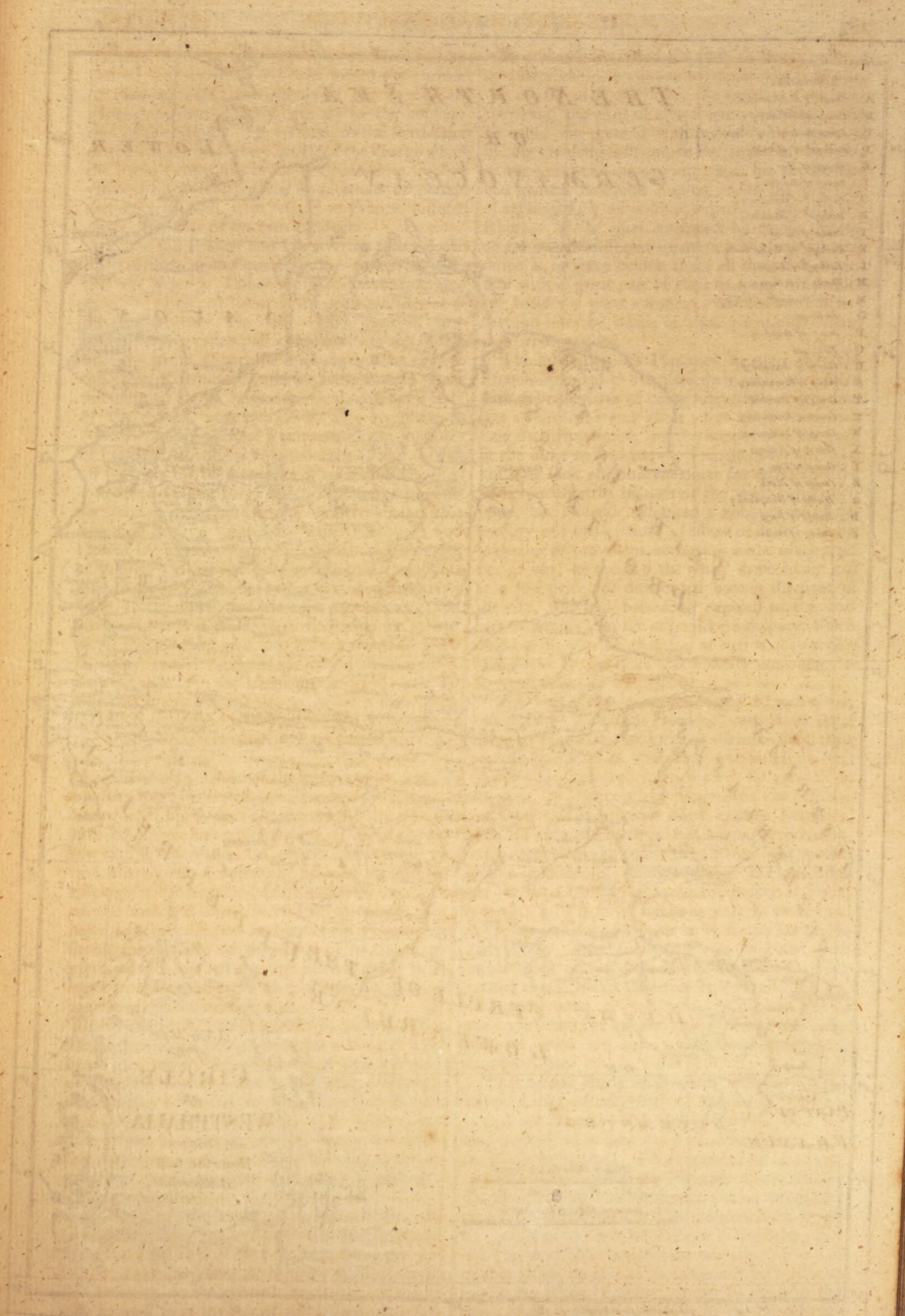
The march of the troops was settled; and an in-
cident happening, they halted: that obstacle being
removed, they were to have continued their march.
The court of Hanover will be no longer bound
by the convention; while I not only accepted their
word, but have also, in conformity with their in-
structions, negociated at Versailles and at Vienna.
After all these steps, they would have me contra-
dict myself, break my word, and entirely ruin my
estate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know
your brother guilty of such things?

“ True it is, I have, as you say, sacrificed my
all; or rather, I have been sacrificed. The only
thing left me is my honour; and, in the unhappy
contrast of our situations, I lament both you and
myself, that it should be from you, my dear bro-
ther, I should receive the cruel advice to give up
my honour. I cannot listen to it: I cannot recede
from my promise. My troops therefore must re-
turn home, agreeably to what the duke of Cumber-
land and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with
regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid
that the true circumstances of things are conceal-
ed from you. Not to detain your express too long,
I shall send you, by the post, copies of all I have
written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve
your honest heart to read it. I am, with an heart
almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you,
your, &c.”

Notwithstanding this warm remonstrance, prince
Ferdinand detained the troops and the hereditary
prince, who being fond of the service, in a little
time distinguished himself by very extraordinary
acts of bravery and conduct; and means were
found to reconcile his father to measures that were
more contrary to his engagements than his incli-
nations.”

The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, and
the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had
entirely altered the face of affairs in Germany. The
French king was soon obliged to abandon his con-
quests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats
founded no longer terrible in the ears of the Ha-
noverian and Prussian allies. As little formidable
were the denunciations of the emperor, who had,
by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated
to the dyet certain mandates, issued in the month
of August in the preceding year, on pain of the
ban of the empire, with avocatory letters annexed,
against the king of Great Britain, elector of Ha-
nover, and the other princes acting in concert with
the king of Prussia.

The French court published likewise a scurrilous
memorial, after the convention of Closter Seven
had been violated and set aside, drawing an in-
vidious comparison between the conduct of the French
king and the proceedings of his Britannic majesty;
in which the latter is charged with breach of faith,
and almost every meanness that could stain the
character of a monarch. In answer to the empe-
ror's decree, and this virulent charge, baron Gim-
mengen, the electoral minister of Brunswic Lunen-
bourg, presented to the dyet, in November, a long
memorial, recapitulating the important services
his sovereign had performed to the house of Au-
stria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in
the queen's refusing to assist him when his domi-
nions were threatened with an invasion. He enu-
merated





merated many instances in which she had countenanced, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in violation of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire. He refuted, to the satisfaction of the whole world, every article of the charge which the French court had brought against him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

While the French and Hanoverian forces continued in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty encounters happened between the detached parties of the two armies. The Hanoverian general, Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlimburg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswic, and kept the French army in continual alarm, he was attacked by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Ackersleben, committed great outrages in the town of Halberstadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions.

General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelsack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the duke of Broglie collected a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Ottersburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country; and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening that, in case of a refusal, he would proceed to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least resistance. When their deputies waited upon him to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered, "Not a moment; the duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay."

He accordingly ordered the cannon to be brought up, the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand. A second deputation was immediately dispatched to the duke of Broglie, signifying their submission; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised, upon his honour, that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, nor any outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, or commerce of the inhabitants.

This conquest, however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of prince George of Holstein Gottorp, the whole army began its march, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were driven from Rottenburg, Ottersburg, and Verden; and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who entered it without opposition.

By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, and bestowed the command of the army upon the count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant acts of cruelty and oppression. The

new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, the relaxation of discipline, the severity of the weather, and the want of almost every necessary. As he could not pretend with such a ruined army to oppose the designs of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even preserve the ground which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their different quarters with such precipitation as to leave behind them all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued.

The inhabitants of Hanover, hearing that the French intended to evacuate their city, were filled with apprehensions of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse: but their fears were happily disappointed, by the honour and integrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity and moderation. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow.

The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they assembled all their forces, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to intercept the progress of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunswic having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya upon the Weser, detached the hereditary prince of Brunswic with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to oblige him to retire from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with equal spirit and success. The hereditary prince crossed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced and thrown into confusion.

The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the count de Chabot threw himself with two battalions into the castle, where he resolved to defend himself in hope of being supported. The regiment of Bretagne and some detachments of dragoons were actually on the march to his assistance. The hereditary prince being informed of this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and apprehending at the same time that he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, thought proper to listen to the terms of capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, stores, and



merated many instances in which she had countenanced, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in violation of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire. He refuted, to the satisfaction of the whole world, every article of the charge which the French court had brought against him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

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new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, the relaxation of discipline, the severity of the weather, and the want of almost every necessary. As he could not pretend with such a ruined army to oppose the designs of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even preserve the ground which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their different quarters with such precipitation as to leave behind them all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued.

The inhabitants of Hanover, hearing that the French intended to evacuate their city, were filled with apprehensions of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse: but their fears were happily disappointed, by the honour and integrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity and moderation. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow.

The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they assembled all their forces, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to intercept the progress of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunswic having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya upon the Weser, detached the hereditary prince of Brunswic with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to oblige him to retire from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with equal spirit and success. The hereditary prince crossed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced and thrown into confusion.

The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the count de Chabot threw himself with two battalions into the castle, where he resolved to defend himself in hope of being supported. The regiment of Bretagne and some detachments of dragoons were actually on the march to his assistance. The hereditary prince being informed of this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and apprehending at the same time that he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, thought proper to listen to the terms of capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, stores, and

and ammunition, were delivered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the hereditary prince, who distinguished himself on many subsequent occasions by the most signal acts of valour and activity. He had no sooner subdued Hoya than he advanced to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

After the reduction of this city, the allied army proceeded towards Hamelen, where the French general had established his head quarters: but these he abandoned at the approach of the allies; and leaving behind him all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retreated without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Cassel, and the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. The French were terribly annoyed in their march by the Prussian hussars and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and some artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage, and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war; and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars.

The count de Clermont having arrived on the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of refreshment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while prince Ferdinand quartered the allied army in the bishopric of Munster. Here however he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he detached colonel Scheither across the Rhine with a small detachment, which attacked and defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine on a bridge built for the purpose, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained several other advantages in their march towards Wesel. Keiserworth was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either taken or killed; and prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp. In the mean time the count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong entrenchments until he should be properly reinforced.

The court of Versailles was equally mortified and confounded at this sudden turn of their affairs in Germany. Their ministers had been long the sport of female caprice: it was their power of pleasing a mistress, who governed their king, that alone enabled them to obtain posts under the government. Some of the most able men were turned out of their employments with disgrace; others retired from the public service with indignation; and a certain low character had, for a long time, appeared in all the proceedings of the French, both in the field and the cabinet.

Even in their domestic disputes, where something of a free and manly spirit appeared, this spirit evaporated, and spent itself upon unworthy and despicable objects. These contests, which involved the church, the law, and the crown, weakened the whole nation; and the state felt all the ill effects of a disunion of its orders, without seeing an

augmentation of power thrown into the scale of any.

But now, taught by their misfortunes and disgraces, they were obliged to adopt an alteration in their conduct: they were forced to call men to the public service upon public principles; at a time, indeed, when in many respects things could only be altered, not mended; and when wise and able ministers could do little more by their penetration and public spirit than to see and lament the ruin caused by the want of those virtues in their predecessors.

The duke de Belleisle, known to all Europe for his great abilities and his great exploits, was at length placed at the head of the military department, as secretary at war. On this occasion he delivered himself in the presence of his sovereign in council, with a spirit of patriotism that does honour to his name.

"I know, said he, the state of our armies. It gives me great grief, and no less indignation: for, besides the real evil of the disorder in itself, the disgrace and infamy which it reflects on our government and on the whole nation is more to be apprehended. The choice of officers ought to be made with mature deliberation. I know but too well to what length the want of discipline, pillaging and robbing have been carried on by the officers and common men, after the example set them by their generals.

"It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman: my principles are known to be very different from those which are now followed. I had the satisfaction to retain the esteem, the friendship, and regard of all the princes, noblemen, and even of all the common people, in all parts of Germany, where I commanded the king's forces. They lived there in the midst of abundance: every one was pleased: it fills my soul with anguish to find, that at present the French are held in execration; that every body is dispirited; and that many officers publicly say things that are criminal and highly punishable.

"The evil is so great that it demands immediate redress. I can easily judge, by what passes in my own breast, of what our generals feel from the speeches they must daily hear in Germany, concerning our conduct: which indeed would lose much to be compared with that of our allies. I must particularly complain of the delays and irregularity of the posts; a service for which there has not yet been made any sufficient provision. I am likewise displeased with the negligence of our generals in returning answers, which is a manifest breach of their duty.

"Had I commanded the army, a thousand things which are done would not have been done; and others which have been neglected would have been executed. I would have multiplied my communications; I would have had strong posts on the right, on the left, and in the center, lined with troops. I would have had magazines in every place. The quiet and satisfaction of the country people should have been equal to their present dissatisfaction at being harassed and plundered; and we should have been as much beloved as we are at present abhorred. The consequences are too apparent to need being mentioned. I must insist on these things, because late redress is better than the continuation of the evil."

This

This spirited harangue was followed by no less spirited resolutions. A large body of troops was assembled at Hanau, under the direction of the prince of Soubise, who, it was said, had orders to penetrate by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arneberg, into Bohemia. The army on the Rhine was likewise augmented; troops were every-where drawn from the interior parts of the kingdom, towards the seat of action; and the fortifications on the frontiers were put into the best posture of defence that the disordered state of the finances could possibly admit.

At the same time the duke de Belleisle wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the king's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions; an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation.

The prince of Clermont having abandoned his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs. After several motions on both sides, prince Ferdinand determined to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose.

He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken; the conduct of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was intrusted to the hereditary prince and major-general Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holstein; while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the prince of Holstein and lieutenant-general Sporcken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttle were left in the town of Hülste, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that encumbered the road, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country.

On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The prince having surveyed the situation of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides; and having obtained all the necessary hints of intelligence, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to distract their attention, and keep them in suspense with regard to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and

St. Anthony; and in particular to ply with vigour their artillery; that being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended.

This disposition being made, prince Ferdinand putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, prosecuted his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was secured by a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon with a severe cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well served, was not able to draw the enemy from their cover: he therefore determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued.

Mean while, the cavalry on the right in vain endeavoured to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were supported by forty squadrons of horse. After a terrible fire had continued on both sides till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. These giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys.

The success of the day was in a good measure owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, under the direction of the generals Sporcken and Oberg, who plied the enemy with great vigour, and effectually employed their attention on that side, while prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in good order to Nuys, though the left was defeated with the loss of several standards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and six thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

This victory, however important, was far from being decisive. True it is, the enemy were obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Cologne, and tamely to behold the reduction of Dusseldorp, which was subdued by prince Ferdinand after a siege of a few days: nevertheless, they were soon joined by such a number of fresh troops as not only enabled them to make head against the allies, but even to send a considerable detachment to the assistance of Soubise.

It was at this period that the command of the French army was taken from the count de Clermont, and bestowed upon M. de Contades, who seemed determined to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and even made some motions for that purpose. This scheme, however, he was prevented from carrying into execution, by the little river Erff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet until he should be joined by the body of British troops

troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the prince of Ysenbourg, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau with a design to penetrate into the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel: his vanguard had been already surprised and defeated by the militia of the country; and the prince of Ysenbourg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his further progress.

Prince Ferdinand therefore hoped that the operations of the French general would be effectually checked, until he himself, being reinforced by the British troops, should be able to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of the war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the prince of Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Contades.

He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and in prosecution of it advanced to Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee. The prince of Ysenbourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangershausen by the duke de Broglie, whom the prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The duke de Broglie, who commanded the vanguard of Soubise's army, having received intelligence that the Hessian troops under the prince of Ysenbourg were retiring towards Munden, he marched on the twenty-third of July with a body of eight thousand men to the village of Sangershausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn.

The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very desperate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground; but the duke de Broglie ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, were forced to recoil; part plunged into the river, where many perished; and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the count de Canitz, who was second in command.

They likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the loss of the enemy was much greater than that of the allies, above two thousand of the former being either killed or wounded in the action. The prince of Ysenbourg having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he soon was reinforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men; but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

The operations of prince Ferdinand upon the Maese had been interrupted by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable; and now the certain information of this unlucky defeat reduced him to the necessity of either retiring across the Rhine, or of coming to a battle; the latter was carefully declined by the enemy: the first resolution therefore he found himself unavoidably obliged to embrace. In his present position he was hemmed in by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortrefs of Gueldre, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army: besides, he had reason to apprehend that the prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden.

Induced by these considerations, he resolved to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult access, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This scheme was executed by the hereditary prince of Brunswic, who perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen.

At this place prince Ferdinand was informed that M. de Chevert, one of the best officers in the French service, had crossed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to reinforce the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon lieutenant-general Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard a bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His serene highness was extremely desirous of giving some assistance to general Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin this march before morning, and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable; so that Mr. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments.

This general having received intelligence, on the fourth day of August, that the enemy designed to pass the Lippe that same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, set out with a view to secure this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of general Zastrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy, not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and determined to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner regained possession than he saw his out-guards engaged with the enemy, who had marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of lieutenant-general de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp.

Imhoff's front was secured by coppices and ditches, there being a rising ground on his right, from

from whence he could plainly perceive the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Observing them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to attack the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, he advanced with the rest of his forces to charge them in front. The bayonet was used on this occasion, and the attack made with such impetuosity and resolution, that after a short resistance the enemy was thrown into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages. Besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; and this advantage was gained with little or no loss on the side of the allies.

Immediately after this action general Wangenheim crossed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions to join general Imhoff, and enable him to improve the victory he had gained, while prince Ferdinand proceeded with the rest of the army to Santen; from whence he continued his march to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed its banks to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuizen. The enemy had constructed four vessels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all happily taken before they could be executed, and the whole army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Soon after his passage he received a letter from the duke of Marlborough, informing him that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their way to Coesfeldt; to which place general Imhoff was sent with a strong detachment to receive them: but notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign.

M. de Contades seeing no prospect of gaining any advantage over prince Ferdinand, detached prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong body of troops to reinforce the prince de Soubise, who had seized Gottingen, and seemed resolved to attack the prince of Ysenbourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be the better able to stand his ground, prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt; from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus united, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom general Oberg now assumed the command; whereas the troops of Soubise amounted to no less than thirty thousand.

The allies had intrenched themselves upon the river Fulde at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation. With this view he made a motion as if he had intended to pass the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent

the execution of this supposed design, general Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhagen, proceeded towards Luttenberg, where, being informed the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith drew up his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five pieces of artillery. The cavalry covered the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village.

The French having likewise passed Landwernhagen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being secured by above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked major-general Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. These were sustained by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, compelled the confederates to give ground; and general Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up and managed under the direction of the duke de Broglie. Having marched through Munden by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other side of the Weser; but at day-break continued their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Gunterstheim, where they encamped.

In this engagement about fifteen hundred of the allies were either killed or wounded, though the loss of the enemy was much more considerable. General Oberg, however, was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. Nevertheless, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

By this time prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head quarters at Munster, while M. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: so that, notwithstanding the great increase of the French army, they were not able to make any farther progress during the remaining part of the season. The British troops had joined the allies so late in the year, that they had no opportunity to distinguish themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they severely felt, proved fatal to their commander the duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally regretted.

Having thus related the operations of the allied army during this campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps of the king of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his forces as soon as the season would permit, he invested the town of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first day of March, and carried on his attacks with such unremitting vigour,

that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place.

While one part of his troops were employed in this service, he himself at the head of another advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and detached a strong body as far as Trawtenaw, garrisoned by a party of Austrians, who, after an obstinate defence, abandoned the place and retreated towards their grand army. By this conquest he opened to himself a passage into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to levy contributions and annoy the out-posts of the enemy. At the same time the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian general Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he compelled to abandon all the places he possessed in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koninggratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of marshal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna.

Over and above these operations, the king ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, an accomplished general, against the army of the empire, which the prince of Deuxponts had with great difficulty made shift to collect once more in the district of Franconia.

The king of Prussia being bent upon prosecuting the campaign with the utmost vigour, resolved to change the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept free from all kinds of hostility. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choice troops near Neiss in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by marshal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by the prince of Anhalt Dessau.

In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and general De la Ville, who commanded a body of Austrians in that country, retired as they approached, after having reinforced the garrison of Olmutz, which the king was determined to besiege. The place accordingly was immediately invested; orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery; and marshal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege.

Mean while, count Daun being informed of his Prussian majesty's motions and intentions, decamped with his army from Leutomysfel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to oppose the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risque of being attacked. Here he continued for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he received supplies of provision, and was daily joined by fresh reinforcements.

His design was to relieve the besieged occasionally, to annoy the besiegers, and to cut off their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so advantageously situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besiegers, by extend-

ing them to a prodigious circuit; so that in some parts they were easily forced by detachments in the night, who fell upon them suddenly; and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provision, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a distance for this necessary article; by which means they were exposed to fatigue, and liable to surprize.

Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances, without trying the chance of a battle, to which the king provoked him in vain. While the garrison by repeated sallies interrupted the operations of the besieged, the Austrian general annoyed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless the king completed his first parallel; and proceeded with such vigour as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was entirely defeated by one untoward incident.

Marshal Daun having received intelligence that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, determined to lay hold of this opportunity to compel the king to relinquish his enterprize. For this purpose he sent general Jahnus with a strong body of troops towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with instructions to attack the convoy on different sides, while he himself marched up to the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The king of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, could easily, from the motion of the Austrian general, discover his design, and immediately dispatched general Ziethen with a strong reinforcement to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men who had been sick and were just recovered. Before this officer had joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth day of June; but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss.

Marshal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and the next day the attack was renewed with redoubled vigour. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously on every side: the communication between the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off; and general Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with general Putkammer; and the king of Prussia was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

This was a mortifying necessity to a prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the point of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by the garrison under general Marshal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage: a task which, however difficult and dangerous, he executed with a wonderful dexterity. Instead of withdrawing into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions,

nions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left quite open by marshal Daun's last motion, when he advanced with his troops to Pofnitz, in order the more effectually to relieve Olmutz.

After the king had concerted his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, continued the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself with one division took the road of Konitz; and marshal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau.

Although his Prussian majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to harass him in his retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure defeated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, general Laschi, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrians, took possession of the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged; and the Prussians continued their march by Zwitzau to Leutomysfel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, general Retzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz occupied by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he approached; but marshal Keith advancing, ordered them to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners.

While the marshal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomysfel to Koningsgratz, where general Buccow, who had got the start of him, was posted with seven thousand Austrians behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had formed all around the city. The Prussian troops immediately crossed the little river Adler; and as the enemy had destroyed the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being firmly resolved to force the Austrian intrenchments: but general Buccow did not wait his approach. He abandoned his intrenchments, and withdrew with his troops to Clumetz; so that the king took possession of the most important post of Koningsgratz without farther opposition.

An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to interrupt the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person; and having dislodged them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men, arrived in safety at Koningsgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to remove the seat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to preserve a more easy communication with his own dominions; but a more powerful motive soon obliged him to alter his resolution.

After the Russian troops, under marshal Apraxin, had retired from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the czarina seemed inclined to adopt new measures, the courts of Vienna and

Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, promises, presents, and intrigues, attached her in all appearance more firmly than ever to the confederacy; and even prevailed with her to increase the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch. She not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the empress-queen and the kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to demonstrate her zeal for the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor count Bestuchef, who was thought to be averse to the war: she divided her troops into separate bodies, under the command of the generals Fermer and Brown, and ordered them to begin their march in the middle of winter.

Fermer accordingly put his army in motion in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-second his light troops took possession of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition; for the king's forces had left that country, in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania. They did not, however, continue long in this part of the country; but after having pillaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzick, where the resident of the czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should admit a Russian garrison: a demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to oppose force by force.

At length, after some negociation with general Fermer, the affair was compromised; he desisted from the demand, and part of his troops crossed the Vistula, seemingly with a view to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which count Dohna had collected a strong body of Prussians to put a stop to their progress. But after they had plundered the open country, they rejoined their main body; and general Fermer returning to the left, proceeded towards Silesia, in order to act in concert with the other Russian army commanded by Brown, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna. By the first of July both armies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of the Cossacks penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and filled the inhabitants with terror and consternation.

Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had carefully observed their motions, and even crossed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he intended to attack them: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his sovereign's own personal attention.

With this view the king made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp of Koningsgratz. He was harassed in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops detached by count Daun, who had followed him into Bohemia: but notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landshut.

From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Franckfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by lieutenant-general Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army crossed the Oder by a bridge laid over it at Gatavise; and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, where they encamped.

encamped. The Russians under general Fermer were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right reaching to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchem.

The king being determined immediately to attack them, crossed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and passing the left flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorn-dorf. The Russians, who were superior to him in number, did not decline the engagement; but as the ground would not allow them to extend themselves in length, they were ranged in four lines, forming a front on every side, defended by cannon and chevaux de frise, their right flank being secured by the village of Zwicker. After a severe cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered.

Before the enemy could profit by this disorder, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of general Seydelitz; and the king with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance: at length, general Seydelitz having routed the Russian cavalry, attacked the flank of the infantry with such impetuosity, that being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground; and dreadful havock was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which was loaded with grape-shot, and being excellently served, did great execution.

Towards evening they were thrown into such terrible confusion, that in all probability they would have been intirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation which was performed with equal spirit and success. One of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post in the night, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled.

In this battle they are said to have lost above twenty thousand men, thirty-seven colours, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, there were several general officers, and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle. The loss of the king did not amount to above two thousand men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aids-du-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple in the hottest parts of the battle. The carnage in

all probability would not have been so great, had not the Prussians been in a peculiar manner exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many other horrid acts of barbarity which the practice of war could not authorize.

The Prussian army remained all night under arms, and next morning renewed the cannonading against the enemy, who nevertheless maintained their post without flinching. On the twenty-seventh they seemed determined to hazard another action, and even to attack the conquerors in their turn: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards wheeled off towards Vietzel, and intrenched themselves in a strong camp between the river Warta and that village.

Never was prince involved in greater difficulties than was his Prussian majesty at this juncture; and though no prince ever exerted himself with greater spirit and activity, yet was he not able to guard against the dangers which threatened him from every quarter. At his departure from Bohemia, marshal Daun, with the Austrian army, and the prince de Deux-ponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the king's brother prince Henry, who, without immediate assistance, must have been entirely ruined. The Prussian monarch therefore determined to support him with equal vigour and expedition. In a few days after the battle of Zorn-dorf, he began his march from Custrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry, and prosecuted his route with such uncommon celerity, that by the fifth of September he arrived at Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother.

Marshal Daun had taken post at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to maintain a free communication with the army of the empire, encamped in the neighbourhood of Konigstein; to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburg; to draw the attention of the Russians from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the generals Harrache and de Ville; and to interrupt the communication between prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September the strong fortrefs of Konigstein surrendered, after a very feeble resistance, to the prince de Deux-ponts, who immediately took possession of the advantageous camp at Pirna. When the king of Prussia therefore arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and marshal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe; so that he could not attack them without the most imminent danger of a repulse.

He had no other resolution to take but that of endeavouring to intercept their supplies of provision; and with this view he advanced to Bautzen, which he immediately seized. This motion obliged the Austrian general to abandon his post at Stolpen; but he chose another of equal strength at Libau; yet he afterwards proceeded to Rittitz, that he might be at hand to take the first opportunity

tunity of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The king having detached general Retzow on his left to take possession of Weissenberg, advanced with the main body of his army, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to such a crisis, that a battle seemed altogether unavoidable, and indeed was equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to preserve their footing in Saxony.

In this situation marshal Daun resolved to act offensively, and formed a scheme for attacking, by surprize, the right flank of the Prussians. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to secure the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only possessed by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important service; fully convinced that, should they succeed in this attempt, the designs of his Prussian majesty would be disconcerted, and in all probability entirely defeated.

Having taken his measures with equal secrecy and expedition, he began his march in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which contributed greatly to increase the darkness. His first care was to make himself master of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence his troops poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies posted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury: for notwithstanding the impetuosity of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprize, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who with wonderful spirit and presence of mind, assembled and marshalled the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without distinction of regiment, place, or precedence.

While the action was desperately maintained in this quarter, the king exerted himself in the other parts of the field with uncommon vigour and activity, in drawing order from confusion, arranging the different corps, altering positions, reinforcing weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression upon the right by the village of Hochkirchen, marshal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king, made another attack on the left, which was very hard pressed, and effectually prevented him from sending reinforcements to the right, where marshal Keith, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thrice was he repulsed from the village of Hochkirchen, and as often did he regain possession of it; till at last, being overpowered by numbers, he was finally obliged to abandon it about nine in the morning, when, to the irreparable loss of his sovereign, he fell by a musquet-ball. Prince Francis of Brunswic had his head carried off by that of a cannon: prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner; and many others were either slain or disabled.

As the right wing had been surprized, the tents continued standing, and greatly incommoded them in their motions. The soldiers had never been properly marshalled: the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive reinforcements and redoubled fury; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these unhappy circumstances could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of three thousand men, though that of the enemy was much more considerable; nor could his Prussian majesty be said to have sustained any damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of marshal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune.

He took post with his army about half a league from the field of action, where he continued ten days; during which he endeavoured to bring the enemy to a fresh engagement. This invitation, however, the Austrian general thought proper to decline, and kept his forces advantageously encamped on eminences planted with artillery. His design having been defeated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle, upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had sustained, already reinforced from the army of prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to wipe out the disgrace which had been fixed upon his arms.

Count Daun having nothing farther to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia; while the Austrian generals, Harsche and De Ville, should carry on the siege of Neiss and Cosel in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and, if possible, to relieve the city of Neiss in person. With this view he set out from Dobreschutz, and in sight of the enemy advanced to Gorlitz without the least interruption. From thence he continued his march towards Silesia with his usual rapidity, notwithstanding all the endeavours of general Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and obtained over them some petty advantages.

Count Daun not only sent this considerable corps to retard them in their march, but at the same time, by another route, detached a strong body to reinforce the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was greatly weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of driving the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's absence. Indeed his design was still more extensive; for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipzig, and Torgau, at the same time; the first, with the main body under his own command; the second, by the army of the empire, under the prince de Deux Ponts; and the third, by a corps under general Haddick; while the forces conducted by Laudohn should exclude the king from Lusatia.

In prosecution of this plan, he proceeded directly to the Elbe, which he crossed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped he should be

able to take by assault. The army of prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital, before the prince de Deux-Ponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipzig, and even invested that city. During these transactions, general Haddick advanced against Torgau.

The field-marshal count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting only to twelve thousand men, was sensible, that considering the weakness and extent of the suburbs, it would be absolutely impossible for him to prevent the enemy from making themselves masters of them by a single assault; and that if they succeeded in this attempt, the great height of the houses, which were generally six or seven stories, and entirely commanded the ramparts, would render the reduction of the body of the place equally easy and certain. These considerations unavoidably determined him to set the suburbs immediately on fire.

The suburbs of Dresden, it is well known, compose one of the finest towns in Europe, and are greatly superior to that part of the city which lies within the walls. Here the most substantial inhabitants reside, and here are carried on those curious manufactures for which Dresden is so deservedly famous.

Count Daun, foreseeing this consequence of his attempt, endeavoured to intimidate the governor from a measure, to which he knew he would be necessarily driven by the cruel necessity of war. With this view he sent a messenger to Schmettau, whom he threatened to make personally responsible for whatever steps he should take; but the governor replied, with the firmness that became a man of honour and a soldier, that he would boldly answer for whatever he should do; and in case marshal Daun advanced, would not only burn the suburbs, but likewise defend the city itself from street to street, and at last even take shelter in the royal palace, should he be reduced to that extremity.

The magistrates were no sooner apprized of this resolution than they fell at the feet of count Schmettau, and implored him to change his mind, and to have mercy on that devoted part of their city. Such of the royal family as remained in Dresden joined their supplications to those of the magistrates, beseeching him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and to allow at least a secure residence to those who had been deprived of every thing else.

All their entreaties were of no avail. Schmettau continued firm in his resolution. He told them that their safety depended on themselves and on marshal Daun; that, if that general made no attempts, the suburbs should be still secure; but that if he took any farther steps, the necessity of his master's service and his own honour would compel him to act in a manner very disagreeable to the lenity of his disposition. The magistrates retired in despair. Combustibles were laid in all the houses.

Marshal Daun renewing his attacks, the signal for firing the suburbs was given next morning;

and in a moment, a place so lately the seat of ease and luxury, flourishing in traffic, in pleasures, and in ingenious arts, was involved in flames. Dreadful however as was the calamity, it was attended with as little mischief as the nature of the thing could possibly admit. Very few lost their lives, but many their whole substance. The Prussian troops abandoned the flaming suburbs, and retired in good order into the city.

Marshal Daun seeing the fire, which at once laid waste the capital of his ally, and effectually prevented him from taking it by assault, sent some empty threats to the governor. The Saxon minister too, at Ratisbon, made grievous complaints to the diet of the empire, exclaiming loudly against the burning of the suburbs, as the most unparalleled act of wanton and unprovoked cruelty that had ever been committed. The emissaries of the court of Vienna spread the same reports; nor did they scruple to invent and alter facts in such a manner as to excite the greatest pity towards the sufferers, and the highest indignation against his Prussian majesty.

All these, however, were in a short time abundantly refuted, by the authentic certificates of the magistrates of Dresden, and of the officers of that court, who were perfectly acquainted with the transaction. From these certificates it appeared, that no more than two hundred and fifty houses were consumed; and though this, it must be owned, was a terrible calamity, yet was it nothing in comparison of the accounts that were confidently published in the Austrian gazettes. It was likewise proved that the people were not surprised, as was falsely pretended; but that they had sufficient notice of the governor's intentions, to enable them to provide for their safety. In a word, all the charges of cruelty alleged against the Prussian governor and garrison were fully and satisfactorily overthrown.

While count Daun was employed in making this fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the king of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the siege were prosecuted with great vigour by the Austrian general, de Harsche, and the place was as gallantly defended by the Prussian governor, Theskau, till the first day of November, when the Prussian monarch arrived, and compelled the besiegers to relinquish their enterprize. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the king detached general Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche withdrew into Bohemia, and De Ville hovered about Jagernsdorf.

The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved, than the king of Prussia set out on his return to Saxony, where his presence was become indispensably necessary. At the same time the two bodies under the generals Dohna and Wedel entered by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Custrin to attend the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even passed that river at Thorn; the other had, during the campaign, made head against the Swedes, who had now entirely withdrawn from the Prussian territories; so that Wedel was at liberty to act in concert with his majesty.

He accordingly advanced to Torgau, which had been lately invested by the Austrian general Haddick, who was obliged to raise the siege, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eulenburg. Wedel being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss, and then relieved the city of Leipzig. Mean while the king continued his march towards the capital of Saxony, the Austrians flying before him with the utmost precipitation. On the tenth of November count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct.

The Russian general, apprehensive that he should not be able to preserve his footing during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltic, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached general Palmbach with fifteen thousand men to besiege the town of Colberg, an inconsiderable place, very poorly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the third day of October; but the besiegers were either so totally destitute of proper implements, or so entirely ignorant of the art of attack, that the garrison, though feeble, bid defiance to all the attempts of the enemy, who, after a siege of twenty-six days, relinquished their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus by the activity and valour of the Prussian monarch, his generals and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipzig, and Dresden.

The king of Prussia, at his first entrance into Saxony, declared that he had no design to make a conquest of the electorate, but only to keep it as a sacred depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to agree to reasonable terms of accommodation: but upon his last arrival at Dresden, he thought proper to adopt new maxims.

In the beginning of December the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time signifying, that though the king of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country.

The Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the king's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy counsellors of his Polish majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the king of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities, which can by no means be justified. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining the merchants to straw beds and naked apartments, compelled them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents.

Having related all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that I should describe the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of count Hamilton. I have already observed, that in the beginning of the year the Prussian general, Lehwald, had constrained them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his successor count Dohna been obliged to retire from that quarter, in order to make head against the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania.

The blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely abandoned by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retreated: but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies stipulated by France, or from the management of those who were in the Prussian interest, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any thing of importance. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gun-powder intended for their use; an event owing, in all likelihood, to accident, but maliciously imputed by the enemy to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general determined to resume his operations.

In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton meeting with no farther resistance in the field, recovered in a little time the whole of the Swedish Pomerania, and even made frequent incursions into the Prussian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltic, and anchored between the islands of Dragoë and Amagh; but they neither landed troops nor committed hostilities. The Swedish general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions in the adjacent country, and even struck terror into the capital of Brandenburg.

The king of Prussia being apprised of their progress, detached general Wedel from Dresden with a body of troops that were augmented on their route; so that on the twentieth of September he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men, at the head of whom he marched against count Hamilton, while the prince of Bevern with five thousand advanced on the other side from Stettin. At their approach the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately assaulted by general Wedel; and though the Swedes made a most obstinate resistance,

sistance, he at last compelled them to surrender with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without attempting any thing farther, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralsund, intending to take winter quarters in the isle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed on him, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might encrease his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

The cause of his Prussian majesty was not only espoused by a strong party in Sweden, but was also supported by a great many in Poland, especially by such of the Palatines as had always opposed the measures of the reigning family. These were now joined by several patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs of the Russian army. The dyet of the republic was opened on the second day of November, and after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously chosen marshal; but no sooner had the chamber of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachment of the Russian troops, who had taken up their quarters in Poland, and heavy complaints were made of the damages occasioned by their cruelty and rapine.

Great pains were taken to appease these clamours, and many were persuaded to refer their grievances to the king in senate: but when this difficulty seemed almost overcome, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up and declared, that he would not allow any other point to be debated in the dyet, while the Russians preserved the least footing within the territories of the republic. The other courtiers exerted their utmost influence to cajole and mollify this stubborn patriot; but all their endeavours were absolutely ineffectual. He solemnly protested against their proceedings, and withdrew; so that the marshal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a senatus concilium, to concert such measures as seemed at present necessary.

The scheme which his Polish majesty had formed of procuring the dukedom of Courland for his son prince Charles, was likewise attended with great clamour and dissension. He had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties remained. The states alleged, that they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and that, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected until he should have solemnly subscribed to the Augsbourg confession of faith. His Polish majesty, however, being determined to carry his point at all adventures, ordered count Malachowski, high-chancellor of Poland, to deliver to prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permission to the states of Courland, to chuse that prince for their duke; and appointed the day for his election and instalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in asserting that the king

had no right to grant such permission without the consent of the dyet.

The events of the campaign, however various, had produced no change in the political systems adopted by the several courts of Europe. The czarina, who in the month of June had expressed her sentiments with regard to the king of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg, seemed now more bent than ever on prosecuting her designs against that monarch. The queen of Hungary distributed, among the imperial ministers at the several courts of the empire, copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her generals since the commencement of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of self-approbation, to the following effect: "Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet entirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the imperial court enjoys at least the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause; and that it is now employed in making preparations from which the most happy consequences may be expected."

I have already taken notice of a decree of the Aulic council, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the noblesse of the empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the avocatoria of the empire, and supported the rebellion raised by the elector of Brandenburg; that their revenues might be sequestered, and themselves punished in their honours, persons, and effects. As the king of Great Britain, in quality of elector of Hanover, was plainly pointed at, and indeed expressly mentioned in this decree, that prince, by the hands of baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the dyet of the empire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandizement of the house of Austria.

In return for these important services, he affirmed that the empress-queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties, against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his Imperial majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited: that the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated, that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the empress-queen, who ravaged his Britannic majesty's dominions, with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same duke of Cumberland who had been wounded at Dettingen, in defence of her Imperial majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions: that she had sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswic Lunenburg: that his Imperial majesty, who had sworn to protect the em-

pire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the king of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body and estate; and that the king of England himself was threatened with the ban of the empire.

He observed, that in quality of elector, he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the king of Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany.

In answer to these allegations, he declared that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally the king of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous conclusum of the Germanic body: that, with respect to his alliance with the king of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance where-soever it could be procured; and surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswic, as well as those of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle, Hesse, and Buckbourg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the counties of the empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequestration.

He owned that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden; steps for which he was accountable to no power on earth, although the constitutions of the empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowledged that he had resented the conduct, and punished the injustice, of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the duke of Brunswic, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, because they had supplied the king of England with auxiliaries; if the empress-queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French king in these countries, surely his Britannic majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war who had favoured the unjust enterprizes of his enemies.

He expressed his hope that the dyet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by

way of advice, propose to his Imperial majesty, that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the empress-queen, as archduchess of Austria, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswic Lunenbourg.

Such was the substance of this famous memorial which the Hanoverian minister presented to the dyet of the empire, and which made so strong an impression upon many of its members, that on the twenty-ninth of November the evangelic body published a conclusum, importing, that with respect to the ban of the empire, with which several princes were now threatened, they would never consent to any innovation that should be proposed, contrary to the twentieth article of the capitulation, which the emperor had confirmed by oath at his election; and that whatever should be done contrary to that agreement, should be looked upon by them as null and void, and should be treated accordingly.

Having thus particularized the most important events and transactions which attended the prosecution of the war on the continent of Germany and the northern parts of Europe, I shall now proceed to trace its progress, during the course of this year, in the other quarters of the globe, where we shall find the scenes as busy, interesting, and striking, as those already related.

I shall begin first with relating the success of some naval achievements performed by our fleets and cruizers at the beginning of the year, previous to the expedition against and descent made upon the coasts of France.

The British cruizers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the trade of the kingdom, and distress that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such diligence and success, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the commerce of France almost entirely ruined. A very gallant exploit was performed by one captain Bray, commander of the *Adventure*, a small armed vessel in the government's service. Falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her aboard, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and after a warm engagement compelled her to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fir-ship of inferior force. Several privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken; and a great number of merchant ships fell into the hands of the English.

Nor were the English ships of war less successful in the American than in the European seas. About this time the board of admiralty received advice from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished abilities, had, in the ship *Augusta*, sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruize off Cape François; and this service he punctually performed, in the face of a French squadron of much greater force, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. The

commander,

commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of those seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. With this view he strengthened his squadron with some store ships, mounted with guns and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements by taking on board seamen from the merchant ships, and soldiers from the garrison.

Thus equipped, he weighed anchor and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing than captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen (said he) you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy: shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost: return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging."

After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with incredible fury. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon activity, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But notwithstanding their most vigorous efforts, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which by this means, with the favour of a land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, that were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory.

One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unfit for service: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless they were so damaged, that being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica; and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe.

Captain Forrest's bravery was not more remarkable in this engagement than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After Mr. de Kerfin had set sail from Cape François for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince ready to sail on their return to Europe. In consequence of this advice, he ordered captain Forrest to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, enjoining him at the same time to return at the expiration of that period, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas.

Accordingly captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forbore chasing that he might not risque a discovery: for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them to avoid suspicion, but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay.

At this time captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave: coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith removed the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five and thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to get into that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear. They returned the fire for some time; at length the *Marguerite*, the *Solide*, and the *Theodore*, struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards employed in taking the *Maurice*, *Le Grand*, and *La Flore*; the *Brilliant* also submitted, and the *Mars* made sail in hope of escaping; but the *Augusta* coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor.

Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail was taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and protection. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction for the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

The ministry having resolved to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, admiral Bolcawen was appointed to the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the *Invincible*, of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that composed his squadron, ran aground and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved.

In the course of the ensuing month sir Edward Hawke entered the Bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape Breton or Canada; and about the same time the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was happily delivered by the conduct of commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garrison, consisting of three thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off from all

all communication with the country below, evacuated the place with great precipitation; and some of their baggage being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore detached for that purpose.

It was about the same time that the admiralty received information of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by admiral Osborne while he cruized between Cape de Gatt and Carthagea on the coast of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the Foudroyant of eighty guns, the Orphée of sixty-four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagea.

The enemy no sooner descried the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses; then Mr. Osborne detached several ships in pursuit of each, while he himself with the body of his fleet stood off for the bay of Carthagea, to observe the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening the Orphée, having on board five hundred men, struck to captain Stor in the Revenge, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was supported by the ships Berwick and Preston.

The Monmouth of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardiner, attacked the Foudroyant, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with four score cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the conduct of the marquis du Quesne. This is the same Mr. Gardiner who, in the famous battle between the admirals Byng and Galissoniere in the Mediterranean, commanded the Ramillies, under the direction of the British admiral; and his courage having incurred some suspicion on account of his behaviour in that action, he was determined to wipe off the disgrace. He therefore maintained the engagement with incredible fury until he lost his life by a musket-ball: nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant disabled in such a manner that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships, the Swiftsure and the Hampton-Court, appeared.

This last step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the deck covered with dead carcasses. The Oriflamme was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos by the ships Montagu and Monarque, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete her destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailer.

This was a severe blow to the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but had the misfortune to see them added to the navy of Great Britain; and the disaster was followed by another, which they could not help feeling with an equal degree of sensibility. In the beginning of April sir Edward Hawke steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, descried off the isle of Aix a French fleet at anchor, consisting

of five ships of the line, with six frigates and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provision, intended as a reinforcement for their settlements in North America.

They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing than they began to slip their cables and fly with the utmost precipitation. Some of them escaped to sea, but the greater number ran into shallow water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared aground lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor abreast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships Intrepid and Medway with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy; but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered this scheme impracticable.

In the mean time the French threw over-board their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be floated by the tide. By these means their large ships of war and many of their transports were conveyed into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated.

Another convoy of merchant ships, under the protection of three frigates, had a few days before been chased by sir Edward Hawke into the harbour of St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazard-ing a second departure: and a third, consisting of 12 sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was dearly purchased by the loss of captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fire-ship, a brave accomplished officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously covered with wounds, exhorting the people with his latest breath to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

On the twenty-ninth day of May the Raisable, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by captain Dennis in the Dorsetshire of seventy guns, and taken, after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and the sails and rigging of his ship almost entirely destroyed.

The joy arising from these successes was considerably damped by a lamentable disaster that befel the ship prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirtieth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ship, and raged with such violence, that notwithstanding all the efforts

efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased; and the ship being consumed to the water-edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are more easily conceived than described. When all endeavours proved ineffectual, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds, that in a few moments it overset. The admiral foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his cloaths, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming.

Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station; and then descending by the stern-ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the sloop Alderney. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smoke: nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of frenzy and desperation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful, by plunging into the sea; and about three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the admiral in the his voyage, but five hundred perished in ocean.

The king of Great Britain being firmly resolved, notwithstanding the ill success, not to say disgrace, which attended the expedition sent the preceding year to annoy the coasts of France, to renew his attempts upon that kingdom, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were appointed for the service of this expedition: the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by lord Anson and sir Edward Hawke: the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fireships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten storeships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, who had signalized himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition.

The plan of a descent upon France having been projected by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough; a nobleman who, though he did not possess all the military genius of his grandfather, was yet confessedly a brave and gallant officer. On this occasion he was assisted by the counsels of lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the duke of Dorset.

The troops having for some time been encamped on the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England big with the expectations of the event of the enterprize.

The two fleets separated at sea: lord Anson with his squadron bent his course to the Bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and interrupt their navigation; while commodore Howe with the land forces steered directly towards St. Malo, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the present invasion seemed to be chiefly levelled. The town, however, was so well fortified, both by art and nature, that no attempt by sea could be made upon it with any prospect of success; and therefore it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancele, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Malo; and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally erected upon the beach, the troops were landed, without farther opposition, on the sixth day of June.

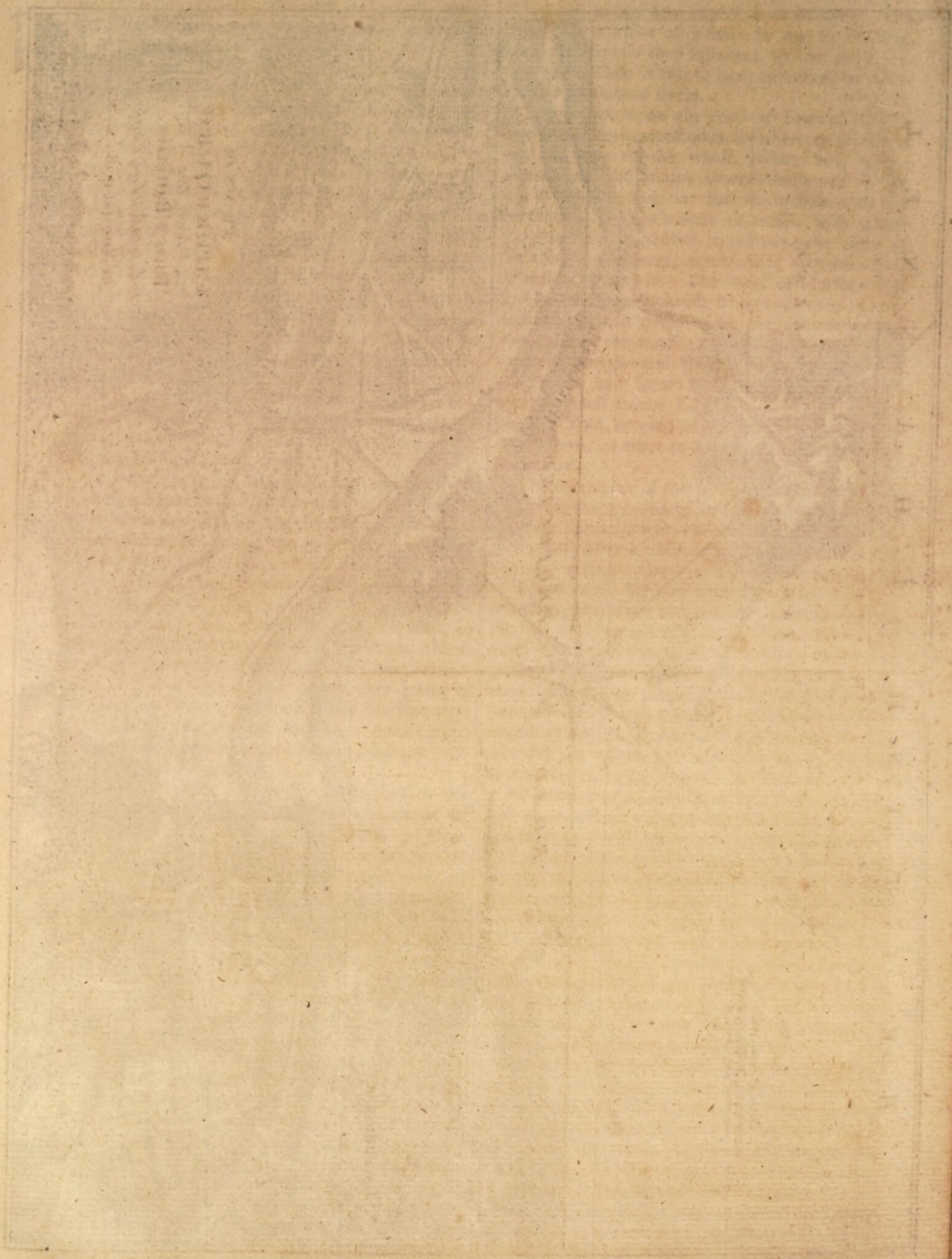
The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with equal spirit and success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire, and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which however they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received intelligence that the enemy were busily employed in collecting forces to cut off his retreat, returned to Cancele, where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the reembarkation of the troops was accomplished with surprising ease and expedition. The forces, while they continued on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had deserted, were left untouched.

Immediately after their landing, the duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, importing, That his descent upon the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of the British forces: that all who were willing to remain in peaceable possession of their effects might stay unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations: that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own king, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and for all provisions brought in they should be paid in ready money: but that if, notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword.

To the magistracy of St. Malo he likewise sent a letter, intimating, that as all the inhabitants of the town and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and as he was informed that the magistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Malo, he now gave

BRITISH CHANNEL





B R I T I S H C H A N N E L

ISLE PELLEE

British Fathoms.
100 200 300 400 500 600

Course of the Tides

ROAD

PROJECTED

Point & Rock du Hommet

Port de la Ville

Equendreville

Fort du Gravel

Port Louguy

HERBES

Point de la Roche

Redoubt of Tourlaville

Road

Entrance for Small Ships

Shore

PLAN OF
CHERBOURG
with the
Forts & Batteries.
When taken by the English
in August 1758.

Millon sculp.

gave them notice, that if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution. These threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Malo did not think proper to comply with his injunction.

But it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops employed in such an expedition. Some houses were plundered, and not without acts of cruelty: but those offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestible proof of the general's humanity, that in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Malo, he ordered one small storehouse to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district.

The British forces being reembarked, with the loss of about thirty men missing, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancele for several days; during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers: but, in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather.

In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Havre de Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats provided for landing were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were again hauled on board, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee shore. Next day the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and orders were given to prepare for a descent; but the duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt.

Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here some of the transports were saluted by the fire of six different batteries, and a considerable body of troops appeared in arms to oppose the landing: nevertheless, the general determined that the forts Querqueville and Gallet should be attacked in the night by the first regiment of guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this purpose, when the wind began to blow with such violence, that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger; nor properly sustained, in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected.

This attempt was therefore abandoned; but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly; but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee shore; for the gale blew directly upon the coast: besides, the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost exhausted. These concurring reasons induced the commanders

to defer the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, the tempest abated; they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's.

Such was the issue of an enterprize, which, tho' it did not answer the expectations of the public, was yet productive of infinite damage to the enemy; for the loss they sustained by the conflagration at St. Malo is said to have amounted to twenty-four millions of livres.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season: but, in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight, and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops with which the government resolved to reinforce the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved upon lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer who had served with reputation; and his royal highness prince Edward, afterwards created duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service.

The remainder of the troops being reembarked, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and, after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, arrived on the seventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had intrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort of Ecoeurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind this retrenchment a large body of regular troops, reinforced by militia, appeared in good order; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risque was run in landing the British forces.

At first a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town and throw some shells into the place; as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation; while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb ketches being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the intrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief.

While these ketches maintained a continual fire, the grenadiers and guards were conveyed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats; and landing without opposition, instantly drew up in a small open part of the beach, with a natural breastwork in their front, having on one side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent: on the other, the ground was intersected by hedges and covered with orchards; and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British troops immediately quitted the breastwork, in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took possession

of the hill, from whence they piquered with the advanced posts of the English.

In the mean time the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retreated. As the light troops were not yet landed, general Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend four hundred paces, so that the tents were crowded together in a confused and irregular manner. Next morning, the general being informed that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely deserted, made a disposition for marching to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville, and the lines and batteries along the shore were now abandoned by the enemy.

The British forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecoeurdeville, Hommet, and la Gallet, found Cherbourg likewise undefended, and the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, encouraged by a promise of protection, received their new guests with a profusion of civilities; notwithstanding which the soldiers indulged themselves in some irregularities; but these were no sooner discovered than the offenders were brought to condign punishment, and the army kept to the most strict discipline. Next morning the place being surveyed, the general determined to destroy the forts and the bason; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery.

Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bason of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all probability the plan had grown into disrepute. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out-parties of each army; in one of which captain Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had a considerable share in training the light horse, was mortally wounded.

The harbour and bason of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon conveyed on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted from the town, and a plan of reimbarkation concerted, as it appeared, from the reports of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight intrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be reimbarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horse immediately carried on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels. On the sixteenth day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and reimbarked at Fort Gallet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and stood again to the southward, but was obliged by contrary winds to return to the same station. The second effort, however, was more successful. The fleet with some difficulty kept the sea; and steering to the French coast, arrived in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Malo, upon which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being posted along-shore to cover the landing, the troops were debarked on a fair open beach, and a small party detached to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels: but St. Malo itself being carefully reconnoitred, appeared to be impregnable either by the land-forces or the shipping.

The mouth of the river that forms its bason extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land-batteries; and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channel: besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the bason was, moreover, strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel.

For these reasons the design against St. Malo was relinquished; but the general being unwilling to reimbark without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, determined to penetrate into the country, regulating his motions, however, by those of the fleet, which had by this time quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

On the eighth of September general Bligh with his little army began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening. Next day he passed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water; and his troops being harrassed by the peasants, who fired at him from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, importing, that if they would not desist he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp, about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he advanced to the village of Matignon, where, after some irregular firing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having stood a few discharges of the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers approach, they suddenly dispersed.

General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for reimbarkation; for he now received certain intelligence that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia,

militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, the more effectually to prevent any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in reembarking. For this reason a proposal was made, that the forces should be reembarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guil-do; but this advice was rejected, and indeed the subsequent operations of the army seem to have been conducted with little prudence or discretion.

Had the troops decamped in the night, without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and in that case the whole army, amounting to about six thousand five hundred men, might have been reembarked without interruption: but instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, which could not fail to betray their intention to the enemy. The troops were in motion before three; and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach at St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily accomplished, had the transports lain near the shore and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board without distinction; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition which in cases of emergency, ought never to be regarded. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore to cover the reembarkation; and a considerable number of sea-officers were stationed on the beach to superintend the boats crews, and regulate the service; but notwithstanding all their attention, some of the boats were employed in carrying off horses and cows, and other booty. Had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in the service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would in a great measure have been prevented.

The British forces had skirmished a little on their march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havoc, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was broken, and for some time continued in disorder; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack.

Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of major-general Drury. This officer seeing the enemy advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to attack the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. This step of Mr. Drury's has been generally condemned as rash and imprudent; for had he kept behind the breast-work, he might either have defended himself till he could have been taken on board; or he might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress his right flank would have been secured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued him along the shore without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping as, in all probability, they could not have withstood.

The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke; and in less than five minutes after the engagement began, they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a terrible havoc. General Drury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach or drowned in the water; a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted all their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The carnage was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill: yet the slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which, through the general confusion that then prevailed, was still maintained, even after the English troops were routed: but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy granted quarter to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion; though the loss of the enemy is said to have amounted to double the number.

This affair elated the French, and dispirited the English, much more than could reasonably be expected from a matter of so little consequence. It was in fact no more than the cutting off a rear-guard. There was often more blood shed in some of the skirmishes in Germany, which were never thought worthy of a place in the Gazettes. So far from complaining of our bad fortune, we ought rather to think ourselves extremely fortunate, that we

we were able to land three times on the coast of France without suffering any other or more considerable loss. The French ministry indeed had reason to magnify our defeat, and this they did in a most extravagant manner: but some such cordial was absolutely necessary to console their people, who were filled with chagrin at the utter ruin which had seized their trade, and the disgrace and calamities which had been brought upon their country.

After the action of St. Cas, some civilities by message passed between the duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favoured with a list of the prisoners, including four sea-captains; and assured that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

No further attempts were made upon the French coast during the remainder of this season. The English cruizers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne by some cruizers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed.

In the month of November the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war mounted with sixty-four guns, having by mistake run up St. George's Channel, and anchored in Lundy road, captain Saumarez, of the *Antelope*, then lying in King's Road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor and made a shew of resistance; but soon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a shot, surrendered, with a compliment of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal.

By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the Channel, that scarce a French vessel durst leave their harbours, and consequently there was little or no booty to be got. In this scarcity of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually plundered the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domestics belonging to the marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the king of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, and committed many other acts of violence. Complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the admiralty promised, in the *Gazette*, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffick, not only in taking the fair advantages of the neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the

produce of the French sugar colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruizers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; in consequence of which orders, several Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica.

The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamour against the English for having thus, as they said, violated the laws of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and the republic. Remonstrances were made to the English ministry, who expostulated in their turn with the deputies of the States-general; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity.

The British resident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, represented that the king his master could not hope to see peace speedily restored, if neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: that he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities. He answered some articles of the complaints they had made with great candour and moderation; declared his majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them, that his Britannic majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew, and maintain in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to allay the apprehensions of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their artifice and address in exasperating their passions, and widening the breach between the two nations. The court of Versailles did not fail to lay hold of such a favourable opportunity: while, on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had suffered from the proceedings of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of friendship.

The spirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, may be learned from a memorial to the States General, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violences and unjust depredations, committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects, were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excesses carried to such a height, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their High Migh-

tinences

nesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, their commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republic. For this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of their marine.

While this party industriously laboured to effect a rupture with England, the princess Governante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, by alarming them with just apprehensions of the power of France, and exhorting them to augment their forces, so as to prepare against all attempts from that quarter. At the same time she spared no pains to compromise the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing counsels were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

The operations of Great Britain during this campaign were not confined to Europe: the continent of America and the coast of Africa both felt the weight of her arms. The whole gum trade from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing that country to the possessions of Great Britain.

The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish king of Legibelli*. He found this African prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans; and so enraged against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were extirpated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had denounced war against them, and earnestly desired that the king of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case he promised to join his Britannic majesty's forces, and indulge his subjects with an exclusive commerce.

Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantage that would accrue from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade in a country which, over and above the gum-senega,

abounds in many valuable articles, such as gold dust, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Pleased with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries, with regard to the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on the river Senegal; and at his return to England actually projected the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort Louis.

This was presented to the Board of Trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe scrutiny: but it required the patriotic zeal, and invincible perseverance of Mr. Cumming, to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship; and in lieu of six hundred land-forces to be draughted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, no more than two hundred marines were allotted for this service.

After repeated solicitation, he at last, in the year 1757, obtained an order that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a sloop and two busses, and make an attempt upon the French settlements in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds, until the season was too far advanced for undertaking the expedition, which was therefore postponed. In the beginning of the present year Mr. Cumming, being supported by the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had imparted the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they determined to hazard the enterprize.

A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines commanded by major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition. This little armament sailed in the beginning of March; and in their passage touched at the island of Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabic language; which charter is still in his possession.

This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable Moors†; and the queen-dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, acquainted Mr. Cumming, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal; but she assured him that, should the French be

* The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of The Gum Coast, and called in maps, The Sandy Desert of Sara, and sometimes Zara.

† This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguish those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and were in constant alliance with the French.

extirpated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the king with advice of their arrival and design. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops; and that, in his opinion, the king would reinforce them with a detachment from his army.

By this time captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and apprehending that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the twenty-second of April he weighed anchor, and next day at four o'clock discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal road, at the mouth of the river; and here he observed several armed sloops which the enemy had posted to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging shot over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels.

At length the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, veering about, captain Millar, of the London bus, seized that opportunity; and passing the bar with a full sail, cast anchor on the inside, where he lay, till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the buffes and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they drew up in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, exclusive of the detachment of artillery.

As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who appeared on the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they immediately formed an intrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were joined by three hundred seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

They were proceeding in their operations with great spirit and activity, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis. After some hesitation, captain Marsh and major Mason agreed, that all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts,

store houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation should be signed: that the free natives living at Fort Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country.

The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but the current of the stream was so strong, that they did not arrive at the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on the point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their arrival. Suspecting the cause of this strange conduct, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they learned that the negroes on the island had risen in arms, and blocked up the French in Fort Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This circumstance was signified in a second letter from the governor, who likewise acquainted the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be allowed to remain with the natives, as a surety for the performance of that article of the capitulation in which they were comprehended, they would suffer themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit.

This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, attended by a number of long-boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them, immediately struck their colours; and major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandize to a considerable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty: the neighbouring princes, accompanied by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation; and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, sent an ambassador from his camp to major Mason, with compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship.

The number of free independent negroes and mulattoes settled at Senegal amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter situated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself in possession of a settlement, from which, with proper care, very considerable advantages may be derived.

This signal acquisition was, in a great measure, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who first projected the plan, afterwards solicited the armament, and finally superintended the execution of it in person; a service which must ever recommend him to the love and esteem of his fellow-subjects, and ought certainly

tainly to procure him a handsome gratuity from his country.

Fort Louis being furnished with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships set sail on an expedition, to the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and lodged the negro-slaves until they could be shipped for the West-Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability, the island would have been reduced; and, in that case, the nation would have saved a considerable expence of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of commodore Kerpel. At present the ships, by which Goree was attacked, were found unequal to the attempt, and it miscarried accordingly; though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

However important the conquest of Senegal, it was of little consequence in comparison of the scenes which were acted in America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about fifty thousand men, including two and twenty thousand regular troops. The earl of Loudon having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved to major-general Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three separate bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. The general himself reserved near sixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown Point, a fort situated on the lake Champlain; eight thousand, under the conduct of brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis in Nova Scotia.

The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton, being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-general Amherst being joined by admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the second day of June part of the transports arrived in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisburgh. The garrison of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the siege they were joined by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threescore Indians.

The harbour was defended by six ships of the line; the *Prudent* and *Entreprenant*, of seventy-four guns each; the *Capricieux*, *Celebre*, and *Biensaisant*, of sixty-four; and the *Apollo*, of fifty. Besides these, there were five frigates, the *Chevre*, *Biche*, *Fidelle*, *Diana*, and *Eccho*, three of which the enemy had sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many

parts of them crumbling down the covered way, several bastions exposed in such a manner as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a debarkation, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the beach: intrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places which could not be properly secured, and in one of these the English effected a landing.

The disposition being made for this purpose, a detachment, in several sloops, under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should be really attempted on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being distributed in the boats before day-break, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who afterwards exhibited very extraordinary proofs of military genius.

At the same time the other two divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a shew of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were overset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries, which did considerable execution, brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with equal courage and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a furious manner, that in a few minutes they drove them from their works and batteries, and obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation. The other divisions landed also; but not without an obstinate opposition: and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested.

The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, interrupted the operations of the siege; and Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of the Canadians, of which he apprehended there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbour, which would otherwise have galled him extremely in his advances.

The governor of Louisbourg having demolished the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and withdrawn his out-posts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers, and their works, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour, and divers sallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the

the Lighthouse-point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced.

On the nineteenth day of June the *Eccho*, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers, after having escaped from the harbour. From the officers on board this ship the admiral learned that the *Bizarre*, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation; and the *Comete* had likewise followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with surprising activity, and grievously annoyed the enemy, both in the town and the shipping.

On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Celebre*, were set on fire by the bomb-shells, and reduced to ashes; so that none remained but the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, which the admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded the enemy sword in hand. The *Prudent*, being aground, was set on fire, and destroyed; but the *Bienfaisant* was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

In the prosecution of the siege the admiral and general assisted each other with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully furnishing the latter with cannon, and other implements, with detachments of marines to secure the posts on shore, and with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal spirit and dexterity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken and destroyed, the caserns ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and several practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation, on the same terms that were granted to the English at Portmahon.

In answer to this proposal he was told, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under admiral Boscawen. The chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these conditions, replied, that, rather than comply with them, he would stand an assault; but the commissary-general, and intendant of the colony, presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the twenty-seventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and brigadier Whitmore was sent into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts.

Thus, with the inconsiderable loss of about four hundred men killed or wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were conveyed to France in English bottoms; but the garrison, together with the sea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England.

The loss of Louisbourg gave a fatal blow to the French interest in America, and facilitated the reduction of their other settlements in that part of the world. An account of the affair was immediately brought to England, in a vessel dispatched for that purpose, with captain Amherst, brother to the commander; who was also intrusted with eleven pair of colours taken at the siege. These were, by his majesty's order, carried in great parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies of victory, under a discharge of cannon, and other suitable expressions of triumph and exultation. Nor were the rejoicings for this conquest confined to London: addresses of congratulation were presented to his majesty by almost every town and corporation in the kingdom.

After the reduction of Cape Breton, some ships were detached with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the gulph of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had, since the beginning of the war, supplied Quebec with considerable quantities of provision. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter, from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden incursions into Nova Scotia, where they committed the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain.

The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted, and brought in their arms: then lord Rollo took possession of the governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had butchered in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain sum for every scalp they produced. The island was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisbourg and St. John was not a little damped by the disaster which happened to the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate direction of general Abercrombie, who, as we have already remarked, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his operation, with a view to protect the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquest of Canada.

In

In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the Lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The general's design was to attack Ticonderoga, a fort situated on a tongue of land extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with the Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, encompassed with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass.

The English troops being landed, were immediately marshalled in three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced guard, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breastwork of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set it on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces prosecuted their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another.

Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right center column, encountered a French detachment, who had likewise lost their way in their retreat from the advanced guard, and a warm skirmish ensued. The dispute was maintained for some time with great obstinacy on both sides; nor did the enemy give way until they had lost about three hundred killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage, however, was dearly purchased with the loss of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, universally lamented, as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had gained the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, humanity, and engaging address.

The general finding the troops greatly exhausted, from want of proper rest and refreshment, thought it most advisable to march back to the landing-place, where they accordingly arrived about eight in the morning. Then he detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet with one regular regiment, six companies of Royal Americans, the batteau men, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had deserted.

This post being secured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he learned from the prisoners the enemy had collected eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in forming a strong intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, which had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river; but upon the news of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga.

This information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He therefore early next morning detached his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to take a view of the enemy's intrenchments; and this officer reported, that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack; and after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion.

They advanced with great intrepidity towards the intrenchments, which, however, they found impregnable. The breastwork was no less than eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, projecting in such a manner as to render the intrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these seemingly insuperable difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire from the enemy's musquetry and cannon. They endeavoured to cut their way, sword in hand, through these embarrassments; and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could deliberately take aim without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was therefore great, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances.

The general by this time plainly perceived that no hope of success remained; and in order to prevent a total defeat, resolved to retreat with his army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops exerted themselves on this unfortunate occasion with remarkable bravery; but the greatest loss was sustained by lord John Murray's regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either slain upon the spot, or desperately wounded.

Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with forces which had received such a severe check, retired to the batteaus, and reembarking his troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. The public were very free in their censures upon the conduct of this general. He was commended indeed for drawing off his men from a desperate attack, in which they were exposed to the fire of an enemy who lay secure in impregnable intrenchments: but his ordering his troops to storm such a camp without artillery, when he had a sufficient train for that service; his never advancing in person to the field of battle, when his presence was so indispensibly necessary, but remaining at the saw-mills, two miles from the scene of action; his flying from the neighbourhood of an enemy who never amounted to above three thousand; and to whom he would have been superior, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcements: in these and many other respects he is said to have acted in a manner very unbecoming the character of a good general.

He might, it was affirmed, have remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprize

when he should be reinforced in his turn; for general Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, after having left a strong garrison at Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.

In the mean time, general Abercrombie had detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet with a body of three thousand men, chiefly provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its rise from the Lake Ontario. To the side of this lake he advanced with his detachment; and embarking in some sloops and batteaus provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered prisoners of war. In this fortress, which commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, Mr. Bradstreet found sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandize and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprise against the Mohawk river.

This fort he not only reduced without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and merchandize, which it contained. By this loss the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward.

Mean while the expedition against Fort du Quesne was prosecuted with great activity by brigadier Forbes, who with his little army began his march on the thirtieth day of June, from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious track of country very little known, destitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impassable. It was not without incredible difficulty that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other obstructions in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harrassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians.

Having advanced with the main body as far as Ray's Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and sent before him colonel Bouquet with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer

detached major Grant at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy observing his approach, sent a body of troops against him sufficient to surround his whole detachment: a very warm action began: the English maintained it with their usual courage for three hours against cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers.

Notwithstanding this severe check, brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, determined to prosecute his operations with the utmost vigour; but the enemy dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They deserted the fort on the twenty-fourth of November, and next day it was occupied by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connections with France, and submitted to the dominion of his Britannic majesty.

Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburg, furnished it with a garrison of Provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his return built a blockhouse near Lyal Henning, for the protection of Pennsylvania; but he himself did not long survive these transactions: his constitution having been broken by the incredible fatigues he had undergone, he died soon after, universally regretted.

Thus have we given a particular account of all the remarkable events that happened during this campaign on the continent of America. The reader will be convinced, that notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages, and indeed paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conquest of all Canada. In the mean time, the admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships which they discovered to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

The English settlements on the coast of Africa being deemed insecure whilst France kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in this part of the world with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Corke in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh of November.

After a difficult and dangerous passage, in which they touched at the island of Teneriffe, they arrived

at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form, and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the small fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more considerable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island; and several batteries were raised around its circumference, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon and four mortars. The French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants.

The flat-bottomed boats for landing the troops being hoisted out, and ranged along-side of the different transports, the commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action, the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the French garrison fled from their quarters in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who endeavoured to keep them to their duty; but was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British forces hardly amounted to one hundred men killed and wounded.

The success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. The enemy's colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the governor and the rest of the prisoners were distributed among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that happened to be at anchor in the road; and stores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thousand pounds.

Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three sloops for his service; the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalous kings; and the prisoners with their baggage being dispatched in three cartel-ships to France, the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the rest of the troops under colonel Worge, who was about this time favoured with a visit by the king of Legibelli. Great pains were taken by the colonel to secure the friendship of this potentate, though he could not comply with all his requests, inasmuch as he desired him to espouse his cause against some of the neighbouring nations; a favour which he could by no means grant, with any regard to the interest of his country.

Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garrison at Senegal, returned to

England; where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed.

This expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, namely, the loss of the Litchfield ship of war, commanded by captain Barton, which, together with one transport and bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocca. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to gain the shore, where they ran the risk of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Morocco: nay, they were even enslaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government.

The incidents of the war that happened in the West Indies, during these transactions, were neither numerous nor important. Nothing of consequence was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where admiral Cotes commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruizers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of captain Tyrrel, an officer of distinguished merit.

In the month of March this gentleman, with his own ship the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, destroyed a fort on the island of Martinique, and sunk four privateers riding under its protection: but his valour was much more eminently displayed in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruise in his own ship the Buckingham by commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Islands, he fell in with the Wesel sloop, commanded by captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadalupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon, and two large frigates.

Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry; and the Wesel, running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which however she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of waiting her approach, made a running fight with her stern-chace, while the two frigates harrassed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter.

At length he came along-side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that being entirely disabled, he was obliged to transfer the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle

battle with great gallantry until he lost his life: then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal bravery, and sustained a desperate fight against the three ships of the enemy.

The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation; and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terror, and uproar, prevailing on board the *Florissant*, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about the twilight: but her commander, observing that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue with any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and escaped in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, containing but four hundred and seventy-two men, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight, and the other of twenty-eight guns.

The loss of the Buckingham in this action did not exceed fifty men in killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the *Florissant* did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have amounted to above three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull that she could hardly be kept above water, until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, sustained such damage as to be for some time quite unfit for service.

The military transactions in the East Indies were chequered with a variety of fortune; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were entirely disappointed. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to that part of the world, under the command of general Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of admiral Pocock, who had succeeded admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English fleet stationed on the coast of Coromandel, which in the beginning of this year was joined by several ships from England, under the direction of commodore Stevens.

Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fifth of March, admiral Pocock, who had already distinguished himself by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, proceeded to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he discovered in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the same precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon.

The French commodore having maintained a warm fight for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet; and being reinforced by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pocock's own ship and three others being greatly disabled in their masts and rigging, two of his

captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think proper to pursue them with all the sail he could carry; nevertheless he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to preserve the weather-gage, in case he should have an opportunity to renew the action in the morning.

In this expectation, however, he was disappointed: the enemy shewed no lights, nor made any signals that could be observed; and in the morning they had entirely disappeared. Mr. Pocock, on the supposition that they had weathered him in the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward; but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships having been greatly damaged in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alamparve, where their whole squadron lay at anchor.

Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the British admiral did not lose one fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of three of his captains, he no sooner returned to Madras than he appointed a court-martial to enquire into their conduct; in consequence of which two of them were dismissed from that service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post captain.

In the mean time Mr. Lally had landed his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field immediately laid siege to Fort St. David, while the French blocked it up by sea. Two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fort, which however was in a few days surrendered.

Admiral Pocock having, to the best of his power, refitted his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the thirtieth day of the month he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning; nor was it in his power by any means to overtake them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David's was surrendered to the enemy, he sailed back again to Madras, in order to refresh his squadron.

On the twenty-fifth of July he set sail a third time in quest of M. d'Apché, and in two days discovered his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner perceived him approaching than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chase in hope of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual till the third day of August, when having gained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle.

The engagement began with great fury on both sides; but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché

set his foresail and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British admiral then made a signal for a general chase, which the enemy observing, thought proper to cut away their boats, and croud with all the sail they could carry. They escaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pocock anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including commodore Stevens and captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous.

The number of killed and wounded on board of the French squadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their ships were so much shattered, that in the beginning of September their commodore sailed for the islands of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the dominion and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

Mr. Lally, having made himself master of Cudalore and Fort St. David's, resolved to extort a sum of money from the king of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had given an obligation to the French governor, for a certain sum which had never been paid. Accordingly, he advanced with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy-two lack of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the sea coast, and afterwards laid siege to the capital; but after he had prosecuted his operations until a breach was made in the walls, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the king of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison at Trichenopoli, he found himself obliged to abandon the enterprize and retreat in a hurry, with the loss of his artillery.

He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence returned to Pondicherry towards the latter end of September. He afterwards quartered his troops in the province of Arcot, took possession of the city without the least resistance, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the transactions of the ensuing year. In the mean time, the land forces belonging to the East India company were so much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to make head against the enemy, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

Having thus related, with as much precision as is consistent with perspicuity, the events of the war in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia, I shall close the foreign transactions of this year with laying before the reader some account of the state, as well as history, of the different courts of Europe at the end of the campaign. I have formerly observed, that the events of the campaign in Ger-

many produced no change in the political systems adopted by the different princes on the continent.

The king of Spain wisely continued to adhere to that neutrality which he had hitherto observed, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America.

The king of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to preserve his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to take advantage of all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the commerce of his subjects.

As for the king of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same maxims of forbearance; but in the latter end of the season his attention was ingrossed by a domestic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, provoked the resentment of certain individuals, or exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had exposed himself to the hatred of that society, I shall not pretend to determine: perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution.

On the third day of September the king, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, attended by one domestic, was, in the night, at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with blunderbusses, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign, drove the mules at full speed; a circumstance which, in some measure, disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop; and having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The flugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the king's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body.

Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueira, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood, but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins posted on the road to accomplish the murder, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on the supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interposition of Providence.

The king being thus disabled in his right arm, bestowed, by a public decree, the absolute power of government upon the queen his consort. In the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and surgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with a promise of pardon to the accomplices, for discovering any of the assassins; and such other measures taken, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was unfolded: a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence.

The duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the count de Atouguia, the marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel. The further particulars relating to this affair, with the fate of the conspirators, shall be related among the transactions of the ensuing year. At present it will be sufficient to observe, that the king's wounds were productive of no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of the conspirators occasion any disturbance in the kingdom.

The internal tranquility of France continued to be disturbed by the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, concerning the bull *Unigenitus*. In vain the king had exerted his authority; first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the parliaments to desist from taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and annulling their power. He afterwards found it necessary to recal and reinstate those venerable patriots; and, being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn.

He was no sooner restored to his function than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull *Unigenitus*. He even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks, presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example set them by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his displeasure: they remonstrated and persevered; while the archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation.

These domestic disputes, however, did not prevent the French ministry from concerting proper measures to prosecute the war in Europe and

America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered the French upon that continent. The court of Versailles employed every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the British cruisers. The ships destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the Channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to divert the attention of the English from another where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the British men of war could no longer block up their harbours, their store ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage for the relief of their American settlements.

Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to enter the river, before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the English had not yet left the harbour of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the British commanders in sailing up the gulph; or, lastly, they penetrated through the Streights of Belleisle; a dangerous passage, which however led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the English squadron.

Though the French navy was by this time so diminished, that it could neither cope with the English by sea, nor furnish proper convoys for their commerce; this circumstance did not hinder the ministry of that kingdom from alarming Great Britain with the fears of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of war equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation: but this was no more than a feint to excite the apprehensions of the English, embarrass the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to Germany, to prosecute the war in that quarter.

A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging of stout privateers, that did considerable damage to the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station in the North Sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland: others cruised in the chops of the Channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships sailing to and from the sugar colonies, and carried them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadalupe, or St. Domingo.

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The Dutch still continued to persevere in the same base and disingenuous conduct which they had invariably observed since the commencement of the war. I have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, remarked, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruizers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, enraged at their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redress in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war against Great Britain.

The charge of violence and injustice which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the produce of the French in the West Indies, they founded on the tenth article of a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces, concluded in the year 1668, stipulating, "That whatever shall be found on board the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading or part thereof may belong to the enemies of Great Britain, shall be free and unmolested, except these be prohibited goods, which are to be served in the manner prescribed by the foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch merchants inferred, that if there be no prohibited goods on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any of their ships, or make the least enquiry to whom the merchandize belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound.

This plea the English ministry would by no means admit, for the following reasons; a general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy, would be such a glaring absurdity as no convention could authorize: common sense has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an absurdity; therefore the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article, could not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning, which indeed relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usually carried on in time of peace. But, even should their interpretation be accepted, the article and the treaty itself would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in 1675, and often confirmed since that period, stipulating, in a secret article, "That neither of the contracting parties should give, nor consent that any of their subjects and inhabitants should give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by sea or land, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories, to furnish any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, money, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any other necessities for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever."

Now the Dutch had violated this article in many instances during the present war, both in Europe and America; and as they had so openly contravened one treaty, the English were not obliged to observe any other. They had, moreover, forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succours with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the king of Great Britain, in case any of his ter-

ritories in Europe should be attacked; for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refusal was founded; namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself is totally annulled. The French, as they did in the present case, will always begin the war in America: and when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently intitled to receive no benefit from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the States-general of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to put an end to the war, while their enemies are enabled to maintain it by their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such iniquitous collusion by that necessity which Grotius himself hath admitted to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatever.

In time of peace no Dutch ships were allowed to carry the produce of any French sugar island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West Indies; consequently the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen, could not possibly be prohibited when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority is held as uncontroversible among the Dutch, has asserted, that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or sea. The French islands in the West Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers, that they could receive no relief from their own government; consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them without falling under this predicament.

It was for these reasons that the king of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the deputies of the States general, "That though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their High Mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union, he was nevertheless determined, not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality; nor to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances."

Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial delivered to the States-general, which we have already mentioned, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the princess regent, to represent their grievances,

grievances, and solicit her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to employ her best offices with the court of Great Britain; and these co-operating with the representation made by the States-general, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to settle the present dispute by an amicable accommodation.

These endeavours, however, were not attended with the desired effect. The British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels carrying the produce of the French sugar islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled vehemence, and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that opposed the house of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals upon the English navy. The princess-regent, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to exert all her interest with the States-general, but also to play off one faction against another, in the way of remonstrance and exclamation.

So early as the month of June she presented a memorial to the States-general, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had recommended an augmentation of their land forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invasion. She observed, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overijssel, alarmed by the proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to demand, that the augmentation of their land-forces should be taken into consideration by the other provinces; and requested her to enforce their solicitations that this measure might immediately take place. With this request, she said, she had the more readily complied, as she could not but be sensible of the imminent danger to which the republic was exposed, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the state to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republic, if it should be defeated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorised to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would carry the war into the heart of their country.

This representation had no other effect than that of suspending the execution of the measure which each party proposed. The princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared, that she beheld the present state of their trade with the most anxious concern: that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille; to whose conduct it was owing that the forces of the state, by sea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, M. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness: that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army; whereas innumerable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity.

In a few days after this representation was made, the princess, in an assembly of the States-general,

requested their High Mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to persuade the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West-Friesland, to agree to the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land, had not hitherto met with success, they would now contrive and concur in some feasible expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better; in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent and just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country.

She told them, that the deputation which waited on her was composed of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no less than the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the spirit of it did not tend to forward the negotiation begun with Great-Britain, nor induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance she inferred, it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land; a measure, she said, without which the state was, and always would be, exposed to every sort of danger and misfortune.

In consequence of this interposition, the States-General that same day sent a letter to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, signifying the sentiments of the Princess Regent, and representing the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was no less requisite than an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: that the states of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, concurred with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest.

After taking notice of the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord, they proposed, that, by a reciprocal indulgence, one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and internal division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very alarming; while the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition both by sea and land, and depend, for its safety, upon the humour and caprice of its powerful neighbours. They conjured them therefore, as they valued the interest of their country, and all that was dear to them; as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wise and salutary resolution, with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land-forces; so that this addition, together with an equivalent at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion.

In the month of April this year died, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, pope Benedict XIV.

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(Prosper Lambertini) a pontiff universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Charles Rezzonico, bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards advanced to the purple by pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Cæli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoys good health and a vigorous constitution. As an ecclesiastic, his life is exemplary; his morals are pure and unimpeached: in his character, he is said to be learned, diligent, steady, devout, and in every respect worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

I shall next, previous to my opening the history of the succeeding session of parliament, present the reader with the most remarkable domestic occurrences of the year.

It is a circumstance that redounds greatly to the honour of the English ministry, that, while the operations of the war were vigorously carried on in the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great Britain, which may be considered as the center that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and saw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest: for the dejection occasioned by the misfortune at St. Cassin soon vanished before the prospect of victory and success. Considering the agitation naturally produced among the common people, by the practice of pressing men into the service of the navy, the raising of so many new corps of soldiers, and the endeavours used in forming the national militia, very few disturbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation.

Against private acts of malice, violence, and rapine, however, no community whatsoever is secure. In the month of April the temporary wooden bridge over the Thames, built for the convenience of carriages and passengers, while the workmen should be employed in widening and repairing London-bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this convenience proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithstanding the care and discretion of the magistrates in applying remedies to the present misfortune. A promise of the king's pardon was offered in a public advertisement, by the secretary of state, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any person who should discover the perpetrator of such a wicked outrage; but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any society of men, could have the least interest in the execution of such a scheme, except the body of London watermen: but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy of the public. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt

was made (in all probability by the same incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried; and a guard was appointed to prevent any such atrocious efforts for the future.

Dangerous tumults were excited in and about Manchester, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and formed a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour. They had concerted a regular plan, and collected large sums for the maintenance of the poorer sort, while they refused to work for their families. They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this confederacy; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who exerted themselves with such spirit and activity, that the ring-leaders being apprehended and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

In the month of June Florence Hensley, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been arrested for treasonable practices, was tried at the court of King's Bench, on an indictment for high-treason. In the course of the trial it appeared, that he had been employed as a spy by the French ministry; to whom, in consideration of a pauper's pension, he sent intelligence of every material incident in Great Britain. The correspondence was conducted by his brother, a jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were imparted to him by the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an enquiry touching the source of this intelligence, and soon received information, that the secretary of the Spanish ambassador had a brother, a physician, at London. The suspicion occasioned by this circumstance being communicated to the ministry of England, Hensley was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was found guilty of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North America, the capture of the two ships the Alcide and Lys, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the public. He had even acquainted them that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was designed against Rochefort; and advised a descent upon Great Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the public credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced against such delinquents: but whether he merited forgiveness by some material discovery, or the ministry found him so insensible and insignificant that they were ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was indulged with a pardon, on condition of going into perpetual exile.

The lash of the law fell, with no less justice, upon one Dr. Shebbeare, who, in a series of printed letters to the people of England, had censured the conduct of the ministry in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatized some great names with all the virulence of satire, and even presumed to

insult

insult and abuse the person of the sovereign. The government, enraged at the insolence, as well as alarmed at the success of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and presumption; and he was apprehended by warrant from the Secretary's Office. His Sixth Letter to the People of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution.

After a short trial, in the court of King's Bench, he was found guilty of having writ the Sixth Letter to the People of England, which was adjudged a libellous pamphlet; sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his good behaviour for the future: a punishment which, however seemingly severe, was by no means too great for the atrociousness of his crime; as his sole motive appeared to be to raise his own private fortune, which was low, at the expence of disturbing the peace of his country.

It must be observed to the honour of the English, and is universally allowed by all foreign nations, that no people in the world are more remarkable for exerting the virtues of charity and benevolence towards the distressed and forlorn part of their fellow-creatures. In the course of this year the public began to reap the benefit of several admirable institutions of this nature. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served.

In the month of March the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed, when the trustees, by public advertisement, summoned the maidens educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that six of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be payed as her marriage portion, provided she married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly on the first day of May the candidates appeared; and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the ensuing November, when a second prize of the same value would be presented. Thus a new candidate will be added every half year, that every maiden, who has been educated in this hospital, and been careful of her character, may have a chance for a portion of a hundred pounds, the other five being intended to defray the expence of the wedding entertainment. It is hard to say, which ought most to be admired,

the excellence of the plan, or the generosity of the founder's intention.

Of no less, perhaps of still greater, merit was another charitable establishment, which also took place about the same time. A small number of humane persons, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the calamitous situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most wretched of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as will reflect eternal honour on the memory of the benefactors. They considered that many of those unhappy creatures, so miserable in themselves, and so productive of mischief to others, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the male sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or sagacity to discern the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel reputation being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their friends, shunned by their acquaintance, and thrown on the wide world: that stung with self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened by despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human beings could undergo: that whatever remorse they might feel, how much soever abhor their own vice or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow creatures:

Moved to pity by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates resolved to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, inure themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably reunited to society, from which they had been so unhappily cut off. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital, in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance, which was granted to several. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surry-side of Westminster bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children deserted by their parents: and it is to be hoped that the managers of both will be enabled, by the contributions of the humane and compassionate, to afford protection to every object labouring under

under those species of distress which they propose to succour.

Nor did the generosity of the public appear more conspicuous in relieving the distressed, than in rewarding the ingenious in every particular branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very considerable number of members, who paid a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly-room, built and furnished at the common expence; besides the ordinary meetings of the society held every week, from the second Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday of May: and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month.

At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed upon business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the necessary expence of the society had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry: for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary and sculpture; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled paper, ship blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving.

They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America; and bestowed premiums on those settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflower, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing isinglass, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West-Indies; raising silk grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They moreover allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public, than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom.

The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expence, the duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable

character, provided a large apartment at White-hall for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaster-casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instruction of Mess. Wilton and Cipriani, two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso-relievo.

Besides these liberal institutions, Mr. Finch and Mr. Townshend, animated with a laudable zeal for the improvement of learning, bestowed two prizes of fifteen guineas each upon two senior batchelors of arts, and the same upon two middle batchelors, in the university of Cambridge, who should compose the best exercises in Latin prose, to be recited in public.

It is commonly observed by foreign nations, and even admitted by the English themselves, that no country in the world produces such an infinite variety of original characters, nor gives birth to such a number of strange adventures. Of this nature may be reckoned the following incident relating to his grace the duke of Marlborough, which though it derived its origin from the latter end of the preceding year, and cannot properly be considered as belonging to general history, is yet so curious in all its particulars, that the reader, I imagine, will excuse the digression.

Towards the end of November, in the foregoing year, the abovementioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed "To his grace the duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and conceived in these terms: "My lord, As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake myself. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenor of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life: that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power: it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me; which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physic. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be

rainy on Sunday) near the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde-Park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secrecy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy. Felton*.— You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone; and depend upon it that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

The duke, in consequence of this extraordinary summons, appeared at the time and place appointed. He was on horseback and alone, with pistols before him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more easily known. He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, though at such a considerable distance as scarce to be perceived. He remained some time on the spot without seeing any person whom he could suspect to be the author of the letter he had received, and then rode away; but happening to turn his head when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he observed a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which had been fixed as the place of meeting. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing the person, expected to be addressed; but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bowed to the stranger, and asked, if he had not something to communicate. The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the duke told his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me." But he still answered in the negative, and the duke rode home.

In a day or two after this transaction another letter was brought to him, containing the following address; "My lord, you receive this as an acknowledgement of your punctuality, as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, though it was owing to you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant; the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west isle of Westminster-abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person, whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode; according to which direction, you will please send two or three hundred pound bank-notes the next day by the penny-post. Exert not your curiosity too early; it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful; but they do not bark before they bite. I am, &c. F."

The duke, desirous of unravelling this strange mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescrib-

ed; and after having walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person to whom he had spoke in Hyde-Park, enter the Abbey with another man of a creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir; and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accosting him, asked if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him? he replied, "No, my lord, I have not." "Sure you have," said the duke; but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the isle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them; and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal, that, notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person.

Not long after this second disappointment, he received a third letter to the following effect: "My lord, I am fully convinced, that you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature; but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may easily find where I go to: in consequence of which, by being sent to I shall wait on your grace: but expect to be quite alone and to converse in whispers: you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These, and the former terms complied with, ensure your safety: my revenge, in case of non-compliance, (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chances would be ten-fold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the † Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme."

The expression, "you will see me again soon, as it were by accident," seemed evidently to point at the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and in the Abbey; nevertheless he saw him not again, nor did he hear any thing farther of the affair for two months; at the expiration of which the post brought him the following letter: "May it please your grace, I have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor in Abingdon-buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety; his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately; it would be useless to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair. Your sincere friend, Anonymous.---He frequently goes to Storey's-Gate coffee-house."

About ten days after the receipt of this letter, the duke sent a person to that coffee-house to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be

* The name of the assassin who poignarded Villiers duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles I.

† Blood was the name of the ruffian who, in the reign of

Charles II. endeavoured to assassinate the duke of Ormond, and to steal the crown and sceptre from the Jewel-office in the Tower.

glad to speak to him. The message was delivered to Mr. Barnard, who replied, he would wait on his grace next Thursday, half an hour after ten in the morning. He faithfully kept his promise, and no sooner appeared than the duke recognized him to be the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having led him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, if he had any thing to impart; and was answered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transaction; to which Barnard listened with attention and surprize, yet without exhibiting any marks of conscious guilt or confusion.

The duke observing, that it was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the correctness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the same time. When he saw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumstance of his father's absence, he said, "It is very odd; my father was then out of town." This expression seemed the more remarkable, as the letter was without date; and he could not, as an innocent man, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The duke having informed him of every particular, added, that it behoved him, even more than his grace himself, to detect the writer of the letters, especially of the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdrew.

How these circumstances came to the knowledge of the public does not appear; but, soon after, Mr. Barnard was taken into custody, and tried at the Old Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute. No evidence, however, could be produced to prove that the letters were of his hand-writing; nor could any presumption be said to lie against him, except his being in Hyde-Park and in Westminster-Abbey, at the place and time appointed in the two first letters.

On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday when he saw the duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kensington on particular business, by his father's order, signified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with several other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the duke of Marlborough and him in the Park: that his being afterwards in Westminster-Abbey was the effect of mere accident; that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinsman, a brewer at Deptford, who had lain the preceding night at his father's house, desired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with this request till after much solicitation: that he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey, but was prevailed on by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a desire of seeing the newly-erected monument of general Hargrave: that having formerly communicated to this friend the strange circumstance of the duke's speaking to him in Hyde-Park, Mr. Greenwood no sooner saw that nobleman in the Abbey than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who, as he was very short-sighted, did not see his grace; nor, if he had, could possibly have known him: that, from his passing them several times, Mr.

Greenwood concluded the duke wanted to speak with Mr. Barnard alone, and he therefore quitted him and retired into the choir, that they might have an opportunity of talking together privately. It likewise appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the duke in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances: that he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money: that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons the jury were convinced of the prisoner's innocence, and he was therefore acquitted of the crime laid to his charge.

The fourth letter still remains an inscrutable mystery. No one could imagine, from Mr. Barnard's behaviour, "that he was acquainted with some secrets that nearly concerned the duke's safety;" nor could it be conceived why any person, who might have heard of his grace's having received threatening letters, should name that gentleman. The most natural conjecture, if on such an occasion a conjecture may be allowed, is, that some officious person, who might have received some slight intimation of the duke's business at the Abbey, and observed him speak to Mr. Barnard, might have followed that gentleman home, and taking it for granted that if he should, in consequence of this information, be detected in any evil design, he (the informer) whenever he should think proper to reveal himself, would be rewarded, might be induced to make the information at a venture, and in the mean time to remain incognito till the event should be known. With respect to the duke, he appears to have acted through the whole of this intricate affair with the utmost generosity and honour; to have undertaken the prosecution merely from public principles; and to have been more desirous that the prisoner should be found innocent than guilty.

In the month of August the king, in quality of elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a loan by subscription for that sum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money-dealers of London.

On the twenty-third day of November both houses of parliament met at Westminster, when, his majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the lord-keeper addressed them to the following effect: He told them, his majesty had directed the lords of the commission to assure his parliament, that he always received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that might promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms: that, in consequence of their advice, and enabled by the assistance which they unanimously gave, his majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace: that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless his measures and arms with success in several parts; and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the strength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conquest

quest of the strong fortrefs of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great distress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those of Great Britain: that France had also been made sensible, that whilst her forces were sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts were not inaccessible to his majesty's fleets and armies; a truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels; but that no treatment, however injurious to his majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown: that in Germany his majesty's good brother the king of Prussia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, had found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their successes owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majesty's troops and those of his allies having been signal and glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles. In this state of things, he said, the king in his wisdom thought it unnecessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by and defend his majesty, vigorously to support the king of Prussia and the rest of his majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the house of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: that the king had ordered them to declare to the commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burdens of his people: that the several estimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he desired only such supplies as should be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them the king took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it than to repeat his exhortations to it: that this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the strongest motive to induce them to pursue it.

This speech was answered by loyal and affectionate addresses from both houses of parliament, who seemed fully satisfied with the conduct of the ministry. That of the lords was conceived in the following terms:

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parlia-

ment assembled, beg leave to approach your throne with hearts full of that duty and affection to your sacred person and government which become the most faithful subjects to the best of kings. That constant regard and attention which your majesty has shewn to the honour and interest of your kingdoms, have filled our minds with the most grateful sentiments; and we see with real satisfaction those active and vigilant efforts which your majesty, in your great wisdom, has made to carry on the war with vigour, in order to the desirable end which we all wish, a safe and honourable peace. Justice and good policy required that our enemies should feel how dangerous it is for them to provoke the spirit and strength of the British nation.

"We acknowledge, with becoming thankfulness, the goodness of the Divine Providence, in having crowned your majesty's measures and arms with success in several parts; and we joyfully congratulate your majesty on the conquest of the strong fortrefs of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, the taking of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal. The high importance of these successes is apparent, in the reputation thereby acquired to your majesty's arms, and in the distress they cannot fail to bring upon the French commerce and colonies, as well as in the happy effects procured to those of Great Britain. We have seen, with the warmest emotions of resentment, the exorbitant devastations committed by the armies of France upon the dominions of your majesty, and those of your allies in Germany. They must now have experienced how much, in consequence of their unbounded ambition to invade their neighbours, their own coasts are exposed in the demolition of their expensive works at Cherbourg, particularly intended for the annoyance of this country; and in the loss of so many ships and vessels, as well privateers as others, in their ports.

"At the same time, we cannot sufficiently admire your majesty's magnanimity and moderation, in not having hitherto retaliated on the innocent subjects of that crown the injurious treatment which you have received. We have a just sense of the real advantages derived to the operations of Great Britain in particular, as well as to the common cause in general, from the wise conduct of the king of Prussia and prince Ferdinand of Brunswic. Their great abilities, and the bravery of your majesty's troops, and those of your majesty's allies, have been signally conspicuous in the successes with which they have been attended, and must be acknowledged by all Europe. Nothing can possibly be of greater national importance than the navigation and commerce of your subjects; and we return your majesty our dutiful thanks for that protection and security which they have received from your royal care in the disposition of your fleet, to which their present flourishing condition is so much owing. The stagnation of our enemy's trade, and the taking and destroying so many of their capital ships of war, ought, in this view, to be reckoned amongst the most happy events.

"Permit us to declare our grateful sense of that paternal tenderness which your majesty has expressed for the burthens of your people: we receive from thence the strongest encouragement to adhere
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the more firmly to the cause of the protestant religion and public liberty, against any unnatural union formed to oppress it. In this just cause we will, to our utmost, effectually stand by and defend your majesty, support the king of Prussia and the rest of your allies, and vigorously exert ourselves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. Our duty and fidelity to your majesty, and our zeal for the protestant succession in your royal family, are uniform and unalterable: our prayers for the prolongation of your precious life and auspicious reign over us, are sincere and fervent; and we beg leave to give your majesty the strongest assurances, that nothing shall be wanting on our part to improve union and good harmony amongst all your subjects, for promoting and securing these interesting and essential objects."

The address of the commons, which was no less loyal, proceeded in the following strain:

"We your most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your majesty our most sincere and hearty thanks for the speech delivered, by your majesty's command, to both houses of parliament.

"We beg leave to congratulate your majesty, with hearts full of the most unfeigned joy, upon the many signal successes with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless your majesty's measures and arms in several parts of the world; particularly, in the important conquest of the strong fortresses of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, so essential to our operations in North America; the reduction of the valuable settlement of Senegal; the total demolition of the harbour and works of Cherbourg, erected at so great expence by the enemy, with a particular view to annoy this country; and the destruction of the shipping and privateers in the ports of France.

"Your majesty's faithful commons feel, with the highest satisfaction, how greatly these events redound to the honour and interests of your majesty's kingdoms, to the upholding the reputation of the British arms, and to the maintaining and extending the glories of your majesty's reign.

"We have the most lively sense of these happy consequences (under God) of your majesty's wisdom in the powerful exertion of the naval force of these kingdoms, to the annoyance and distress of the fleets, trade, and navigation of France, whilst the commerce of Great Britain flourishes in full protection and security; and, at the same time, of your majesty's justice and magnanimity, in steadily supporting your allies, and in carrying on with vigour, in all parts, this arduous and necessary war.

"It is with joy and admiration we see the glorious efforts made in Germany by your majesty's great ally the king of Prussia, and those made by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, seconded by the valour of your majesty's troops and those of your allies; and that full employment has thereby been given to all the armies of France and of her confederates; from which our operations, both by sea and in America, have received the most evident and important advantages.

"Permit us to assure your majesty, that your faithful commons, justly animated in defence of the rights of your majesty's crown and of the pro-

testant religion, and the common cause of liberty and independency, against the dangerous union which hath been formed to oppress them, will bear up against all difficulties, and exert themselves to the utmost, by granting to your majesty such supplies as shall be necessary, effectually to stand by and defend your majesty, and vigorously to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of your majesty's allies, firmly relying on the wisdom and goodness of your majesty, that the same will be applied, in the properest manner, to push the war with advantage, and to reduce the enemy to equitable terms of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace.

"We beg leave also to express our most grateful sense of the paternal satisfaction your majesty takes in that good harmony which subsists amongst your faithful subjects, and of your majesty's gracious acceptance of the universal zeal and affection of your people; which salutary union hath enabled us so effectually to exert our strength abroad, and hath preserved at home tranquillity, safety, and public credit; and we trust that the continuance of the same truly national spirit will, by the blessing of God, be attended with the like happy effects for the future."

The ministry, encouraged by this approbation of their conduct, resolved to prosecute the war in every quarter, and particularly to support the king of Prussia with still greater vigour than ever. With this view, on the seventh day of December a new treaty was concluded at London between that prince and the British nation, importing, that as the burthens of war in which the king of Prussia was engaged, laid him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who had attacked his dominions, he was obliged to take new measures with the king of England for their reciprocal defence and safety; and as his Britannic majesty had at the same time signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and in consequence thereof to conclude a formal convention for granting to his Prussian majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their majesties had nominated and authorised their ministers to concert and settle the following articles:

All former treaties between the two crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster on the sixteenth of January, in the year 1756, and the convention of the eleventh of April, in the year 1758, are confirmed by the present convention in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. The king of Great Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorised by the king of Prussia for that end the sum of four millions of rixdollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the king of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such a manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said majesties. The king of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the king of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude, with the powers that have taken part in the present war, any treaty

treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

The addresses of thanks were no sooner presented by both houses of parliament, than the commons proceeded to settle the supply. For this purpose two committees were forthwith established, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their resolutions were finished. They voted sixty thousand seamen, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the service of the ensuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, including four thousand and eight invalids, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Sax-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty thousand, and four battalions on the Irish establishment, in actual service in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the sixty thousand men employed in the sea-service, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the land forces, one million two hundred fifty-six thousand one hundred and thirty pounds fifteen shillings and two pence; for the charge of the additional four battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds thirteen shillings and nine-pence; for the pay of the general and staff officers, and hospitals of the land forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds one shilling and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds five shillings and seven pence; for the charge of ordnance for the land service, two hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds eleven shillings and nine pence; for extraordinary service performed by the same office, and not provided for by parliament in the course of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven pounds thirteen shillings and three-pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds nine shillings and eight pence; towards the support of Greenwich hospital, and for the out-pensioners of Chelsea-college, the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds.

They allotted for one year's expence, incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds nineteen shillings and ten pence, over and above sixty thousand pounds, for enabling his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, stipulating that this sum should be paid to his serene highness, in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Eighty thousand pounds were granted for enabling

his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the preceding session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of parliament. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ships of war for the ensuing year. Fifteen thousand pounds were allowed for improving London-bridge; and forty thousand on account for the Foundling hospital. For the charge of transports to be employed in the course of the year, they assigned six hundred sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-one pounds nineteen shillings and seven pence: for maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they bestowed twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds thirteen shillings and five pence. To replace sums taken from the sinking fund, thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-two pounds eighteen shillings and ten pence half-penny; for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, ten thousand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an estate, devised for the endowment of a professorship in the university of Cambridge, the sum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds.

For the expence of the militia they voted ninety thousand pounds: for extraordinary expences relating to the land forces, incurred in the course of last year, and unprovided for by parliament, the sum of four hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five pounds ten shillings five pence and three farthings. For the purchase of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to secure the king's docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds two shillings and ten pence. They voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to give proper compensations to the respective provinces in North America, for the expences they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the service of the public. They granted twenty thousand pounds to the East India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements; and half that sum was granted for carrying on the fortifications to secure the harbour of Milford. To make good several sums issued by his majesty, for indemnifying the innholders and victuallers of Hampshire, for the expences they had incurred by quartering the Hessian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the salaries of judges, and other less considerable purposes, they allowed the sum of twenty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds sixteen shillings and six pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require.

The sum of all the grants voted by the committee of supply, amounted to twelve millions seven hundred sixty-one thousand three hundred and ten pounds nineteen shillings and five-pence.

The funds allotted for raising this supply, consisted of the land tax at four shillings in the pound,

the malt tax continued, and the following expedients. They resolved, that the annuities at three per centum, amounting to three millions one hundred thousand pounds, granted in the year 1757, should be, with the consent of the several proprietors, added to the joint-stock of three per centum transferable annuities at the bank of England, consolidated by the acts passed in the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth years of his majesty's reign, and the charges and expences thereof to be charged upon the sinking-fund until redemption by parliament; and that all such persons as should not, before the fifth of April next, signify their dissent, in books to be opened at the Bank for that purpose, should be deemed assenting to this proposal. They further resolved, that all the moneys, which might arise, after the fifth day of January, from the produce of the additional stamp-duties on pamphlets, printed papers, coals exported, the surplus of the new duty on licences for retailing wine and spirituous liquors, which were constituted a fund for paying three per cent. per annum at the Bank, on three millions borrowed, by virtue of an act passed in the thirtieth year of his majesty's reign, towards the supply of the year 1757; as also the annuities on single lives, payable at the receipt of the Exchequer, in respect of the same, should be added to the sinking-fund.

They resolved, that six millions six hundred thousand pounds should be raised by transferable annuities, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum; and that an additional capital of fifteen pounds should be added to every hundred pounds advanced; which additional capital should consist of ten pounds, given in a lottery-ticket to each subscriber, and of five pounds in like transferable annuities at three pounds per cent: the blanks and prizes of the lottery to be attended with like annuities, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January, in the year 1760: that the sum of six millions six hundred thousand pounds, together with the said additional capital of five pounds per cent, amounting to three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, making in the whole six millions nine hundred and thirty thousand pounds, should bear interest after the rate of three per cent, to commence on the fifth day of July next ensuing: that these annuities should be transferable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund established for that purpose in this session of parliament, for which the sinking-fund should be a collateral security, redeemable by parliament in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payments respectively: that the lottery should consist of tickets valued at ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize, each blank to be valued at six pounds. They resolved, that every subscriber should, on or before the thirteenth day of February, make a deposit of fifteen per centum, on such sum as he should chuse to subscribe towards raising the six millions six hundred thousand pounds, with the cashiers of the bank of England, as a security for his making the future payments on or before the times limited by the act: that the several sums so received should by the cashiers, be payed into the receipt of his majesty's Exchequer, to be applied

from time to time, to such services as the Commons should then have voted, and not for any other purpose: that any subscriber, paying the whole, or any part of his subscription, previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, from the days of such respective payments to the times prescribed.

They resolved, that a subsidy of one shilling in the pound should be imposed on all tobacco, foreign linens, sugar, and other grocery, East-India commodities, foreign brandy, spirits, and paper imported into Great-Britain, according to the value settled on each commodity by the several books of rates, on any acts of parliament, over and above the present duties charged upon these articles. They laid an additional inland duty of one shilling per pound upon all coffee sold in Great-Britain, by wholesale or retail; and another of ninepence per pound upon chocolate, over and above the former inland duty, and all customs payed on its importation. They resolved, that such part of the hundred thousand pounds, granted in the last session, towards defraying the expence of the militia, as remained in the Exchequer, after satisfaction of that expence, should be issued and applied towards raising the supply granted in this session: that, after the fifth day of July, in the current year, any person might trade in any goods or wares, in which the quantity of gold, in any one separate piece, should not exceed two penny weights, or the quantity of silver be under five penny weights, without being liable to take out a licence for that purpose; but that, from the same date, every person selling gold or silver plate, or goods in which gold or silver is manufactured, and the quantity of gold in one distinct piece should amount to two ounces or upwards, should pay five pounds for an annual licence, instead of the forty shillings formerly payable for this purpose; and that all pawn-brokers, refiners, and others, trading in gold and silver plate, should be obliged to take out this new annual licence; the sums thus raised to be applied to the same uses and purposes, to which the sums charged on licences by an act of last session were applicable.

They ordained, that the act to settle the trade to Africa, passed in the reign of William the third, for allowing during a limited time, a drawback of the duties upon the exportation of copper bars imported, with a proviso continued by several successive acts, and now near expiring, should be further protracted: that so much of an act, passed in the eighth year of George the first, for encouraging the silk manufacture of the kingdom, as relates to this encouragement, and to taking off several duties on merchandize exported, should likewise be continued. They moreover voted the continuation of so much of an act passed in the second year of George the second, for the better preservation of his majesty's woods in America, as related to the premium upon masts, yards, and bowsprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine. They resolved, that the act for encouraging the growth of coffee in the American plantations, and another for the more effectual securing the duties on foreign made sail-cloth imported into the kingdom, should be continued. They determined, that the sums remain-

ing in the receipt of exchequer, disposable by parliament, amounting to the sum of two hundred fifty-three thousand three hundred and eighty-four pounds and eleven pence, should be applied towards making good the supply granted in this session. They resolved, that the duties payable upon raw short silk or capiton, and silk nubs or husks, should, after the fifth day of July, cease and determine; but, in lieu thereof, that the same duties should be payed upon the importation of these articles, as were payed upon raw long silk imported, and applied to the same purposes.

Towards the present supply they likewise granted the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, repayed into the receipt of the Exchequer, being the sum which was voted in the year 1755, for enabling the king to fulfil his engagements with the empress of Russia. For defraying the expence incurred by the additional salaries granted to the judges, they imposed an additional stamp-duty of sixpence upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which should be engrossed or written any affidavit used at any court of law or equity at Westminster, or in the courts of the great sessions in Wales, or county-palatine of Chester, except affidavits taken pursuant to several acts made in the 30th and 32d years of the reign of Charles II. for burying in woollen; and except such affidavits as should be taken before the officers of the customs, or any justice of the peace, or commissioners appointed by act of parliament for assessing or levying aids or duties granted to his majesty, which affidavits should be taken by the said officers of the customs, justices, or commissioners, by virtue of their authority, as justices of the peace, or commissioners, respectively. This additional stamp-duty was charged on all affidavits read and filed in the aforesaid courts of judicature; on all paper and vellum used for common bail, rules, or orders, copies of rules or orders, original writs, subpoenas, process or mandate that should issue from or pass the seals of any of the courts of Westminster, courts of the great sessions in Wales, courts in the counties palatine, or any other court whatever holding plea, where the debt or damage amounts to forty shillings or above, or the thing demanded is of that value; excepting, however, writs of covenant for levying fines, writs of entry for suffering common recoveries, and writs of habeas corpus.

They moreover established an additional stamp-duty of one penny upon every sheet of paper or piece of vellum used for depositions taken in the court of Chancery, or other court of equity at Westminster, (except the paper draughts of depositions taken by virtue of any commission before they are engrossed) for copies of bills, answers, pleas, demurrers, replications, rejoinders, interrogatories, depositions, or other proceedings whatsoever, in this or any other court of judicature in England or Wales. The augmentation of salaries granted to the judges in Scotland was charged upon the duties and revenues collected in that part of Great Britain.

Finally the commons resolved, that the sum of two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking-fund towards the supply of the current year; and one

million raised by exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament. These resolutions were immediately digested into bills, which, soon after, received the royal sanction.

On the twenty-second day of May, Mr. secretary Pitt delivered a message from his majesty, importing, that his majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies might arise, which might be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, was desirous that this house would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year 1759, and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs might require.

This message was no sooner read, than a motion was made, and unanimously approved, that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raised by loans, or exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be given in the next session. This produced a bill enabling his majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, comprehending a clause, allowing the bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any sum not exceeding a million, notwithstanding the act of the fifth and sixth years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the bank was established.

The bills relating solely to the supply being finally established, the house proceeded, as usual, to enact other laws for the benefit of the public. Petitions having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New Sarum, alledging, that, since the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour, had been in force, the commonalty appeared more sober, healthy, and industrious; representing the ill consequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws, and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole house resolved, that the prohibition to export corn should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year 1759; subject, nevertheless, to such provisions for shortening the said term of its continuance as should hereafter be made by any act of that session, or by his majesty with the advice of his privy council, during the recess of parliament: that the act for discontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued: and that the prohibition to make low wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal, or flour, should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year 1759.

Before a bill was framed on these resolutions, a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of the city and suburbs of London, as well as by several farmers in the county of Norfolk, complaining of the hardships and losses they must sustain, should the bill pass into a law.

However,

However, notwithstanding their remonstrances were carefully examined, the bill passed, with the amendments.

Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide effectually against any such outrageous practices for the future; and with this view the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his present majesty's reign, entitled, An act for the encouragement of seamen, and more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy; which soon after received the royal assent, and contained the following regulations: That, after the first day of January in the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burden of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the lords of the admiralty, or persons authorized by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burthen, the owners thereof giving such bail or security as should be prescribed: that the lords of the admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his majesty in council, whose determination should be final: that, previous to the granting any commission, the persons proposing to be bound and give security should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the sum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts: that persons applying for such commissions should make application in writing, and therein set forth a particular and exact description of the vessel, specifying the burthen, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men; these particulars to be inserted in the commission, and every commander to produce such commission to the custom-house officer, who should examine the vessel, and, finding her answer the description, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which the commander should not depart: that if, after the first day of June, any captain of a privateer should agree for the ransom of any neutral vessel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as prize, and in pursuance of such agreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that, with respect to contraband merchandize, he might take it on board his own ship, with the consent of the commander of the neutral vessel, and then set her at liberty; and that no person should purloin or embezzle the said merchandize before condemnation: that no judge or other person belonging to any court of admiralty should be concerned in any privateer: that owners of vessels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, should, after their commissions were declared void, be indemnified for their loss by the public: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, should

be held twice a-year in the Old Bailey at London, or in such other place within England as the board of admiralty should appoint: that the judge of any court of admiralty, after an appeal interposed, as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, issue an order for appraising the capture, when the parties could not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact security for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving such security: but should objection be made to the taking such security, the judge should, at the request of either party, order such merchandize to be entered, landed, and sold at public auction, and the produce be deposited at the Bank, or in some public securities; and in case of security being given, the judge should grant a pass in favour of the capture; and finally, that this act should remain in force only during the continuance of the present war with France.

From this regulation it is evident, that whatever outrages might have been offered to the ships of neutral nations, they were by no means encouraged by the legislature, or the body of the people.

The attention of the commons was next engaged by an object of no less importance to the public. This was the regular establishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the endeavours of the legislature, was found still incomplete, and in want of further assistance from the government. His majesty having, by the chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended to the house the making suitable provision for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expence already incurred by this establishment were laid before the committee of supply, who, after having duly examined them, resolved, that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards providing pay and cloathing for the militia, from the last day of the last year to the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year 1760, and for refunding to the king a sum advanced for this service.

Leave was given to bring in one bill agreeable to this resolution, and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniences with which it might be attended. So eager were the majority in both houses for accomplishing this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal sanction; but they presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution the several acts of parliament relating to the militia.

The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual measures, without any dispute or opposition.

A committee having been appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the house touching the revival or continuation of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions; in consequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted

into

into laws, namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going armed or disguised; an act for continuing several laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; and an act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons. This last, among other particulars, ordained, that where more creditors than one shall charge any prisoner in execution, and desire to have him detained in prison, they shall only respectively pay him each such weekly sum, not exceeding one shilling and six-pence a-week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: and that if any prisoner, described by the act, shall remain in prison three months after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors, they consenting to his being discharged.

In the course of this session a bill was passed, permitting the free importation of cattle from Ireland for a limited time; as was also an act allowing the free importation of tallow from that kingdom, for the term of five years.

In the month of February the commons presented an address to his majesty, requesting that he would give directions for laying before the house an account of what had been done, since the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his majesty. These accounts being examined, and the king having, by the chancellor of the Exchequer, exhorted them to make provision for fortifying the said harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and passing through both houses, received the royal assent without opposition. By this act several engineers were added to the commissioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained, that fortifications should be erected at Peter-church point, Westlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted, that the commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, assistants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution; and that an account of the application of the money should be laid before the parliament within twenty days of the opening of every session.

The next object that engaged the attention of the commons was an affair of a very delicate nature, of the utmost importance to the commerce of the kingdom, and which equally affected the interest of the nation and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February complaint was made to the house, that, since the commencement of the war, an infamous traffic had been set on foot by some merchants of London, of importing French cloths into several ports of the Levant, on account of British subjects. Five persons were ordered to attend the house; and the fact was clearly proved, not only by their evidence, but also by some papers delivered to the house by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately framed for putting a stop to this scandalous practice, declaring in the preamble, that such traffic was not only a manifest discouragement and prejudice to

the woollen manufactures of Great Britain, but also an advantage to the enemy; in consequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms. This act, however, was only to continue in force during the present war with France.

The commons then proceeded to explain and amend a law made in the last session, for granting to his majesty several rates and duties upon offices and pensions. The directions given in the former act for levying this imposition having been found inconvenient in many respects, new regulations were now established, importing, that those deductions should be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the king for that purpose: that all sums deducted under this act should be accounted for to such receivers, and the accounts audited and passed by them, and not by the auditors of the imprests or the Exchequer: that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally, and in a summary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland respectively: that the commissioners of the land-tax should fix and ascertain the sum total or amount of the perquisites of every office and employment within their respective districts, distinct from the salary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the said act, independently of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and should rate or assess all offices and employments whereof the perquisites should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty thence arising; that the receivers should transmit to the commissioners in every district where any office or employment is to be assessed, an account of such offices and employments, that, upon being certified of the truth of their amount, they might be rated and assessed accordingly: that, in all future assessments of the land-tax, the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were assessed towards the land-tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign: that the word perquisite should be understood to mean such profits of offices and employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the subjects, in consideration of business done in the course of executing such offices and employments: and that a commissioner possessed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the said act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four last clauses several salaries are exempted from the payment of this duty.

Nothing surely could be more reasonable than such a law, by which those who receive so much from the bounty of the government were obliged to contribute something towards its support and defence. It were to be wished, indeed, that the salaries and perquisites of many of the public offices were infinitely less than they are at present; as this would probably be the most effectual means of preventing those violent contests among the courtiers for places, which so often disturb the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and which owe their rise not so much to any regard which the candidates have for the interest of their country, as to the desire of encreasing their own private fortunes.

In the beginning of March petitions were delivered to the house by the merchants of Birmingham in Warwickshire, and Sheffield in Yorkshire, representing, that the toy-trade of these and many other towns consisted generally of articles in which gold and silver might be said to be manufactured, though in small proportion, inasmuch as the sale of them depended upon slight ornaments of gold and silver: that, by a clause passed in the last session of parliament, obliging every person who should sell goods or wares, in which any gold or silver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of forty shillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and disadvantages: that not only the first seller, but every person thro' whose hands the goods or wares passed to the consumer, was required to take out the said licence. They therefore prayed that the house would take these hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indulge them with such relief as to the house should seem proper.

The committee, to whom this affair was referred, having resolved, that this imposition was found prejudicial to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the house agreed to the resolution; and a bill being prepared, under the title of "An act to amend the act made in the last session, for repealing the duty granted by an act of the sixth year in the reign of his late majesty on silver plate, and for granting a duty on licences to be taken out by all persons dealing in gold and silver plate," was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. By this new regulation, small quantities of gold and silver plate were allowed to be sold without licence. Instead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and silver plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners.

This affair being finished, the house took into consideration the claims of the proprietors of lands, purchased for the better securing of his majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth and citadel of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already mentioned the sum granted for this purpose, in consequence of a resolution of the house, upon which a bill being founded, soon passed into a law without opposition.

The next bill which was introduced into the house related to the summons issued by the commissioners of the excise and justices of the peace, for the appearance of persons offending against, or for forfeitures incurred by, the laws of excise. As some doubts had occurred with respect to the method of summoning in such cases, this bill, which afterwards received the royal assent, enacted, that summons left at the house, or usual place of residence, or with the wife, child, or menial servants of the person so summoned, should be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving such notice at the house, workhouse, warehouse, shop, cellar, vault, or usual place of residence of such person, directed to him by his right or assumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate, were subjected to the penalty of twenty pounds as often as they should neglect to attend the commissioners of excise, when summoned in this manner.

In the month of April a bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent im-

portation of cambricks; and while it was under consideration, several merchants and wholesale drapers of the city of London presented a petition, explaining the grievances to which they and many thousands of other traders would be subjected, should the bill, as it then stood, be passed into a law. According to their request, they were heard by their council on the justice of this remonstrance; and some alterations were made to the bill in their favour. At length it was carried to the throne, and enacted into a law, to the following purport: That no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind, usually entered under the denomination of cambrics, should be imported after the first day of next August, but in bales, cases, or boxes, covered with sackcloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambrics and French lawns should be imported for exportation only, lodged in the king's warehouse, and delivered out under like security and restrictions, as prohibited East India merchandize; and, on importation, pay only the half duty: that all cambrics and French lawns in the custody of any persons should be deposited, by the first of August, in the king's warehouses, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambrics and French lawns exposed to sale, or found in possession of private persons after the said day, should be forfeited, and liable to be searched for and seized, in like manner as other prohibited and unaccustomed goods are; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds, over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that, if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner: finally, that the penalty of five pounds inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any person that should wear any cambric or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace.

The last bill passed in the course of this session, was that relating to the augmentation of the salaries of the judges in his majesty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the committee of supply to consider of the said augmentation, the chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the house that this augmentation was recommended to them by his majesty. Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate ensued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, which were approved by the house, and digested into a bill. While this remained under deliberation, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to receive a clause or clauses for restraining the judges, comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, present, or entertainment, from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, gaoler, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made for a clause restraining

such judges, barons, and justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering otherwise than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to serve in parliament; but both these proposals being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent some alterations; and having passed through both houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the several stamp-duties applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in parliament.

Beside the bills I have already mentioned, several others were introduced into the house, all of which, in the end proved abortive; and the commons deliberated on many other important subjects, which however were not brought to any kind of maturity. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the enquiry concerning the regulation of weights and measures, a

subject I have mentioned in the history of the preceding session, the box, which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the house, was again produced by the clerk, in whose custody it had been deposited. This affair being carefully examined, the committee agreed to certain resolutions*, upon which a future law may possibly be founded. In the mean time, it was ordered that all the weights referred to in the report should be delivered to the clerk of the house, to be locked up and brought forth again occasionally.

The commons likewise, among other articles of domestic œconomy, bestowed some attention on the hospital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national consideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been laid before the members, were, together with the king's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, where they procured the sum of money which I have already mentioned among the other grants of the year. The commons afterwards resolved themselves into a committee, to deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of

* The reader, perhaps, may not be displeased with a sight of these resolutions, which I have therefore inserted. They implied, that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject of weights and measures: that the pole, or perch, should contain in length five such yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the mile one thousand seven hundred and sixty: that the superficial perch should contain thirty square yards and a quarter; the rood one thousand two hundred and ten; and the acre four thousand eight hundred and forty: that, according to the fourth, fifth, and sixth resolutions of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house on the second day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain seventy cubical inches and one half; the pint thirty-five and one quarter; the peck five hundred and sixty-four; and the bushel two thousand two hundred and fifty-six: that the several parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee, examined and adjusted in presence of this committee, examined and adjusted in presence of this committee, viz. the half pound or six ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five penny weight, three penny weight, two penny weight, and one penny weight; the twelve grains, six grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for sizing or adjusting weights for the future: that all weights exceeding a pound should be of brass, copper, bell-metal, or cast iron; and that all those of cast iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal: that all weights of cast iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weight, according to the standard, upon some convenient part thereof: that the yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the house in the last session, being the standard of length; and the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer, and there safely kept, under the seals of the chancellor of the said Exchequer, and of the chief baron, and the seal of office of the chamberlain of the Exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the chancellor of the Exchequer and chief baron for the time being: that the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in measures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain persons, at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of sizing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all

measures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiples, or certain proportions of the standards to be used for the future: that a model or pattern of the said standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in custody of the clerk of the house, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said pound, now presented to the house, and also of the multiples of the said pound, mentioned in this report (when the same are adjusted) should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief baron of the Exchequer for the time being, to be opened only by order of the said chief baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the barons of the Exchequer, on the application of the said persons for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occasion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office, for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects: that the models or patterns of the said standard yard, and standard pound aforesaid, and also models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the pound, should be lodged in the said office for the sizing of such measures of lengths or weights, as being parts, multiples, or proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of his majesty's subjects: that all measures of length and weight, sized at the said office, should be marked, in some convenient place thereof, with such marks as should be thought expedient, to shew the identity of the measures and weights sized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein: that the said office should be kept within a convenient distance of the court of Exchequer at Westminster; and that all measures of length and weights, within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and re-assized, as occasion should require, at the said office: that in order to enforce uniformity in weights and measures to be used for the future, all persons appointed by the crown to act as justices of the peace, in any county, city, or town corporate, being respectively counties within themselves, throughout the realm, should be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in respect to weights and measures only, without any of them being obliged to sue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter; and the said commissioners should be empowered to sue, imprison, inflict, or mitigate, such penalties as should be thought proper; and have such other authorities as should be necessary for compelling the use of weights and measures, agreeable to the foresaid standards: that models or patterns of the said standard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before-mentioned, should be distributed in each county, in such a manner as to be readily used for evidence, in all cases where measures and weights should be questioned before the said commissioners, and for adjusting the same in a proper manner.

May their resolutions were reported, to the following effect: That the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the said hospital, places in the several counties, ridings, or divisions, in this kingdom, for the reception of exposed and deserted young children, would be attended with evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the said hospital was attended with many evil consequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be prepared agreeable to this last resolution, but never drawn up, and therefore productive of no effect.

To the view I have exhibited of the proceedings in parliament, it may not be amiss to subjoin some messages which were sent by the king to the house of commons. That relating to the vote of credit I have already mentioned in the account of the supply. On the twenty-sixth day of April the chancellor of the Exchequer presented to the house two messages, signed by his majesty; one in favour of his subjects in North America, and the other in behalf of the East India company. In the former, he recommended to their consideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves in defence of his just rights and possessions; desiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compensation for the expences incurred by the respective provinces in levying, cloathing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the several colonies should appear to merit. In the latter, he desired the house would empower him to assist the East India company in defraying the expence of a military force in the East Indies, to be maintained by them in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both these messages were referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolutions upon each subject, which I have already explained.

The message concerning a projected invasion by the enemies of Great Britain I shall specify in its proper place, when I come to record the circumstances and miscarriage of that design. In the mean time, it may not be improper to observe, that the thanks of the house of commons were voted and given to admiral Boscawen and major-general Amherst, for the services they had done their king and country in North America; and the same compliment was paid to admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruize in the Mediterranean.

On the second day of June, the commissioners appointed by his majesty put an end to the session with a speech, addressed to both houses, importing, that the king approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condescension: that the hopes he had conceived of their surmounting the difficulties which lay in their way, were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection, of so good a parliament; and that his expectations were fully answered: that they had considered the war in all its parts; and, notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstinacy of the enemy, had made such provision for the many different operations, as ought to convince the adversaries of Great Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for the ease and relief of all Europe to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation: that, by their assistance, the combined army in

Germany had been completed; and powerful squadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner in that country: that, as France was making considerable preparations in her different ports, his majesty had taken care to put his fleet at home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms: that all his measures had been directed to assert the honour of his crown; to preserve the essential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the protestant religion, and public liberty; and he therefore trusted, that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the blessing of heaven upon his endeavours: that he hoped the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers, would produce the desired effect; a consideration which he had much at heart; for, though sensible of the utility of that service, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable, and consistent with his majesty's just right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being collusively and fraudulently covered: that he not only thanked the commons, but likewise applauded the firmness and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging that, notwithstanding the present burdens, the making ample provision for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy conclusion: that no attention should be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted; and that he had nothing further to desire, but that they would carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shewn in their proceedings during the session. This speech being finished, the parliament was prorogued.

The ministry and people of England seemed equally to concur in their sentiments, that the war ought to be prosecuted, as well in Europe as in America, with the utmost spirit and vigour.

For this purpose every preparation was made, and every measure adopted, that the necessity of the service required. The navy was repaired and augmented; and in order to mann the different squadrons, the expedient of pressing, that last resource in cases of necessity, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and severity. A proclamation was issued, offering a considerable bounty to every seaman and even landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service.

As an additional encouragement to this class of people, the king promised his pardon to all seamen, who had deserted from the respective ships to which they belonged, provided they should return to their duty by the third day of July; but at the same time he declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity at a time when their country so much required their service, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and if convicted, be deemed unfit objects

objects of the royal mercy. All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great Britain, were commanded to make particular search for straggling seamen fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods, more gentle and effectual, were taken to levy and recruit the land-forces. New regiments were raised on his majesty's promise, that every man should be intitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for enlisting were increased.

Besides these liberal indulgences from the government, considerable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, so universally were the people actuated by a real principle of love to their country. The example was set by the metropolis, where the common-council resolved, that subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to such persons as should enter voluntarily into his majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for this purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commons were appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be intitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should be brought to a conclusion.

These resolutions being signified to the king, he was pleased to express his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the secretary of state to the lord-mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by almost every corporation, in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time, such care was taken in disciplining the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of those truly constitutional troops equalled the regular forces in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in every respect as fit for actual service.

But it is now time to convert the reader's attention to the Theatre of war on the continent of Europe, where we shall see the English and their allies, acquitting themselves with remarkable spirit, reputation, and success.

The Hanoverian army, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, was strengthened by fresh reinforcements from England, augmented with German recruits, regularly paid, and well supplied with every comfort and convenience which foresight could suggest, or money procure; yet, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken, by the severe proceedings of the enemy they were cut off from some resources, which even the extreme necessities of a campaign can hardly excuse. On the second day of January, the French regiment of Nassau presenting itself before the gate of Frankfort on the Mayne, a neutral imperial city, and demanding a passage, it was introduced, and conducted by a detachment of the garrison, thro' the city as far as the gate of Saxen-hausen, where it unexpectedly halted, and immediately disarmed the guards. Before the inhabitants could recover

from the consternation into which they were thrown by this outrageous insult, five other French regiments entered the place, and here their general the prince de Soubise established his head-quarters. How deeply soever this violation of the laws of the empire might be resented by all honest Germans, who retained affection for the constitutions of their country; it was a step from which the French army derived a very manifest and important advantage; for it made them masters of the whole course of the Mayne and the Upper Rhine; by which they received, without difficulty or danger, every species of supply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the county of Alsace; while it maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Austrian forces and the army of the empire.

The plan of operations for the ensuing campaign was already concerted between the king of Prussia and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; and before the armies took the field, several skirmishes were fought, and quarters surprised. In the latter end of February, the prince of Ysembourg detached major-general Urst with four battalions and a body of horse, who advancing to Rhotenburg, fell upon the enemy's quarters in the night between the first and second day of March, and drove them from Hirschfeld, Vacha, and all the Hessian bailiwicks, of which they had taken possession; but the Austrians soon returning in great numbers, and being sustained by a detachment of French troops from Frankfort, the allies were obliged to retreat in their turn. In a few days, however, they themselves were compelled to retire with great precipitation, though they did not all escape. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, with a body of Prussian hussars, fell upon them suddenly at Molrichstadt, where he routed and dispersed a regiment of Hohenzollern cuirassiers, and a battalion of the troops of Wurtzburg. He next day, which was the first of April, proceeded with a body of horse and foot to Meinungen, where he found a considerable magazine, took two battalions prisoners, and surprised a third posted at Wafungen, after having defeated some Austrian troops that were on the march to its relief. While the hereditary prince was thus employed, the duke of Holstein, with another body of the confederates, constrained the French to abandon the post of Freyinstenau.

But the great object was to dislodge the enemy from Frankfort before they should receive the expected reinforcements. Prince Ferdinand of Brühlwic, being determined upon this enterprize, collected all his forces near Fulda, to the amount of forty thousand choice troops, and began his march on the tenth day of April. On the thirteenth he came in sight of the enemy, whom he found strongly intrenched about the village of Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau. Their general, the duke de Broglie, reckoned one of the best officers in France, in point of conduct and intrepidity, having received information of the prince's design, seized this post on the twelfth, the right of his army being at Bergen, and his center and flanks secured in such a manner, that the allies could not make their attack any way but by the village.

**AN ACCURATE MAP
of the
CIRCLE
of the
UPPER RHINE:
from the best
Authorities.**



British Miles 69 to a Degree.
German Miles 5 to a Degree.
1 2 3 4 5 6

See also B. from London.

A. B. 1780

Notwithstanding the advantage of their situation, prince Ferdinand resolved to give them battle, and made his dispositions accordingly. About ten in the morning the grenadiers of the advanced guard began the attack on the village of Bergen with great fury, and sustained a most terrible fire from eight German battalions, reinforced by several brigades of French infantry. The grenadiers of the allied army, though supported by several battalions under the command of the prince of Ysembourg, far from being able to dislodge the enemy from the village, were, after a very obstinate dispute, obliged to retreat in some disorder; but rallied again behind a body of Hessian cavalry.

The allies being repulsed in three different attacks, prince Ferdinand began to think of a retreat, whilst his loss was yet inconsiderable, and the disorder of his men easily to be repaired. But a retreat, in the face of a victorious enemy, was hazardous; and the day was not yet above half spent. In this exigence he made such movements, as strongly indicated a design of falling once more upon the village, in the enemy's right, and of making, at the same time, a new attack upon their left. These appearances were farther countenanced by a cannonade, on both these posts, supported with uncommon fury. The French, deceived by those manœuvres, kept close in their posts: they expected a new and vigorous attack every moment, they returned the cannonade as briskly as they could: and in this posture things continued till night came on, when the prince made an easy retreat without disorder, or molestation, and halted at Windeken.

The loss of the allies in this action amounted to about two thousand men killed and wounded, including the prince of Ysembourg: nor was that of the French much less considerable. The confederates, indeed, suffered nothing in point of reputation; their courage and conduct, through the whole of the engagement, having been equally conspicuous. Prince Ferdinand gained as much honour, and displayed as much skill, as could have been gained or displayed upon a more fortunate occasion. The event, however, was, in its consequences, far from indifferent: for the allies having missed their blow, the French still kept possession of Franckfort, and of all the advantages which they drew from that situation: they had time and means to receive their reinforcements: and they acquired, in a short space, such a superiority, as obliged prince Ferdinand, for a long time after, to content himself with acting on the defensive.

In a few days after the battle, the prince thought proper to continue his retreat towards Fulda, in which his rear suffered considerably from a body of the enemy's light troops, under the command of M. de Blaisel, who surprised two squadrons of dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers. The first were taken or dispersed; the last escaped with the loss of their baggage. The allied army returned to their cantonments about Munster, and the prince began to make preparations for taking the field in earnest.

While the French enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp and Crevelt, by means of the Rhine, the allies laboured under dearth and scarcity of every species of provision, because the country which they occupied was already exhaust-

ed, and all the supplies were brought from an immense distance. The single article of forage occasioned such enormous expence, as alarmed the administration of Great Britain, who, in order to prevent mismanagement and fraud for the future, nominated a member of parliament inspector-general of the forage, and sent him over to Germany in the beginning of the year, with the rank and appointments of a general officer, that the importance of his character, and the nature of his office, might be a check upon those who were suspected of iniquitous appropriations.

Mean while, the French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, being put in motion, joined on the third day of June near Marburg, under the command of the mareschal de Contades, who proceeded to the northwards, and established his head-quarters at Corbach; from whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel, which, at his approach, was abandoned by general Imhoff. The French army being encamped at Stadtberg, the duke de Broglie, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Cassel into the territories of Hanover, where he seized Göttingen without opposition; while the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lipstadt, and encamped about Soest and Werle. Prince Ferdinand, finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, was obliged to retire as they advanced, after having left strong garrisons in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden.

These precautions, however, did not seem to answer the intended purpose. Retberg was surprised by the duke de Broglie, who likewise took Minden by storm, and made general Zastrow, with his garrison of fifteen hundred men, prisoners of war; a misfortune so much the greater, as it was attended with the loss of an immense magazine of hay and corn, which fell into the hands of the enemy. They likewise made themselves masters of Munster, invested Lipstadt, and all their operations were hitherto successful. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at their progress, determined to provide for the worst, by sending their chancery and most valuable effects to Stade; from whence, in case of necessity, they might be transported by sea to England. At the same time, they employed their utmost endeavours in pressing men for recruiting and reinforcing the army under prince Ferdinand, who still continued to retreat; and on the eleventh day of July transferred his head quarters from Osnabrug to Bomte, near the Weser. Here, having received intelligence that Minden was taken by the French, he sent forward a detachment to secure the post of Stoltz nau on that river, where on the fifteenth he arrived.

Mean while, the French general advancing to Minden, encamped in a strong situation, having that town on his right, a steep hill on his left, a morass in front, and a rivulet in rear. The duke de Broglie commanded a separate body between Hansbergen and Minden, on the other side of the Weser; and a third, under the duke de Brissac, consisting of eight thousand men, occupied a strong post by the village of Coveldt, to facilitate the route of the convoys from Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand, having moved his camp from Stoltz nau to Petershagen, detached the hereditary prince on the twenty-eighth day of July to Lubeke, from whence he dislodged the enemy; and, continuing

his route to Rimsel, was joined by major-general Dreves, who had retaken Osnabrug, and cleared all that neighbourhood of the enemy's parties; then he advanced towards Hervorden, and fixed his quarters at Kirchlinneger, to intercept the enemy's convoys from Paderborn. During these transactions, prince Ferdinand marched with the allied army in three columns from Petershagen to Hille, where it encamped, having a morass on the right, the village of Friedewalde on the left, and in front those of Northemmern and Holtzenhausen. Fifteen battalions and nineteen squadrons, with a brigade of heavy artillery, were left under the command of general Wangenheim on the left, behind the village of Dodenhausen, which was fortified with some redoubts, defended by two battalions. Colonel Luckner, with the Hanoverian hussars and a brigade of hunters, sustained by two battalions of grenadiers, was posted between Buckebourg and the Weser, to watch the body of troops commanded by the duke of Broglie on the other side of the river.

On the last day of July the mareschal de Contades, resolving to attack the allied army, ordered the corps of Broglie to repass the river; and advancing in eight columns, about midnight, crossed the rivulet of Barta, that runs along the morass, and falls into the Weser at Minden. At day-break he drew up his army in order of battle, part of it fronting the corps of general Wangenheim at Dodenhausen, and part of it facing Hille; the two wings consisting of infantry, and the cavalry being stationed in the centre. At three in the morning the enemy began to cannonade the prince's quarters at Hille from a battery of six cannon, which they had erected in the preceding evening on the dyke of Eickhorst. This was probably the first intimation he received of their design. He forthwith caused two pieces of artillery to be conveyed to Hille, and ordered the officer of the picquet-guard there posted, to defend himself to the last extremity: at the same time he sent orders to general Giesen, who occupied Lubeke, to attack the enemy's post at Eickhorst; and this service was successfully performed. The prince of Anhalt, lieutenant-general for the day, took possession with the rest of the piquets of the village of Halen, where prince Ferdinand determined to sustain his right. It was already in the hands of the enemy; but they soon abandoned it with precipitation.

The allied army, being put in motion, advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmern, while General Wangenheim's corps filled up the space between this last village and Dodenhausen. The enemy made their chief attack on the left, intending to force the infantry of Wangenheim's corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allied army. For this purpose the duke de Broglie charged them with great impetuosity; but was severely checked by a battery of thirty cannon, prepared for his reception by the duke de Buckeburg, grand master of the artillery, and served with admirable effect, under his own eye and direction. About five in the morning, both armies cannonaded each other: at six the fire of the musquetry began with great fury, and the action became very hot towards the right, where six regiments of English infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, not only bore the whole brunt of the French carabincers and

gendarmerie, but absolutely broke every body of horse and foot that advanced to attack them on the left and in the centre. The Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Holstein, Prussian and Hanoverian horse, commanded by lord George Sackville, whose second was the marquis of Granby, were posted at a considerable distance from the first line of infantry, and divided from it by a wood that bordered on a heath. Orders were sent, during the action, to bring them up; but whether these orders were contradictory or unintelligible, imperfectly understood or carelessly executed, they did not arrive in time to have any share in the action. Nevertheless, the enemy were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss: at length they gave way in every part; and about noon, abandoning the field of battle, were pursued to the ramparts of Minden. In this action they lost about seven thousand men, with forty-three large cannon, and many colours and standards; whereas the loss of the allies did not amount to above two thousand men, as it chiefly fell upon a few regiments of British infantry, commanded by the majors-general Waldegrave and Kingsley. To the extraordinary valour of these gallant brigades, and the fire of the British artillery, which was admirably served by the captains Philips, Macbean, Drummond, and Foy, the victory was in a great measure attributed. That same night the enemy crossed the Weser, and burned the bridges over that river. Next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion, and here the victors found a great number of French officers wounded.

This victory, however important, would, in all probability, have been still more decisive, had not the British cavalry neglected to join in this action; but whether this neglect was owing to any confusion in giving or delivering the orders, or to any misapprehension in him who received them, will appear more clearly from the trial of the commander of the English forces, which I shall record amongst the transactions of the ensuing year. Mean while it may not be improper to observe, that prince Ferdinand seemed to be of the last opinion, and this sentiment he even insinuated in the orders which he issued for returning his thanks to such regiments and officers as had distinguished themselves in the action. These orders were as follow:

"His serene highness orders his greatest thanks to be given the whole army, for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the English infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing, and to general Wangenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du Corps and Hamerstin's; the same to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His serene highness declares publicly, that next to God he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assures them he shall retain the strongest sense of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occasion, he shall be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmost pleasure. His serene highness orders his particular thanks to be likewise given to general Sporcken, the duke of Holstein, lieutenant generals Imhoff and Urf. His serene highness is extremely obliged to the count
de

de Buckeburg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was served with great effect; likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of artillery, viz. colonel Browne, lieutenant colonel Hutte, major Hasse, and the three English captains, Philips, Drummond, and Foy. His serene highness thinks himself infinitely obliged to major generals Waldegrave and Kingsley, for their great courage, and the good order in which they conducted their brigades. His serene highness further orders it to be declared to lieutenant-general the marquis of Granby, that he is persuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant. In short, his serene highness orders, that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired, be named, as the duke of Richmond, colonel Fitzroy, captain Ligonier, colonel Watson, captain Wilson, aid-de-camp to major-general Waldegrave, adjutant generals Erstoff, Bulow, Durendolle, the count Tobe and Malerti; his serene highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct. And his serene highness desires and orders the generals of the army, that upon all occasions when orders are brought to them by his aids-de-camp, that they may be obeyed punctually, and without delay." The severe insinuation concerning the disobedience of orders, and the invidious compliment to a subordinate officer, were clear indications of the prince's sentiments.

Mareschal de Contades, in his first movements after the battle of Minden, seemed inclined to retreat through the defiles of Wittekendstein to Paderborn; but he was fain to change his resolution, in consequence of his having received advice, that, on the very day of his own defeat, the duke de Brissac was vanquished by the hereditary prince in the neighbourhood of Coveldt, so that the passage of the mountains was rendered impracticable. The duke de Brissac had been advantageously encamped with his left to the village of Coveldt, having the Werra in his front, and his right extending to the salt-pits. In this advantageous situation he was attacked by the hereditary prince and general de Kilmanseg, with such vivacity and address, that his troops were totally routed, with the loss of six cannon, and a considerable number of men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. After the battle of Minden, colonel Freytag, at the head of the light troops, took, in the neighbourhood of Detmold, all the equipage of the mareschal de Contades, the prince of Condé, and the duke de Brissac, with part of their military chest and chancery, containing papers of the utmost consequence.

Prince Ferdinand, having supplied Minden with a sufficient garrison, proceeded to Hervorden; and the hereditary prince crossed the Weser at Hamelen, in order to pursue the enemy, who retreated to Cassel, and from thence, by the way of Marburg, as far as Gießen. In a word, they were continually harrassed by that enterprising prince, who seized every opportunity of attacking them in rear; took the greatest part of their baggage; and compelled them to abandon every place they occupied in Westphalia. The number of his prisoners amounted to fifteen hundred men, besides the garrison left at Cassel, which surrendered at discretion.

He likewise surprised a whole battalion, and defeated a considerable detachment under the command of M. d'Armentieres.

In the mean time, the allied army advanced in regular marches; and prince Ferdinand, having secured Cassel, detached general Imhoff, with a body of troops, to reduce the city of Munster, which he accordingly began to batter with great fury; but M. d'Armentieres, being joined by a fresh body of troops from the Lower Rhine, advanced to its relief, and obliged Imhoff to abandon the siege. It was not long, however, before this general was also reinforced; then he measured back his march to Munster, and the French commander retired in his turn. The place was immediately shut up by a close blockade; which, however, did not prevent the introduction of supplies. The city of Munster being an object of importance, was disputed with great obstinacy. Armentieres received reinforcements, and the body commanded by Imhoff was occasionally augmented; but the siege was not formally undertaken till November, when some heavy artillery having arrived from England, the place was regularly invested, and the operations carried on with such vigour, that, in a few days, the city surrendered on capitulation.

Prince Ferdinand having taken possession of the town and castle of Marburg, proceeded with the army to Neidar-Weimar, and there fixed his camp, while Contades remained at Gießen, on the south side the river Lahn, where he was joined by a colleague in the person of the mareschal d'Estrées. By this time he was become extremely unpopular among the troops, on account of the defeat at Minden, which he is said to have attributed to the misconduct of Broglie, who recriminated on him in his turn, and seemed to gain credit at the court of Versailles.

While the two armies lay encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, nothing passed but skirmishes between the light troops, and little excursive expeditions. The French army was employed in carrying off their magazines and fortifying Gießen, as if their intention was to retire to Frankfort on the Mayne; after having destroyed all the forage, and converted the country into a military desert. In the beginning of November, the mareschal duke de Broglie returned from Paris, whither he had lately gone, and assumed the command of their army, from whence Contades and d'Estrées immediately retired, with several other general officers that were senior to the new commander.

The duke of Wirtemberg having occupied the town of Fulda, the hereditary prince of Brunswick resolved to beat up his quarters. For this purpose, on the twenty-eighth day of November, he began his march from Marburg, at the head of a select body of forces. Next night they arrived at Augerbach, from whence they dislodged the volunteers of Nassau; and at one o'clock in the morning, of the thirtieth, they advanced directly to Fulda, where the duke of Wirtemberg, far from expecting such a visit, had invited all the fashionable people in Fulda to a sumptuous entertainment. The hereditary prince, having surveyed the avenues in person, took such measures, that the troops of Wirtemberg, who were scattered in small bodies, would have been cut off, if they had not hastily retired into the town, where, however, they

they found no shelter. The prince rushed into the place; and they retreated to the other side of the town, where four battalions of them were routed and taken; while the duke himself, with the rest of his forces, fled off on the other side of the Fulda. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the hereditary prince advanced as far as Rupertenrade, a place situated on the right of the French army. Perhaps this motion hastened the resolution of the duke de Broglie to relinquish Gießen, and fall back to Friedberg, where he fixed his head-quarters. The allied army immediately occupied his camp at Kleinlinnes and Heuchelem, and seemed determined to undertake the siege of Gießen.

While both armies remained in this position, the duke de Broglie was honoured with the staff as mareschal of France, and formed a resolution to dislodge the allies. Having recalled all his detachments, he advanced towards them on the twenty-fifth day of December; but found them so well disposed to receive him, that he thought proper to abandon his design, and nothing but a mutual cannonade ensued; after which he returned to his former quarters. From Kleinlinnes the allied army proceeded to Corisdorf, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell back as far as Marburg, where prince Ferdinand established his head-quarters. The enemy had by this time, recovered their superiority, in consequence of the hereditary prince's being detached with fifteen thousand men to join the king of Prussia at Freyberg in Saxony. Nevertheless by the victory at Minden, the dominions of Hanover and Brunswick were preserved, and the enemy compelled to evacuate great part of Westphalia. Perhaps they might have been driven to the other side of the Rhine, had not the general of the allies been obliged to weaken his army for the support of the Prussian monarch, who had suffered several losses in the course of this campaign.

It was not to any failure either in point of courage or conduct, that this warlike prince owed the several checks he sustained. Even in the middle of winter, his troops, under general Manteufel, acted with great spirit against the Swedes in Pomerania. They reduced Damgarten, and several other places which the Swedes had garrisoned; and the frost setting in, those who were quartered in the isle of Usedom passed over the ice to Wolgast, which they took without much difficulty. They then laid siege to Demmen and Anclam at the same time, and the garrisons of both surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the number of two thousand seven hundred men, including officers. In Demmen they found four and twenty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. In Anclam there was a considerable magazine, with six and thirty pieces of cannon, mortars, and howitzers. A large detachment under general Knobloch surprised Erfurth, and raised considerable contributions at Gotha, Eisenach, and Fulda; from whence also they removed all the forage and provisions to Saxe-Naumberg.

In the latter end of February, the Prussian major-general Wobersnow proceeded with a strong body of troops from Glogau in Silesia to Poland;

and advancing by the way of Lissa, invested the castle of the prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, who had been very active against the interest of the Prussian monarch.

After some resistance, he was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was sent prisoner with his whole garrison to Silesia. From hence Wobersnow wheeled off to Posna, where he made himself master of a considerable magazine, guarded by two thousand Cossacks, who fled at his approach; and, having destroyed several others, returned to Silesia. In April, the fort of Penamunde in Pomerania was surrendered to Manteufel; and about the same time a detachment of Prussian troops bombarded Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburg. Mean while, reinforcements were sent to the Russian army in Poland, which in April began to assemble on the Vistula. The court of Petersburg had likewise begun to prepare a large fleet, by means of which the army might be supplied with military stores and provisions: but this armament was retarded by an accidental fire at Revel, which destroyed all the magazines and materials for ship-building, to an immense value.

About the latter end of March the king of Prussia assembled his army at Rhonstock, near Strigau; and marching to the neighbourhood of Landshut, took post at Bolchenhayn. On the other hand, the Austrian army, under the command of mareschal Daun, was assembled at Munchengrätz in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of general Beck, who surprised and made prisoners a battalion of Prussian grenadiers, quartered at Greifenberg on the frontiers of Silesia. This advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and success of prince Henry, brother to the Prussian king, who commanded the army which wintered in Saxony. About the middle of April he advanced in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the pass of Peterwalde, destroyed the Austrian magazines at Auffig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, seized the forage and provision which the enemy had left at Lowesitz and Leutmeritz, and demolished a new bridge which they had built for their convenience. At the same time, general Hulsén attacked the pass of Passberg, guarded by general Renard, who was taken with two thousand men, including fifty officers: then he proceeded to Satz, in hope of securing the Austrian magazines: but these the enemy consumed, that they might not fall into his hands, and retired towards Prague with the utmost precipitation.

Prince Henry, having happily performed these exploits, and filled all Bohemia with alarm and consternation, returned to Saxony, and distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment in the neighbourhood of Dresden. In a few days, however, they were again put in motion, and advanced to Obelgeburgen; from whence he prosecuted his route through Voigtland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country, by the way of Hoff, on the seventh of May, and the next day sent a detachment to attack general Macguire, who commanded a body of Imperialists at Asch, and sustained the charge with great gallantry; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retreated in the night towards Egra. The army

of the Empire, commanded by the prince de Deux-ponts, being unable to check the progress of the Prussian general, retired from Cullembach to Bamberg, and from thence to Nuremberg, where, in all probability, they would not have been suffered to remain unmolested, had not prince Henry been recalled to Saxony. He had already taken Cronach and the castle of Rotenberg, and even advanced as far as Bamberg, when he received intelligence, that a body of Austrians, under general Gemmingen, had forced their way into Saxony.

This diversion effectually saved the army of the empire, as prince Henry immediately returned to the electorate, after having laid the bishoprick of Bamberg, and the marquisate of Cullembach, under contribution, destroyed all the magazines provided for the Imperial army, and sent fifteen hundred prisoners to Leipzig. A party of Imperialists, under count Palfy, attempted to harass him in his retreat; but they were defeated near Hoff, with considerable slaughter: nevertheless, the Imperial army, though now reduced to ten thousand men, returned to Bamberg: and as the Prussians approached the frontiers of Saxony, the Austrian general Gemmingen retired into Bohemia. During all these transactions, the mareschal count Daun remained with the grand Austrian army at Schurtz in the circle of Koningsgratz; while the Prussians, commanded by the king in person, continued quietly encamped between Landshut and Schweidnitz. General Fouquet headed a large body of troops in the southern part of Silesia; but these being mostly withdrawn, in order to oppose the Russians, the Austrian general de Ville, who hovered on the frontiers of Moravia, with a considerable detachment, took advantage of this circumstance, and, advancing into Silesia, encamped within sight of Neiss.

In the beginning of June, the king of Prussia, being informed that the Russian army had begun their march from the Vistula, ordered the several bodies of his troops, under Hulsen and Wobernow, reinforced by detachments from his other armies, to join the forces under count Dohna, as general in chief, and march into Poland. Accordingly they advanced to Meritz, where, on the fifteenth day of June, the count published the following declaration:

“His Prussian majesty, finding himself under a necessity to cause part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them against the threatened invasion of the enemy, declares, that,

“It must not be understood that his majesty by this step taken, intends to make any breach in the regard he has always had for the illustrious republic of Poland, or to lessen the good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between them, but, on the contrary, to strengthen the same, in expectation that the illustrious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is desired.

“The nobility, gentry, and magistracy, in their respective districts, between the frontiers of Prussia, so far as beyond Posen, are required to furnish all kind of provisions, corn, and forage, necessary to support an army of 40,000 men, with the utmost dispatch, with an assurance of being paid ready money for the same. But if, contrary to

expectation, any deficiency should happen in supplying this demand, his majesty's troops will be obliged to forage, and use the same means as those taken by the enemy for their subsistence.

“In confidence, therefore, that the several jurisdictions, upon the Prussian frontiers, within the territories of Poland, will exert themselves to comply with this demand as soon as possible, for the subsistence of the royal army of Prussia, they are assured that thereby all disorders will be prevented, and whatever is delivered will be paid for in ready money.”

Two days after he issued another manifesto, to this effect. “It was with the greatest astonishment that the king, my most gracious lord and master, heard that several of his own subjects had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance so far, as to enter into the service of a potentate, with whom he is at war; his majesty, therefore, makes known by these presents, that all of his subjects serving in the enemy's armies, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall, agreeably to all laws, be sentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to their king and country. Of which all whom it may concern are desired to take notice, &c.”

On the twenty-second of the same month another declaration was issued to this purpose. “We invite and desire, that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, abbeyes, convents, seignories, magistrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the road to Posnania, and beyond it, would repair in person, or by deputies, in the course of this week, or as soon after as possible, to the Prussian head quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commissary at war, for the delivery of forage and provisions for the subsistence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

“We promise and assure ourselves, that no person in Poland will attempt to seduce the Prussian troops to desert; that no assistance will be given them in such perfidious practices; that they will neither be sheltered, concealed, or lodged; which would be followed by very disagreeable consequences: we expect, on the contrary, that persons of all ranks and conditions will stop any run away or deserter, and deliver him up at the first advanced post, or at the head-quarters; and all expences attending the same shall be paid, and a reasonable gratification superadded.

“If any one hath any inclination to enter into the king of Prussia's service, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head-quarters, and be assured of a capitulation for three or four years.

“If any prince or member of the republic of Poland be disposed to assemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company, the Prussian army, to make a common cause with it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and that due regard will be shewn to his merit, &c.”

From Meritz the Prussians marched towards Posna, where they found the Russian army under count Soltikoff strongly encamped, having in their rear that city and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable intrenchment mounted with a great number of cannon. Count Dohna finding it impossible to attack them in this situation with any prospect of success, endeavoured to cut off their supplies from the eastward; but for want of

provision, was, in a little time, obliged to return towards the Oder: then the Russians advanced to Zullichau in Silesia. The king of Prussia thinking count Dohna had been rather too cautious, considering the emergency of affairs, gave him leave to retire for the benefit of his health, and conferred his command upon general Wedel, who resolved immediately to give the Russians battle. Thus determined, he marched against them in two columns; and, on the twenty-third day of July, attacked them at Kay, near Zullichau, where, after a very obstinate engagement, he was repulsed with great loss, Wobernow being killed, and Manteufel wounded in the action; and in a few days, the Russians took possession of Franckfort upon the Oder.

By this time, the armies of count Daun and the king of Prussia had made several motions. The Austrians having quitted their camp at Schurtz, advanced towards Zittau in Lusatia, where having halted a few days, they resumed their march, and encamped at Gorlitzhayn, between Sudenberg and Mark-Lissa. His Prussian majesty, in order the more narrowly to watch their motions, marched by the way of Herchberg to Lahn; and his vanguard skirmished with that of the Austrians commanded by Laudohn, who entered Silesia by the way of Griefenberg. The Austrian general was obliged to retire with loss; while the king penetrated into Silesia, that he might be at hand to act against the Russians, whose progress was now become truly alarming. He no sooner received intimation that Wedel had been worsted, than he marched with a select body of ten thousand men from his camp in Silesia, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, leaving the rest of his forces strongly encamped, under the direction of his brother prince Henry, who had joined him before this event. Count Daun being informed of the king's intention, and knowing the Russians were very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thousand horse, to join them, under the command of Laudohn; and these, penetrating in two columns through Silesia and Lusatia, with some loss, arrived in the Russian camp at a very critical juncture.

Mean while the king of Prussia joined general Wedel on the fourth day of August at Muhlrose, where he assumed the command of the army: but finding it greatly inferior to the enemy, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached some time before, with a body of nine thousand men, to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in Saxony: for when prince Henry joined his brother in Silesia, the army of the Empire had entered that electorate. Thus reinforced, the number of the king's army at Muhlrose did not amount to above fifty thousand, whereas the Russians were more numerous by about forty thousand. They had chosen a strong camp at the village of Cunersdorf, almost opposite to Franckfort upon the Oder, and increased the natural strength of their situation by intrenchments mounted with a formidable artillery. In other circumstances, it might have been deemed a foolish and ridiculous enterprize, to attack such an army under such complicated disadvantages: but here was no room for hesitation. The king's affairs seemed to require a desperate effort; and perhaps, in his situation, rashness could

hardly dictate any thing which would not have been recommended by prudence.

Having determined to hazard an attack, he made his dispositions, and on the twelfth day of August, at two in the morning, his troops were in motion. The army being drawn up in a wood, advanced towards the enemy; and about eleven, the action was begun with a severe cannonade. This having produced the desired effect, he charged the left wing of the Russian army with his best troops formed in columns. After a very obstinate dispute, the enemy's entrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. A narrow defile was afterwards passed, and several redoubts that covered the village of Cunersdorf were taken by assault, one after another. One half of the task was not yet performed: The Russians made a firm stand at the village: but they were overborne by the impetuosity of the Prussians, who drove them from post to post up to the last redoubts they had to defend. As the Russians kept their ground until they were hewn down in their ranks, this success was not acquired without infinite labour, and a considerable expence of blood. After a furious contest of six hours, fortune seemed to declare so much in favour of the Prussians, that the king dispatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Russians from their intrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory."

This news arrived at Berlin just as the post was setting out, and the friends of the king of Prussia throughout Europe exulted in the prospect of a sure and decisive victory. Mean while fortune was preparing for him a terrible reverse. The Russians were staggered, not routed. General Solतिकoff rallied his troops, and reinforced his left wing under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence called the Jews Burying-ground, and here they stood in order of battle, with the most resolute countenance; favoured by the situation, which was naturally difficult of access, and now rendered almost impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery, still greatly superior to that of the Prussians. Had the king contented himself with the advantage already gained, all the world would have acknowledged he had fought against terrible odds with astonishing prowess; and that he judiciously desisted, when he could no longer persevere without incurring the imputation of folly and imprudence. His troops had not only suffered severely from the enemy's fire, which was close, deliberate, and well directed, but they were fatigued by the hard service, and fainting with the heat of the day, which was excessive. His general officers are said to have reminded him of all these circumstances; and to have dissuaded him from hazarding an attempt attended with such danger and difficulty, as even an army of fresh troops could hardly hope to surmount. He rejected this salutary advice, and ordered his infantry to begin a new attack, which being an enterprize beyond their strength, they were repulsed with great slaughter. Being afterwards rallied, they returned to the charge: they miscarried again, and their loss was redoubled. Being thus rendered unfit for further service, the cavalry succeeded to the attack, and repeated their unsuccessful efforts, until they were almost broke and entirely exhausted.

At

At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Austrian and Russian cavalry, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore fresh and in spirits, fell in among the Prussian horse with great fury, broke their line at the first charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into irreparable disorder. The Prussian army being thus involved in confusion, was seized with a panic, and in a few minutes totally defeated and dispersed, notwithstanding the personal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hottest parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, while two horses were killed under him, and his cloaths, in several parts, penetrated with musquet balls. His army being routed, and the greater part of his generals either killed or disabled by wounds, nothing but the approach of night could have saved him from total ruin. When he abandoned the field of battle, he dispatched another billet to the queen, couched in these terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." The horror and confusion which this intimation produced at Berlin may be easily conceived: horror the more aggravated, as it seized them in the midst of their rejoicing occasioned by the first dispatch; and this was still more dreadfully augmented, by a subsequent indistinct relation, importing, that the army was totally routed, the king missing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin. The battle of Cunerstorf was by far the most bloody action that had happened since the commencement of hostilities. The loss of the Prussians in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to almost twenty thousand men. General Putkammer was among the slain. The generals Seydelitz, Itzenplitz, Hullen, Fink, and Wedel, the prince of Wurtemberg, and five major generals, were wounded. The loss of the enemy, though not so considerable as that of the Prussians, could not fall much short of ten thousand.

The day after the battle, the king of Prussia repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwein. From thence he moved to Fustenwalde, and placed himself in such a manner, that the Russians did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. He continually watched their army; part of which, instead of turning towards Brandenburg, marched into Lusatia, where it joined that of the Austrians. Here the victorious general Soltikoff, for the first time, met M. Daun, and amidst rejoicings and congratulations, consulted about the means of improving their success. The Russian and Austrian armies, thus united, scarce seemed, from their present strength and their past victories, to have any other deliberation left, than of what part of the Prussian dominions they should take immediate possession. The king had been twice defeated with a vast loss. He was cut off from all communication with the army of his brother, prince Henry; yet, to the astonishment of the world, the superior, the victorious, and the united armies acted upon the defensive, and were curbed in all their designs, by the inferior, the beaten, and divided. Never shone the genius of his Prussian majesty with greater lustre than in his conduct after the battle of Cunerstorf. In a few days after so terrible a defeat, every thing was in order in his camp. He reassembled and refreshed his broken troops;

he furnished himself with cannon from the arsenal at Berlin, which likewise supplied him with a considerable number of recruits; he recalled general Kleist, with five thousand men, from Pomerania; and, in a little time, retrieved his former importance.

The army of the empire having entered Saxony, where it reduced Leipzig, Torgau, and even took possession of Dresden itself, the king detached six thousand men under general Wunch, to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in that electorate; and observing the Russians intended to besiege Great Glogau, he, with the rest of his army, took post between them and that city, so as to disappoint their design. While the four great armies, commanded by the king of Prussia, general Soltikoff, prince Henry, and count Daun, lay encamped in Lusatia, and on the borders of Silesia, watching the motions of each other, the war was carried on by detachments with great vivacity. General Wunch having retaken Leipzig, and joined Finck at Eulenburg, the united body began their march towards Dresden; and a detachment from the army of the empire, which had encamped near Dobelin, retired at their approach. As they advanced to Nossin, general Haddick relinquished the advantageous post he occupied near Roth Scemberg, and being joined by the whole army of the empire, resolved to attack the Prussian generals, who now encamped at Corbitz near Meissen; accordingly, on the twenty-first day of September, he marched towards them, and endeavoured to dislodge them by a furious cannonade, which was mutually maintained from morning to night, when he found himself obliged to retire with considerable loss; leaving the field of battle, with about five hundred prisoners, in the hands of the Prussians.

This advantage was succeeded by another exploit of prince Henry; who, on the twenty-third day of the month, quitted his camp at Hornsdorf, near Gorlitz, and, after an incredible march of eleven German miles, by the way of Rothenburg, arrived, about five in the afternoon, at Hoyerwerda, where he surprised a body of four thousand men, commanded by general Veyla, killed six hundred, and made twice that number prisoners; including the commander himself. After this achievement, he joined the corps of Finck and Wunch; while marechal Daun likewise abandoned his camp in Lusatia, and made a forced march to Dresden, in order to defeat the prince's supposed design on that capital. The Russians, disappointed in their scheme upon Glogau, had repassed the Oder at Neusalze, and were encamped at Fraustadt; general Laudohn, with a body of Austrians, lay at Schlichtingskeim; and the king of Prussia at Koben: all three on, or near the banks of that river.

Prince Henry observing his army almost environed by Austrian detachments, ordered general Finck to drive them from Vogelsang, which they abandoned accordingly; and sent Wunch with six battalions and some cavalry across the Elbe, to join the corps of general Rebentish at Wittenberg, whither he had retired from Duben, at the approach of the Austrians. On the twenty-ninth day of October the duke d'Aremberg, with sixteen thousand Austrians, decamped from Dammitz, in order to seize the heights near Pretsch, and was attacked

attacked by general Wunch, who, being posted on two eminences, cannonaded the Austrians in their march with considerable effect; and the prince took twelve hundred prisoners, including lieutenant-general Gemmingen, and twenty inferior officers, with some cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The duke was constrained to change his route, while Wunch marched from Duben to Eulenburg: and general Waffersleben entered Strehla, where next day the whole army encamped. In this situation the prince continued, till the sixteenth day of November; when, being in danger of having his communication with Torgau cut off by the enemy, he removed to a strong camp, where his left flank was covered by that city and the river Elbe; his right being secured by a wood, and great part of his front by an impassable morass.

Here he was reinforced with above twenty thousand men from Silesia, and joined by the king himself; who forthwith detached general Finck with nineteen battalions, and thirty-five squadrons, to take possession of the defiles of Maxen and Ortendorf, with a view to prevent the retreat of the Austrians to Bohemia. This motion obliged Daun to retire to Plauen; and the king advanced to Wilddurff, imagining that he had effectually succeeded in his design. Letters were sent to Berlin and Magdeburg, intimating that Count Daun would be forced to hazard a battle, as he had now no resource but in victory. Finck had no sooner taken post on the hill near the village of Maxen, than the Austrian general sent officers to examine his situation, and immediately determined to attack him with the corps de reserve under the Baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippoldswalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Prussians never dreamed of their approach, until they saw themselves intirely surrounded.

In this emergency they defended themselves with their cannon and musquetry, until they were overpowered by numbers, and their battery was taken: then they retired to another rising-ground, where they rallied; but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their last retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time count Daun had made such dispositions, that at day break general Finck had found himself intirely inclosed, without the least possibility of escaping, and sent a trumpet to count Daun to demand a capitulation. This was granted in one single article, importing, that he and eight other Prussian generals, with the whole body of troops they commanded, should be received as prisoners of war. He was obliged to submit; and his whole corps, amounting to nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, with sixty-four pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five standards, fell into the hands of the Austrian general.

This misfortune was the more mortifying to the king of Prussia, as it implied a censure on his conduct, for having detached such a numerous body of troops to a situation where they could not be supported by the rest of his army. On the other hand, the court of Vienna exulted in this victory as an infallible proof of Daun's superior talents; and, in point of glory and advantage, much

more than an equivalent for the loss of the Saxon army, which had surrendered in much the same manner, and very near the same place, in the year 1756.

The king of Prussia had not time to recover from this stroke, under which he was yet staggering, when he received another, and a severe blow. General Diercke, who was posted with seven battalions of infantry, and a thousand horse, on the right bank of the Elbe, opposite to Meissen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons across the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to transport his troops in boats; and when all were passed, except himself, with the rear guard, consisting of three battalions, he was on the third day of December, in the morning, attacked by a strong body of Austrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obstinate dispute. The king of Prussia, weakened by these two successive defeats, that happened in the rear of an unfortunate campaign, would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had he not been at this juncture reinforced by the body of troops under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunswic. As for Daun, the advantages he had gained did not elevate his mind above the usual maxims of his cautious discretion. Instead of attacking the king of Prussia, respectable and formidable even in adversity, he quietly occupied the strong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to succour Dresden, in case it should be attacked, and preserve his communication with Bohemia.

By this time the Russians had retired to winter quarters in Poland; and the Swedes, after a fruitless excursion in the absence of Manteufel, retreated to Stralsund in the isle of Rugen. This campaign, therefore, did not prove more decisive than the last. Abundance of lives were lost; and a great part of Germany was exposed to rapine, murder, famine, desolation, and every species of misery that accompanies war. In vain did the confederated powers of Austria, Russia, and Sweden, exert their united efforts to crush the Prussian monarch. Though his army had been defeated, and he himself totally overthrown, with great slaughter, in the heart of his own dominions; though he appeared in a desperate situation, encompassed by hostile armies, and two considerable detached bodies of his troops were taken or destroyed; yet he kept all his adversaries at bay till the approach of winter, which proved his best auxiliary; and even maintained his footing in the electorate of Saxony, which seemed to be the prize contested between him and the Austrian general. Yet, long before the approach of winter, one would have imagined that he must have been crushed between the flock of so many adverse hosts, had they been intent upon closing him in, and heartily concurred for his destruction: but, instead of urging the war with accumulated force, they acted in separate bodies, and with jealous eye seemed to regard the progress of each other. It was not therefore to any compunction, or kind of forbearance in the court of Vienna, that the inactivity of Daun was owing. The resentment of the house of Austria seemed, on the contrary, to glow with redoubled fury, and the majority of the Germanic body appeared to engage heartily in her quarrel.

When the Protestant states in arms against the court of Vienna were subjected to the ban of the

empire,

A New MAP
of the
NORTHERN PART
of
UPPER SAXONY
Drawn from the best
Authorities.



British Miles 6 to a Degree
German Miles 15 to a Degree
Longit. East from London

empire, the evangelical body, though without the concurrence of the Swedish and Danish ministers issued an arret at Ratisbon in the month of November in the last year, and to this annexed the twentieth article of the capitulation signed by the emperor at his election, in order to demonstrate that the Protestant states claimed nothing but what was agreeable to the constitution. They declared that their association was no more than a mutual engagement, by which they obliged themselves to adhere to the laws, without suffering under any pretext, that the power of putting under the ban of the empire, should reside wholly in the emperor. They affirmed, that this power was renounced, in express terms, by the capitulation: they therefore refused to admit, as legal, any sentence of the ban, deficient in the requisite conditions; and inferred, that, according to law, neither the elector of Brandenburg, nor the elector of Hanover, nor the duke of Wolfenbuttle, nor the landgrave of Hesse, nor the count of Lippe Buckeburg, ought to be proscribed.

The Imperial Protestant cities having acceded to this arret or declaration, the emperor, in a rescript, required them to retract their accession to the resolution of the evangelic body: and this rescript having produced no effect, the arret was answered in February by an Imperial decree of commission, carried to the dictature, importing, that the imperial court could not longer hesitate about the execution of the ban, without infringing that very article of the capitulation which they had specified: that the invalidity of the arret was manifest, inasmuch as the electors of Brandenburg and Brunswick, the dukes of Saxe Gotha and Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were the very persons who disturbed the empire: this, therefore, being an affair in which they themselves were parties, they could not possibly be qualified to concur in a resolution of this nature: besides, the number of the other states which had acceded was very considerable: for these reasons, the emperor could not but consider the resolution in question as an act whereby the general peace of the empire was disturbed, both by the parties that had incurred the ban, and by the states which had joined them, in order to support and favour their frivolous pretensions. His Imperial majesty expressed his hope and confidence, that the other electors, princes, and states of the empire, would vote the said resolution to be null, and of no force; and never suffer so small a number of states, who were adherents of and abettors to the disturbers of the empire, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives of the whole Germanic body; to abuse the name of the associated estates of the Augsbourg confession, in order forcibly to impose a factum, intirely repugnant to the constitution of the empire; to deprive their co-estates of the right of voting freely, and thereby endeavouring totally to subvert the system of the Germanic body.

The implacability of the court of Vienna was exceeded only by the perseverance of the French ministry. Though their numerous army had not gained one inch of ground in Westphalia, the campaign on that side having ended exactly where it had begun; though their chief settlements in

the West Indies had fallen into the hands of Great Britain, and they had already laid their account with the loss of Quebec; though their coffers were entirely drained, and their confederates clamoured for the payment of their subsidies; they still determined to maintain the war in Germany: and this, it must be owned, was the most politic resolution which they could possibly adopt; as there their whole force could be easily employed to much more advantage than any other part of the world, and that too without any great augmentation of the ordinary expence. Some of the springs of their national wealth were indeed exhausted, or diverted into other channels: but the subjects declared for a continuation of the war, and the necessities of the state were supplied by the loyalty and attachment of the people. They not only acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopt payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt; but they likewise sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down, and coined into specie, for the maintenance of the war. All the bills drawn on the government by the colonies were protested, to an immense amount; and a stop was put to all the annuities granted at Marseilles, on sums borrowed for the use of the marine. Besides the considerable savings arising by these acts of state-bankruptcy, they had resources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who beheld the success of Great Britain with a jealous eye; and were moreover inflamed against her, with the most rancorous resentment, on account of the captures which had been made of their West India ships by the English cruisers.

In the month of February, the merchants of Amsterdam having received advice that the cargoes of their West India ships, detained by the English, would, by the British courts of judicature, be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, sent a deputation with a petition to the States-general, intreating them to use their intercession with the court of London, representing the impossibility of furnishing the proofs required, in so short a time as that prescribed by the British admiralty; and that, as the island of St. Eustatia had but one road, and there was no other way of taking in cargoes, but that of overshippen*, to which the English had objected, a condemnation of these ships, as legal prizes, would give the finishing stroke to the trade of the colony. Whatever remonstrances the States-general might have made on this subject, to the ministry of Great Britain, they had no influence upon the proceedings of the court of admiralty, which continued to condemn the cargoes of the Dutch ships, as often as they were proved to be French property; and this resolute uniformity, in a little time, intimidated the subjects of Holland from persevering in this illicit branch of commerce. The enemies of England in that republic, however, had so far prevailed, that, in the beginning of the year, the states of Holland had passed a formal resolution to equip five and twenty ships of war; and orders were immediately dispatched to the officers of the admiralty, to complete the armament with all possible expedition.

In the month of April, the States-general sent

* The method called overschippen, is that of using French boats to load Dutch vessels with the produce of France.

over to London three ministers extraordinary, to make representations, and remove, if possible, the causes of misunderstanding that had arisen between Great Britain and the United Provinces. They delivered their credentials to the king, with a formal harangue, importing, that his majesty would see, by the contents of the letter they had the honour to present, how ardently their High Mightinesses desired to cultivate the sincere friendship which had so long subsisted between the two nations, so necessary for their common welfare and preservation: that they earnestly wished they might be happy enough to remove those difficulties which had for some time struck at this friendship, and caused so much prejudice to the principal subjects of the republic; who, by the commerce they carried on, constituted its greatest strength, and chief support; that their whole confidence was placed in his majesty's equity, for which the republic had the highest regard; and in the good will he had always expressed toward a state, which, on all occasions, had interested itself in promoting his glory; a state which was the guardian of the precious trust bequeathed by a princess so dear to his affection: that they humbly presumed to flatter themselves, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to listen to their just demands: and that they, for their part, should endeavour, during the course of their ministry, to merit his approbation, in strengthening the bonds by which the two nations ought to be for ever united.

In answer to this oration, the king assured them, that he had always regarded their High Mightinesses as his best friends: that, if difficulties had arisen concerning trade, they ought to be considered as the consequences of a burthensome war, which he was obliged to wage with France: and he desired they would assure their High Mightinesses, that he should studiously endeavour to remove the obstacles in question; and expressed his satisfaction, that they (the deputies) were come over with the same disposition.

What effect these representations had upon the ministry of Great Britain does not appear: but, in all probability, the subjects of Holland were by no means pleased with the success of their negotiation; for they murmured against the English nation without ceasing. They threatened and complained by turns, and eagerly laid hold of every opportunity to display their partiality in favour of the enemies of Great Britain.

In the month of September, major general York, the British minister at the Hague, delivered a memorial to the States-general representing, that the merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in favour of France, by transporting cannon and warlike stores, from the Baltic to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under the borrowed names of private persons; and then conveyed them by the inland rivers and canals, or through the Dutch fortresses to Dunkirk and other places of France; that he hoped the king his master would be made easy on that head, by their putting an immediate stop to such practices, so repugnant to the connections subsisting by treaty, between Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to every idea of neutrality: that the attention, which his majesty had lately given to their representations, against the excesses of the English privateers, by procuring an act of parliament,

which laid them under proper restrictions, gave him a good title to the same regard on the part of their High Mightinesses: that their trading towns felt the good effects of these restrictions; and that the freedom of navigation, which their subjects enjoyed amidst the troubles and distractions of Europe, had considerably augmented their commerce: that some return ought to be made to such solid proofs of the king's friendship and moderation; at least, the merchants, who were so ready to complain of England, ought not to be countenanced in excesses which would have justified the most rigorous examination of their conduct: that, during the course of the present war, the king had several times applied to their High Mightinesses, and to their ministers, on the liberty they had given to carry stores through the fortresses of the republic for the use of France, to invade the British dominions; and though his majesty had passed over in silence many of these instances of complaisance to his enemy, he was no less sensible of the injury; but he chose rather to be a sufferer himself, than to encrease the embarrassment of his neighbours, or extend the flames of war: that even the court of Vienna had, upon more than one occasion, employed its interest with their High Mightinesses, and lent its name to obtain passes for warlike stores and provisions for the French troops, under colour of the Barrier-Treaty, which it no longer observed; nay, after having put France in possession of Ostend and Nieuport, in manifest violation of that treaty, and without any regard to the right which they and the king his master had acquired in that treaty, at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

This memorial seems to have made some impression on the States-general, as they scrupled to allow the artillery and stores belonging to the French king to be removed from Amsterdam: but these scruples vanished entirely on the receipt of a counter-memorial presented by the count d'Asiry, the French ambassador, who mingled some effectual threats with his expostulation. He said, that during the whole course of the war, the French king had required nothing from their friendship that was inconsistent with the strictest impartiality; and if he had deviated from the engagements subsisting between him and the republic, it was only by granting the most essential and lucrative favours to the subjects of their High Mightinesses: that the English, notwithstanding the insolence of their behaviour to the republic, had derived, on many occasions, assistance from the protection their effects had found in the territories of the United Provinces: that the artillery, stores, and ammunition belonging to Wessel were deposited in their territories, which the Hanoverian army in passing the Rhine had very little respected: that when they repassed that river, they had no other way of saving their sick and wounded from the hands of the French, than by embarking them in boats, and conveying them to places where the French left them unmolested, actuated by their respect for the neutrality of the republic: that part of their magazines was still deposited in the towns of the United Provinces; where also the enemies of France had purchased and contracted for very considerable quantities of gun-powder: that tho' these and several other circumstances might have been made the subject of the justest complaints,

the

the king of France did not think it proper to require, that the freedom and independency of the subjects of the republic should be restrained in branches of commerce that were not inconsistent with its neutrality, persuaded that the faith of an engagement ought to be inviolably preserved, though attended with some accidental and transient disadvantages: that the king, his master, had ordered the generals of his army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the public, and transferring thither the theatre of the war, when his enemies retreated that way before they were forced to repass the Rhine: that after such unquestionable marks of regard, the king would have the justest ground of complaint, if, contrary to expectation, he should hear that the artillery and stores belonging to him were detained at Amsterdam: that such detention would be construed as a violation of the neutrality; and he, therefore, demanded, in the name of the king his master, that the artillery and stores should be, without delay, forwarded to Flanders by the canals of Amsterdam and the inland navigation. This last argument was so conclusive, that they immediately granted the necessary passports, in consequence of which the cannon were conveyed to the Austrian Netherlands.

The powers in the southern parts of Europe were so much engrossed with their own concerns, that they had neither leisure nor inclination to interest themselves in the quarrels of the more northern princes. The king of Spain, naturally of a melancholy complexion, and delicate constitution, was so deeply affected for the loss of his queen, who died in the course of the preceding year, that he renounced all company, neglected all business, and immured himself in a chamber at Villa Viciosa, where he gave a loose to the most extravagant sorrow. He abstained from food and rest until his strength was quite exhausted. He would neither shift himself, nor allow his beard to be shaved: he rejected all attempts of consolation, and remained deaf to the most earnest and respectful remonstrances of those who had a right to tender their advice.

In this case, the affliction of the mind must have been augmented by some peculiarity in the constitution. He inherited a melancholy taint from his father, and this seems to have been dreaded as a family disease; for the infant Don Lewis, who likewise resided at the palace of Villa Viciosa, was

obliged to amuse himself with hunting, and other diversions, to prevent his being infected with the king's disorder, which continued to gain ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of medicine. The Spanish nation, naturally superstitious, had recourse to saints and relicts; but these seemed to pay no regard to their prayers. The king, however, in the midst of all his distress, was persuaded to make his will, which was written by the count de Valparaiso, and signed by the duke of Bejar, high chancellor of the kingdom. The violence of his grief, and the mortifications he underwent, soon produced an incurable malady, under which he languished from the month of September in the preceding year, till the tenth of August in the present, when he expired. In his will he had appointed his brother Don Carlos, king of Naples, successor to the crown of Spain; and nominated the queen-dowager as regent of the kingdom, until that prince should arrive. Accordingly she assumed the reins of government, and gave directions for the funeral of the deceased king, who was interred with great pomp in the church belonging to the convent of the visitation at Madrid.

As the death of this prince had been long expected, the politicians of Europe had universally prognosticated that his demise would be attended with great commotions in Italy. It had been agreed among the subscribing powers to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that in case Don Carlos should be advanced in the course of succession to the throne of Spain, his brother Don Philip should succeed him on the throne of Naples; and the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which now constituted his establishment, should revert to the house of Austria. The king of Naples had never acceded to this article, therefore he paid no regard to it on the death of his elder brother; but retained both kingdoms without minding the claims of the empress-queen, who, he knew, was at that time in no condition to make good her pretensions. Thus the German war proved a circumstance very favourable to his interest and ambition.

Before he set out for Spain, however, he took some extraordinary steps, which evinced him a sound politician and sagacious legislator. His eldest son Don Philip, who had now attained the thirteenth year of his age, being found in a state of incurable idiotism*, he wisely and resolutely removed

* *Abstract of the report made to his Catholic majesty by the physicians appointed to examine the prince royal, his eldest son, in consequence of which his royal highness has been declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of Spain. Translated from the original, published at Naples, September 27.*

1. Though his royal highness Don Philip is 13 years old, he is low of stature; and yet the king his father, and the queen his mother, are both of a very proper height.

2. His royal highness has some contraction in his joints, though he can readily move, and make use of them on all occasions.

3. His royal highness is apt to stoop and to hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.

4. The prince most evidently squints, and his eyes frequently water, and are gummy, particularly his left eye; though we cannot say he is blind, but are rather certain of the contrary, as his royal highness can without doubt distinguish objects, both as to their colour and situation.

5. In his natural functions, and the most common sensations, he is sometimes indifferent to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impetuous. In general, his passions are not restrained by reason.

6. The prince has an obstinate aversion to some kind of common food, such as fruits, sweet-meats, &c.

7. All sorts of noise or sound disturbs or disconcerts him; and it has the same effect whether it be soft and harmonious, or harsh and disagreeable.

8. The impression that he receives from pain or pleasure, are neither strong nor lasting, and he is utterly unacquainted with all the punctilios of politeness and good breeding.

9. As to facts and places, he sometimes remembers them, and sometimes not; but he seems not to have the least ideas of the mysteries of our holy religion.

10. He delights in childish amusements; and those which are most boisterous please him best. He is continually changing them, and shifting from one thing to another.

Signed by Don Francis Beniore, chief physician to the king and kingdom: Don Emanuel de la Rosa, physician to the queen; and the physician Caesar Ciribue, Don Thomas Pinto, Don Francis Sarrao, and Don Dominique San Severino.

him from the succession, without any regard to the pretended right of primogeniture, by a solemn act of abdication, and settlement of the crown of the Two Sicilies in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand. In this extraordinary act he observes, that, according to the spirit of the treaties of this age, Europe required that the sovereignty of Spain should be separated from that of Italy, when such a separation could be effected without transgressing the rules of justice: that the unfortunate prince-royal having been destitute of reason and reflection ever since his infancy, and no hope remaining that he could ever acquire the use of these faculties, he could not think of appointing him to the succession, how agreeable soever such a disposition might be to nature and his paternal affection: he was therefore constrained, by the Divine Will, to set him aside, in favour of his third son Ferdinand, whose minority obliged him to vest the management of these realms in a regency, which he accordingly appointed, after having previously declared his son Ferdinand from that time emancipated, and freed not only from obedience to his paternal power, but even from all submission to his supreme and sovereign authority. He then ordained, that the minority of the princes succeeding to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, should expire with the fifteenth year of their age, when they should act as sovereigns, and have the entire power of the administration. He next established and explained the order of succession in the male and female line; on condition that the monarchy of Spain should never be united with the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies. Finally, he transferred and made over to the said Don Ferdinand these kingdoms, with all that he possessed in Italy; and this ordinance, signed and sealed by himself and the infant Don Ferdinand, and countersigned by the counsellors and secretary of state, in quality of members of the regency, received all the forms of authenticity that could render it valid.

Don Carlos having taken these precautions for his third son, whom he left king of Naples, embarked with the rest of his family on board a squadron of Spanish ships, which conveyed him to Barcelona. There he landed in the month of October, and proceeded to Madrid, where, as king of Spain, he was received amidst the acclamations of his people. He began his reign like a wise prince, by regulating the interior œconomy of his kingdom; by retaining the ministry under whose auspice the happiness and commerce of his people had been extended; and with respect to the belligerent powers, by scrupulously adhering to that neutrality from whence these advantages were in a great measure derived.

The attention of his Portuguese majesty was engrossed by a species of employment of a far less pleasing and agreeable nature; namely, by the trial and punishment of those conspirators, who had made such a desperate attempt to deprive him of his life. Among these were numbered some of the first noblemen of the kingdom, irritated by disappointed ambition, inflamed by bigotry, and exasperated by revenge. The principal conspirator, Don Joseph Mascarenhas and Lencastre, duke of Aveiro, marquis of Torres Novas, and conde of Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-steward of the king's household, and president of the palace court, or last tribunal of appeal in the kingdom:

so that he possessed the first office in the palace, and the second of the realm. Francisco de Aliz, marquis of Tavora, conde of St. John and Alvor, was general of the horse, and head of the third noble house of the Tavoras, the most illustrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the ancient kings of Leon: he married his own kinswoman, who was marchioness of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the marquisate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldest son, who, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope, had espoused his own aunt, Donna Theresa de Tavora. Joseph Maria de Tavora was also involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was Don Jeronymo de Attaide, conde of Attouguia, himself a relation and married to the eldest daughter of the marquis of Tavora. The characters of all those personages were unblemished and respectable, until this machination was detected.

In the course of investigating this dark affair, it appeared that the Duke de Aveiro had conceived a personal hatred to the king, who had disappointed him in a projected match between his son and a sister of the duke of Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining some commanderies which the late duke of Aveiro had possessed; that this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge against the person of his sovereign, had exerted all his influence and address in procuring the assistance of the malecontents: that, with this view, he had reconciled himself to the Jesuits, with whom he had been formerly at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably incensed against the king, who had dismissed them from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them with other marks of disgrace, on account of their illegal and rebellious practices in South America: that the duke had, moreover, insinuated himself into the confidence of the marchioness of Tavora, notwithstanding an inveterate rivalry of pride and ambition, which had long subsisted between the two families: that her resentment against the king was inflamed by the mortification of her pride in repeated repulses, when she solicited the title of duke for her husband: that her passions were artfully fomented and managed by the Jesuits, to whom she had resigned the government of her conscience; and they had persuaded her, that it would be a meritorious action to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the church, and a tyrant to his people: that she, being reconciled to the scheme of assassination, had exerted her influence in such a manner, as to inveigle her husband, her sons, and son-in-law, into the same infamous design; and yet this lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability, and sweetness of disposition: that many consultations were held by the conspirators at the college of the Jesuits, St. Antao and St. Roque, as well as at the house of the duke and marquis: at last they resolved, that the king should be assassinated; and employed two ruffians, called Antonio Alvarez and Joseph Policarpio, for the execution of this design, the miscarriage of which we have related among the transactions of the preceding year.

In the beginning of January, before the circumstances of the conspiracy were known, the counts de Oberos and de Rebeira Grande were imprisoned in the castle of St. Julian, on a suspicion arising from

from their freedom of speech. The dutchess of Aveiro, the countess of Attouguia, and the marchioness of Alorna, with their children, were sent to different nunneries; and eight Jesuits were taken into custody. A council being appointed for the trial of the prisoners, the particulars we have related were brought to light by the torture; and sentence of death was pronounced and executed upon the convicted criminals. Eight wheels were fixed upon a scaffold, raised in the square opposite to the house where the prisoners had been confined, and the thirteenth day of January was fixed for the day of execution. Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, one of the assassins who fired into the king's equipage, was fixed to a stake at one corner of the scaffold; and at the other was placed the effigies of his accomplice, Joseph Policarpio de Azevedos, who had made his escape. The marchioness of Tavora, being brought upon the scaffold between eight and nine in the morning, was, in compliment to her sex, beheaded at one stroke, and then covered with a linen cloth. Her two sons, and her son-in-law the count of Attouguia, with three servants of the duke de Aveiro, were first strangled at one stake, and afterwards broke upon wheels, where their bodies remained covered; but the duke and the marquis, as chiefs of the conspiracy, were broke alive, and underwent the most excruciating torments.

The last that suffered was the assassin Alvarez, who being condemned to be burnt alive, the combustibles, which had been placed under the scaffold, were set on fire, the whole machine with their bodies consumed to ashes, and these ashes thrown into the sea. The estates of the three unfortunate noblemen were confiscated, and their dwelling-houses razed to the ground. The name of Tavora was suppressed for ever by a public decree; but that of Mascarenha spared, because the duke de Aveiro was but a younger branch of the family. A reward of ten thousand crowns was offered to any person who should apprehend the assassin who had escaped; then the embargo was taken off the shipping. The king and royal family assisted at a public Te Deum, sung in the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Livramento; on which occasion the king, for the satisfaction of his people, waved his handkerchief with both hands, to shew he was not maimed by the wounds he had received.

Nor were the Portuguese ministry satisfied with these examples of justice. Without waiting for a bull from the pope, they sequestered all the estates and effects of the jesuits in that kingdom, which amounted to considerable sums, and reduced the individuals of the society to a very scanty allowance. Complaints of their conduct having been made to the pope, he appointed a congregation to examine into the affairs of the jesuits in Portugal. In the mean time, the court of Lisbon ordered a considerable number of them to be embarked for Italy, and resolved that no jesuit should hereafter reside within its realms. When these transports arrived at Civita Vecchia, they were, by the pope's order, lodged in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, until proper houses could be prepared for their reception at Tivoli and Frascati. The most guilty of them, however, were detained close prisoners in Portugal.

From this retrospective view of the situation and complexion of the different courts of Europe, let us now turn our eyes to those operations of the war in which Great Britain and France were more peculiarly interested as principals. And here I shall deviate a little from my usual method of arrangement, by particularizing the most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by single ships during the course of this year, previous to my resuming the history of the more capital military transactions between the two nations; a deviation I thought necessary to adopt in this place, to prevent any interruption in the principal narrative.

In the month of February a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by captain Parker, commander of his majesty's ship the Montague, who likewise made prize of a smaller armed vessel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and sixty men. About the same period captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer of St. Malo, carrying two hundred men and twenty-two cannon. Two large merchant ships, loaded on the French king's account, for Martinique, with provision, cloathing and arms, for the troops on that island, were taken by captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an English transport from St. John's, having four hundred French prisoners on board, perished near the Western Islands. Within the circle of the same month a large French ship from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ship of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

In the month of February captain Hood, of his majesty's frigate the Vestal, belonging to a small squadron commanded by admiral Holmes, who had sailed for the West Indies in January, being advanced a considerable way a-head of the fleet, descried and gave chase to a sail, which proved to be a French frigate called the Bellona, of two hundred and twenty men, and thirty-two great guns, commanded by the count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood having made a signal to the admiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musket-shot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadside, which was immediately returned. The engagement, thus begun, was maintained with great vigour on both sides for the space of four hours: at the expiration of which the Bellona struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action: nor was the victor in a much better condition; thirty men were killed and wounded on board of the Vestal. Immediately after the enemy submitted, all her rigging being destroyed by the shot, the top-mast fell overboard; and she was otherwise so damaged that she could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood therefore conducted his prize to Spithead, and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his majesty, on account of the valour and conduct he had manifested on this occasion. The Bellona had sailed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the Florissant, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage.

Immediately after this exploit, captain Elliot, of the Æolus frigate, accompanied by the Isis, made

made prize of a French ship, the *Mignonne*, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men. She was one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant ships, near the island of Rhée.

In the month of March the English frigates the *Southampton* and *Melampe*, commanded by the captains *Gilchrist* and *Hotham*, being at sea to the northward on a cruize, fell in with the *Danae*, a French ship of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men, which was attacked by captain *Hotham* in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, captain *Gilchrist* was obliged to lie by for some time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no sooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the *Danae* with his usual impetuosity, and soon compelled her to surrender. She did not strike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were slain; and the gallant captain *Gilchrist* had received a grape-shot in his shoulder, which though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future service: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer, in the vigour of his age, and in the midst of a sanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of signalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country.

Another remarkable exploit was about the same time performed by captain *Barrington*, commander of the ship *Achilles*, mounted with sixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the *Count de St. Florentin*, bound from Cape François, on the island of Hispaniola, to Rochefort, under the command of the sieur de Montay, who was obliged to strike, after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of his men slain, and his ship so much shattered, that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain *Barrington* obtained the victory at the expence of about twenty-five men, killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot had rendered useless.

Two small privateers from Dunkirk were also taken, one called the *Marquis de Bareil*, by the *Brilliant*, which carried her into Kinsale in Ireland; the other called the *Carillonneur*, which struck to the *Grace* cutter, assisted by the boats of the ship *Rochester*, commanded by captain *Duff*, who sent her into the Downs.

About the latter end of March captain *Falkner*, in the ship *Windsor*, of sixty guns, cruising to the westward, discovered four large ships to leeward, which, when he drew near them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour; then the other three bearing away with all the sail they could carry, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the *Duc de Chartres*, pierced for sixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four and twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the French

East India company, was loaded with gun-powder and naval stores, and bound for Pondicherry.

Two privateers, called *Chasseur* and *Le Conquerant*, the one from Dunkirk, the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by captain *Hughs*, of his majesty's frigate the *Tamer*. A third, called the *Dispatch*, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the *Diligence* sloop, under the command of captain *Eastwood*. A fourth, called the *Basque*, from Bayonne, furnished with twenty-two guns and above two hundred men, fell into the hands of captain *Parker*, of the *Brilliant*, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain *Antrobus*, of the *Surprize*, took the *Vieux*, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, from Dunkirk, struck to captain *Knight*, of the *Liverpool*, off Yarmouth.

In the month of May a French frigate, called the *Arethusa*, mounted with thirty-two cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil, submitted to two British frigates, the *Venus* and the *Thames*, commanded by the captains *Harrison* and *Colby*, after a warm engagement, in which sixty men were killed and wounded on the side of the enemy. In the beginning of June an armed ship, belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs by captain *Angel*, of the *Stag*; and a privateer of force, called the *Countess de la Serre*, was attacked and taken, after an obstinate action, by captain *Moore*, of his majesty's ship the *Adventure*.

Several armed ships of the enemy and valuable prizes were taken in the West Indies; particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which vice-admiral *Cotes* commanded in the Jamaica station. A fifth, called the *Velour*, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being provided with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the *Favourite* sloop of war, under the command of captain *Edwards*, who, after an obstinate dispute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar.

At St. Christopher's in the West Indies, captain *Collingwood*, commander of the king's ship the *Crescent*, attacked two French frigates, the *Amythe* and *Berkeley*; the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the *Crescent's* rigging was so much shattered that she could not pursue; but the other was taken, and conducted into the harbour of Basseterre.

Notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruisers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that in the course of this year they took above two hundred sail of British ships, valued at six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

On the tenth of October the *Hercules* ship of war, mounted with seventy-four guns, under the command of captain *Porter*, cruising in the Chops of the Channel, discovered to windward a large ship, which proved to be the *Florissant*, of the same force with the *Hercules*. Her commander, observing the English ship giving chase, did not seem to decline the action, but bore down in an oblique direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time the *Hercules*, having lost her topmast, and all her rigging being shot
away,

away, the enemy took advantage of this disaster, made the best of his way, and was pursued till eight o'clock next morning, when he escaped behind the isle of Oleron. Captain Porter had one man killed, was himself wounded in the head with a grapeshot, and lost the use of one leg in the engagement.

Having thus given an account of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and performed since the commencement of the present year, I shall now proceed to describe the actions that were at the same period achieved by the different squadrons that constituted the naval power of Great Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy had projected an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were assembled at Havre de Grace for the purpose of transporting troops, rear-admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly arrived in the road of Havre, and made dispositions to execute his orders. The bomb-vessels being moored in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for fifty-two hours without intermission, during which a numerous body of French forces was employed in forming intrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great violence; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants abandoned the place in the utmost consternation.

The honour of the British flag was still more effectually asserted by the gallant admiral Boscawen, who, as I have already remarked, was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt was far from being successful. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that there rode at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and were warmly received by a good number of batteries, which had before escaped their notice. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury; but being overpowered by a superior fire, and the wind suddenly falling, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very shattered condition. The admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, commander of the French squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity of sailing, in hope of passing the Straights mouth unobserved, his fleet consisting of twelve large ships and three frigates.

Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen sail of the line, with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having repaired his squadron, detached one frigate to cruize off Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta point; with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in

case the enemy should approach. On the seventeenth day of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English admiral immediately weighed anchor and put to sea: at day-light he perceived seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron forbore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sail and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now perhaps he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the *Souveraine*, which was a heavy sailer.

At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, suddenly subsided; and although admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his headmost ships could overtake the rear of the enemy: which, though greatly overmatched in numbers, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the *Ocean*, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon running athwart her hawse, he poured into her a furious broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute however was of short duration; in about half an hour admiral Boscawen's mizen-mast and top-sail-yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark*, joined some other ships in attacking the *Centaur* of seventy-four cannon, which being thus overpowered, was obliged to submit.

The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the *Souveraine* and the *Guerrier* altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, Mr. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails in order to overtake him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships, rather than they should fall into the hands of the enemy. The *Ocean* was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shots at the English; another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander; and both endeavoured to disembark their men; but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the *Temeraire* and *Modeste*, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts Exavier and Lagres, in hope of receiving their protection; but in this hope they were disappointed. Mr. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the *Ocean* devolved upon the count de Carne, who, having sustained one broadside from the *America*, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley of the *Warspight*, who had remarkably distinguished himself by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the *Temeraire* of seventy-four guns, and brought her

her off with little damage. Vice-admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the Redoubtable of seventy-four, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the *Modeste*, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement.

This victory was obtained by the English admiral at a very small expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British squadron; though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, as Mr. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owns, that on board of his own ship the *Ocean*, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the admiral dispatched to England, with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

As I intend to bring into one point of view all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European seas, I must now, without regarding the order of time, delay the mention of some previous events of importance, and record the last action at sea, that in the course of this year was performed by the navy of Great Britain. The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all expeditions to the French coast, had in the winter projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions; and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations in their different harbours, for carrying this design into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the king to both houses of parliament, were delivered by the earl of Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, importing that his majesty had received advice of preparations making by the French court, with a design to invade Great Britain; that, though persuaded by the universal zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he should not act consistent with that paternal care and concern which he had always shewn for the safety and preservation of his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power, which might be necessary for their defence: he therefore acquainted the parliament with his having received intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, cause the militia, or such part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion should require.

These messages were no sooner read, than each house separately resolved to present an address, thanking his majesty for having imparted this intelligence; assuring him that they would with their lives and fortunes support him against all attempts whatever: that warmed with affection and zeal for

his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy, whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would cheerfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their sovereign, not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within South Britain, to employ their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several acts of parliament relating to the militia.

These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken; but the government wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so disposed and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval preparations. I have observed in what manner rear-admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre de Grace, and alarmed that part of the coast in successive cruises: I have also given an account of the expedition and victory of admiral Boscawen over the squadron of La Clue, which was fitted out at Toulon, with design to assist in the projected invasion.

Notwithstanding this disaster, the French ministry persevered in their design; towards the execution of which, they had assembled another considerable fleet, at the harbours of Rochfort, Brest, and Port Louis, to be commanded by Mr. de Conflans, and reinforced by a numerous body of troops, which were actually drawn together under the Duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats, and transports for the purpose, were collected in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, named Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, distinguished himself by his courage and conduct in a large privateer, called the *Belleisle*, which had scoured the North Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate engagement against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist, after having sustained considerable damage.

This man's name became a terror to the trading vessels of Great Britain; for his valour was not more conspicuous in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively sent in quest of him, through every port of the German ocean and Northern Sea, as far as the islands of Orkney. It must be acknowledged, likewise, for the honour of humanity, and in justice to this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, he was eminently distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall under his power; and that his behaviour in every respect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country. The court of Versailles were not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French king, and was intrusted with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

The British government, being timely informed of these particulars, took every measure that sagacity could suggest, or vigour execute, to defeat the purposed invasion. With this view, Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon; and the coast of Vannes was secured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had during the whole summer blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, might be said to be subjected to an actual blockade.

The French ministry being thus over-awed, delayed their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense, till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany sustained a defeat on the plains of Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea armament; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland.

Thurot received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and direct his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effect a landing. The transports and ships of war were collected at Brest and Rochfort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland. A body of French troops, including part of the Irish Brigade, was kept in readiness to embark; and the young pretender, having agreed to the terms proposed by France, arrived in the neighbourhood of Vannes incognito, in order, once more, to hazard his person, and excite a revolt in the dominions of Great-Britain.

The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest, with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruise along the French coast from port L'Orient in Bretagne to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and rear admiral Geary, were forced from the coast of France by stress of weather, and anchored in Torbay.

The French admiral Conflans seized this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one and twenty sail of the line, and four frigates, in hope of being able to destroy the English squadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had departed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the

mean time, the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore in Kent and Sussex; all the ships of war in the different harbours, even those that had just arrived from America, were ordered to put out to sea, and every step was taken to disappoint the designs of the enemy.

While these measures were taken with equal spirit and circumspection, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French: but notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he ordered to keep a-head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy's squadron. They were at that time in chace of captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having been in some danger of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breast, now observing, that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could crowd, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chace, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they advanced, that no time might be lost in the pursuit.

Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which in this place is sown thick with sand banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee shore; it required an uncommon degree of resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion: but Sir Edward Hawke, prompted by the innate bravery of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of his country in a great measure depended, was determined to run every risque in endeavouring to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-subjects.

With regard to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and was rather inferior in the article of men and metal; consequently Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea, without any imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the disaster, or if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots.

At half an hour after two, the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship as she advanced poured in a broad side on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him along-side of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board of the *Soleil Royal*, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, and furnished with a complement of twelve hundred men.

When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risque of running upon a shoal, the gallant Hawke replied, "You have done your duty in shewing the danger; now you are to obey my order, and lay me along-side the *Soleil Royal*." His wish was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The *Thésée*, a French seventy-four gun ship, generously put herself between them: Hawke was obliged to bestow upon her the fire he had reserved for a greater occasion, and at one broadside sunk her to the bottom. The same was the fate of the *Superbe*, another French ship of seventy guns.

Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a good number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the *Formidable* struck her colours. The *Heros* took the same step, in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent effectually to secure the conquest. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the night.

Night approaching, the storm continuing to increase on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being surrounded by unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night, in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the tempest, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The *Soleil Royal* had, under favour of the night, anchored likewise in the midst of the British squadron; but, at day-break, Mr. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ashore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately made signal to the *Essex* to slip cable, and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank, called *Lefour*, where the *Resolution*, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irretrievably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their stores, were saved, and the wreck set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the *Portland*, *Chatham*, and *Vengeance*, to destroy the *Soleil Royal*, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the *Heros* to ashes on the *Lefour*, where she had been also stranded; and the *Juste*, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the *Loire*.

The admiral, observing seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the mouth of the river *Vilaine*, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the *Vilaine*, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, defended by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates, moored across the mouth of the harbour. There they were effectually protected from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, they could not approach so near as to reach them with their metal.

On the whole, this battle, in which a very small number of lives was lost, may be considered as one of the most glorious and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations: for it not only defeated the projected invasion, with which the island of Great Britain had been so long threatened; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was thenceforward rendered totally incapable of undertaking any enterprise of importance.

As for the British admiral, he continued cruising off the coast of *Bretagne* for a considerable time after the victory he had gained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river *Vilaine*, that the seven French ships might not escape, and join Mr. Conflans, who made shift to reach *Rochfort* with the shattered remains of his squadron. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempestuous weather, was at length recalled, and presented to his sovereign, who gratified him with a considerable pension, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so signally displayed in the service of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the solemn thanks of the parliament.

The people of France were so dispirited by the discomfiture of their army at *Minden*, and the defeat of their squadron at *Lagos*, that the ministry of *Versailles* thought proper to conceal the greatness of their last misfortune under a palliating detail published in the *Gazette* of *Paris*, as a letter from Mr. Conflans to the count de *St. Florentin*, secretary of the marine. In this egregious misrepresentation their admiral was made to affirm, that the British fleet consisted of forty ships of the line of battle, besides frigates; that the *Soleil Royal* had compelled the *Royal George* to sheer off; that the seven ships, which retreated into the river *Vilaine*, had sustained very little damage, and would be soon repaired; and that, by the junction of *Bompart's* squadron, he should be soon able to give a good account of the English admiral. Such were the pitiful shifts which the French ministry were obliged to employ, in order to save themselves the mortification of confessing the irreparable loss they had suffered.

The alarm of the French invasion, which was thus so happily disconcerted, not only affected the tranquillity of Great Britain, but also communicated itself to the kingdom of *Ireland*, where it gave occasion to some public disorder. In the latter end

of

of October the two houses of parliament, having assembled at Dublin, received a formal message from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, importing, that, by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that befel her Toulon Squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself, to attempt, at all hazards, the only resource she seemed to have left, for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad, in prosecuting a war which had hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, so unfavourable a prospect to the views of French ambition: that, in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the duc d'Aiguillon, assembled at Vannes, where also a sufficient number of transports was prepared, should be able to elude the British Squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it therefore incumbent upon him, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to impart this intelligence to the Irish parliament: that his majesty made no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful Protestant subjects in that kingdom, had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs, and actual preparations, at a vast expence, in order to invade the several parts of the British dominions: that his grace had received his sovereign's commands to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet, and shake the security of this kingdom: he, therefore, in the strongest manner, recommended it to them to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the parliament of that nation had been so often distinguished.

This message was no sooner read, than the house of commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the lord lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shewn for the safety of Ireland, in having communicated intelligence of so great importance; desiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of the kingdom; and assuring him, that the house would make good whatever expence should be necessarily incurred for that purpose.

This intimation, and the steps that were taken in consequence of it, for the defence of Ireland, produced such apprehensions and distraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being entirely stagnated, when the lord lieutenant, the members of both houses of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an association to support public credit, by

taking the notes of bankers in payment: a resolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

Whatever hopes the court of Versailles might have conceived, that their invading army would in Ireland be reinforced by a great number of the natives, in all probability their expectations would have been wholly disappointed, had they even been able to effect a landing; for no signs of disaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romish persuasion offered voluntarily to furnish the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the present establishment against all its enemies; and the Roman catholics of the city of Corke, in a body, presented an address to the lord lieutenant, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of affection. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled successes which had attended his majesty's arms, and expressed their sense of the king's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepest sense of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom by an enemy, who, grown desperate from repeated defeats, might possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland, from the former attachments of their deluded predecessors. They assured his grace, in the most solemn manner, that such schemes were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions: that they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his majesty royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever: that they should be always ready to concur in such measures, and to act such parts, in defence of the kingdom, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, as his grace in his great wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and think themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an assertor of liberty, such an important and distinguished governor. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of success, as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace. This loyal address, which was transmitted to the earl of Shannon, and by him presented to the duke of Bedford, could not fail to be very agreeable to the government at such a critical conjuncture.

Although no signs of disaffection to his majesty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. Whether they were dissatisfied with the conduct of the lord lieutenant, whose character was by no means popular, or began to entertain suspicions of the designs of the English ministry; certain it is, great pains were taken to infuse into them a belief, that an union would soon be effected between Great Britain and Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes that were imposed upon the people of England.

This

This notion enraged the populace to such a degree, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke into the house of lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the Journals, which, had they found them, they would in all probability have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both houses, whom they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Several coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those furious insurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to disperse the multitude, who accordingly retired to their own habitations. Next day addresses were presented to the lord-lieutenant by both houses of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be speedily apprehended and brought to condign punishment.

When the ministry of England received the first intelligence of Thurot's having sailed from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ships, and a body of land troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately sent to the commanding officers of the forces in North Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the best posture of defence, and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, should they attempt to effect a landing. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the more easy communicating the alarm; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty, on any pretence whatsoever. The greatest encomium that can be given to the reputation of this adventurer, is an account of the terror which the sailing of his puny armament diffused through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been sooner checked, had commodore Boys been victualled for a longer cruise; but this commander was obliged to put in at Leith for a supply of provisions, at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering upon the coast near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was ready to resume its cruise, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburg in Sweden.

Having thus given a succinct detail of the actions performed in the European seas by the naval force of Great Britain, within the compass of the present year, I shall now proceed to relate the exploits of the British arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinico and Guadalupe, which is said to have succeeded even beyond the expectation of the ministry. A plan had been laid for improving the success of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Laurence, and attacking Quebec, the capital of Canada. The armament allotted for the reduction of Martinico and Guadalupe constituted part of this design, inasmuch as the troops employed in that expedition were, in

case of a failure in the first attempt, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was justly regarded as the chief seat of the war.

What hope of success the ministry entertained from an attack upon Martinico may be easily conjectured from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French king's lieutenants of its several districts to the general of the French islands, in consequence of an order issued in November, for holding them in readiness to march and defend the island from the English, of whose designs they were fully apprised. They represented, that the trade with the Dutch was become their sole dependance: that they could expect no succour from Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever since the commencement of the war: that the traders, vested with the privilege of trafficking among them, had abused the intention of the general, and, instead of being of service to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the provisions they had brought in, as well as for the commodities which they exported; so that the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter sunk as low in value as their own selfish hearts could desire: that the colony for two months had been destitute of all kinds of provision; the commodities of the planters lay upon their hands, and their negroes were in danger of perishing through hunger; a circumstance which excited the apprehension of the most dreadful consequences: that to slaves half-starved, all kinds of bondage were equal; and people reduced to such a situation were often driven to despair, seeking, in anarchy and confusion, a remedy from the evils by which they were oppressed: that the best provided of the inhabitants laboured under the want of the common necessities of life; and others had not so much as a grain of salt in their houses: that there was an irreparable scarcity of slaves to cultivate their lands; and the planters were reduced to the necessity of killing their cattle to support the lives of those who remained alive; so that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants consumed beforehand what ought to be reserved for their sustenance, in case of being blocked up by the enemy.

They desired therefore that the general would suppress the permissions granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral vessels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the inhabitants unmolested and unrestrained. They observed, that the citadel of Port Royal seemed the principal object on which the safety and defence of the country depended; as the loss of it would be necessarily attended with the reduction of the whole island: they therefore advised that this fort should be speedily furnished with every thing necessary for its safety and defence; and that magazines of provision, as well as ammunition, should be established in different quarters of the island.

From this remonstrance it plainly appears, that the island was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invasion, and that the plan adopted by the ministry of Great Britain was founded on the best and most authentic intelligence. The regular troops of Martinico amounted to about twenty independent companies, greatly defective in point of number. The militia was composed of burghers and planters, distressed and dissatisfied, inter-

mixed with a parcel of wretched negroe slaves, groaning under the most intolerable misery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a speedy change of masters; their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair.

Such was the state of Martinico, when the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armament, whose progress I shall now describe. On the twelfth day of November, in the preceding year, captain Hughes sailed from St. Helen's with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, having on board six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, besides eight hundred marines distributed among the ships of war; this whole force being under the command of major-general Hopson, an old experienced officer, assisted by major-general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane, and the lieutenant-colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of seven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carlisle-bay, where they joined commodore Moore, who, in consequence of his majesty's express instructions for that purpose, assumed the command of the united squadrons, consisting of ten ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches.

Ten days were consumed in supplying the fleet with wood and water, in reviews, reimbarcations, councils of war, assemblies of the council belonging to the island, in issuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ship being reinforced with forty negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which amounted to five thousand eight hundred and twenty-four men, being joined by four hundred Highlanders belonging to the second battalion of the regiment commanded by lord John Murray in North America, the whole armament sailed from Carlisle-bay on the thirteenth day of January: but by this time the troops, unaccustomed to a hot climate, were considerably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhoeas, the scurvy, and the small-pox; which last disease had unhappily broke out amongst the transports. Next morning the squadron came in sight of the island of Martinico, which was the place of its destination, lying in the latitude of fifteen degrees north, extending about thirteen leagues in length and seven in breadth, divided quite across by a lofty ridge of mountains, well watered with streams and rivulets, extremely fertile in its soil, which produces sugar, cotton, ginger, and indigo; indented with commodious bays, of which the most considerable is the great bay of Port Royal, the capital of the island, seven miles long, and in some places five miles over.

Martinico is still further considerable by its central situation in the midst of the Caribbees, by its strength, the number of its inhabitants, and the advantages it derives from being the seat of government, and staple of trade, from whence even the sugars of Guadalupe and other French islands are exported for the European markets. The chief fortification of the island was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort, garrisoned by four companies which hardly amounted to the number of one hundred and fifty men, thirty-six bombar-

diers, eighty Swiss, and fourteen officers. Their whole store of provision consisted of only one hundred barrels of beef, and they were entirely destitute of all other necessaries. They were almost wholly unprovided with water in the cisterns, with spare carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and langrage; they had but a small stock of other ammunition, and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for defence were some paultry intrenchments formed at St. Pierre, and a place called Casnavire, where they imagined the descent would probably be attempted.

On the fifteenth day of the month the British Squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal, some of the ships being exposed to the shot of a battery erected on the Ile de Ranieres; a little island about half way up the bay. At their approach, the *Floissant*, of seventy-four guns, which had been so roughly handled by captain Tyrrel in the Buckingham, then lying under the guns of Fort Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the citadel, and came to anchor in the Carenage, behind the fortification. One of the frigates, during the ensuing night, made her escape through the transports, and directed her course for Europe.

Next day three ships of the line were ordered to attack Fort Negro, a battery at the distance of three miles from the citadel, which, being mounted with seven guns only, was soon silenced, and immediately possessed by a detachment of marines and sailors; who, being landed, in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered through the embrasures with their bayonets fixed: here, however, they met with no resistance. The enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The British colours were immediately hoisted, and centinels of marines posted upon the parapet. The next care was to spike and disable the cannon, break the carriages, and destroy the powder which they found in the magazine: nevertheless the detachment was ordered to keep possession of the battery. This service being successfully performed, three ships were sent to reduce the other battery at Casnavire, which consisted only of four guns, and these were soon rendered unserviceable.

The French troops, reinforced by militia, which had been detached from the citadel to oppose the landing, observing the whole British Squadron, and all the transports, already within the bay, and Fort-Negro possessed by the marines, withdrew to Port Royal, leaving the beach open; so that the English troops were disembarked without opposition, and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-shells from the citadel, shifted their station, and stood farther up the bay.

By ten next day the English officers had brought up some field-pieces to an eminence, and scoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the small shot of the enemy during the best part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the British forces advanced, in order, towards the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and sustained a troublesome fire from enemies they could not see; for the French militia were entirely concealed among the

trees and bushes. This eminence, called the Morne Tortuefon, though the most important post of the whole island, was neglected by the general of Martinico, who had also determined to blow up the fortifications of the place: but, luckily for the islanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which must have been followed by the immediate reduction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, sensible of the importance of the Morne Tortuefon, resolved to defend that post with a body of the militia, which had been joined by the garrisons of Fort Negro and Cafenavire, as well as by some soldiers detached from the Florissant: but notwithstanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely destitute of cannon, extremely deficient in point of discipline, disheartened by the pusillanimity of their governor, and in a great measure disconcerted by the general consternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withstood a spirited and well conducted attack.

The English army, however, met with much greater obstruction from the nature of the ground than from the strength of the enemy. The whole country was intersected with a number of gullies, inclosed by steep and almost perpendicular precipices; so that it was extremely difficult for the troops to advance, and absolutely impossible for them to transport their artillery. The general, therefore, sent word to the commodore, that he could not maintain his ground, unless the squadron would supply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port Royal, or assist him in attacking the citadel by sea, while he should make his approaches by land. Both these expedients being deemed impracticable, the attempt upon Port Royal was forthwith abandoned, and the troops being recalled from their advanced posts, were re-embarked in the evening without molestation.

The majority of the British officers, who composed the council of war, having given it as their opinion, that it might be for his majesty's service to make an attack upon St. Pierre, the fleet proceeded to that part of the island, and entered the bay on the nineteenth. The commodore told the general, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre: but, as the ships might be disabled in the attack, so as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material service; as the troops might also be reduced in their numbers, so as to be incapable of future attacks; as, even upon the supposition of its being taken, the general seemed apprehensive of his not being able to garrison the place; and as the reduction of the island of Guadalupe would be of great benefit to the sugar colonies; Mr. Moore proposed that the armament should immediately proceed to this island; and the general agreed to the proposal. Before this resolution was taken, however, the commodore had ordered the bay of St. Pierre to be sounded, and directed the Rippon to advance, and silence a battery situated a mile and a half to the northward of the town. Accordingly captain Jekyl, who commanded that ship, stood in, and anchoring close to the shore, attacked it with such impetuosity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned. At the same time the Rippon was exposed to the fire of two other small batteries, from

which she received considerable damage both in her hull and rigging; and was in great danger of running aground, when orders were given to tow her out of danger.

The whole armament having abandoned the design on Martinico, directed their course to Guadalupe, another of the Caribbee islands, lying at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward, about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; divided into two parts by a channel, which the inhabitants cross in a ferry-boat. The western division is distinguished by the appellation of Basseterre, or Guadalupe properly so called; and here the metropolis stands, defended by the citadel and other fortifications. The eastern part, called Grandterre, is destitute of fresh water, which abounds in the other division, and is secured by fort Louis, with a redoubt, which commands the road in the district of Gosier. The gut, or canal that separates the two parts, is known by the name of the Salt River, having a road or bay at each end; the one called the great Cul de Sac, the other the small Cul de Sac. Guadalupe is covered with high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants used to convey their valuable effects in time of danger: but here are also beautiful plains, watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the soil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and cassia; besides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulse and fruit peculiar to the island. The country is populous and flourishing, and the government comprehends two smaller islands, called All Saints, and Deseada, which appear at a small distance from the coast, on the eastern side of the island.

The British squadron arrived at Basseterre on the twenty-second day of January; and the chief engineer having reconnoitred the town, pronounced it absolutely impregnable to shipping. The commodore, however, was of another opinion. Having disposed his ships in proper order, he resolved to attack it early next morning. At nine, the Lion, commanded by captain Trelawney, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns; and the rest of the fleet continued to draw up a-breast of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-six cannon, besides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both sides for several hours with great vivacity: while the commodore, who had shifted his flag into the Woolwich frigate, kept aloof without gunshot, that he might be the more disengaged to view the state of the battle, and give his orders with the greater precision.

During the whole attack, all the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney, and Shuldham; who, in the very hottest of the action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage and deliberation. About five in the afternoon, the fire of the citadel was exhausted. The Burford and Berwick were driven out to sea; so that captain Shuldham in the Panther was unsupported; and two batteries played upon the Rippon, captain Jekyl, who, by two in the afternoon, silenced the guns of one called the Mornerouge; but at the same time could not prevent his ship from running a-ground. The enemy observing her disaster, assembled in great numbers on the

the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a severe fire of musquetry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball; and for two hours raked her fore and aft with considerable effect: nevertheless captain Jekyl returned the fire with equal spirit and perseverance; and being assisted by captain Leslie, of the Bristol, found means at last to get out of all danger. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, he joined the rest of the fleet. The four bomb-ketches being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses; so that in a little time the houses were in flames; the magazines of gun-powder blew up with the most terrible explosion; and about ten o'clock the whole place was involved in one general conflagration.

Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet arrived in the road of Basseterre, where they found the hulls of divers ships which the enemy had set on fire at their approach: several ships turned out and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the English squadron. At five the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the whole amounting to a very inconsiderable number; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel; but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The nails with which they had spiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matrosses; and in the mean time the British colours were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great violence.

In the morning, at day-break, the enemy appeared, to the number of two thousand, about four miles from the town, and began to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of a house where the governor had fixed his head quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the last extremity. To this resolution indeed he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a pass called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capesterre, a more level and beautiful part of the island. The ascent from Basseterre to this pass was so very steep, and the way so broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no prospect of attacking it with success, except at the first landing, when the inhabitants were seized with the most terrible panic. They soon, however, recovered their wonted spirit, assembled and fortified themselves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being sent with offers of terms to their governor, the chevalier d'Etreil, he rejected them in a letter, with which his subsequent conduct but very ill corresponded. Indeed from the beginning his deportment had been such as gave no very favourable idea of his character. When the British squa-

dron advanced to the attack, instead of visiting in person the citadel and the batteries, in order to encourage and animate his people by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger to a distant plantation, where he remained a tame spectator of the destruction that overwhelmed the capital of the island. Next morning, when he ought to have exerted himself in preventing the disembarkation of the English troops, who had a difficult shore and violent surf to encounter, and when he might have defended the entrenchments and lines which had been made to oppose their landing, he abandoned all these advantages, and took shelter among the mountains that were deemed inaccessible.

But however pusillanimous the conduct of the governor, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great spirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harassed the scouring detachments, by firing upon them from woods and sugar plantations. Their armed negroes in particular were very expert in this kind of bush-fighting. The natives or militia appeared in considerable parties, and even attacked detached bodies of the British army. A lady of masculine courage, whose name was Ducharmy, having armed her slaves, headed them in person, made several bold attempts upon an advanced post possessed by major Melville, and threw up intrenchments upon a hill opposite to the station of this officer, who had all along distinguished himself by his intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length the works of this virago were stormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obstinate and dangerous conflict, entered the intrenchment sword in hand, and burned the houses and plantations; but the lady, who commanded in person during the action, escaped with some difficulty. Some of the enemy were killed, and a good number taken; of the English detachment twelve soldiers were slain, and thirty wounded, including three subaltern officers, one of whom lost his arm.

The greatest body of the enemy was posted at the governor's head quarters, where they had raised a redoubt, and formed some intrenchments. From these a considerable detachment advanced on the sixth day of February, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an English party, whom they attacked with great vivacity; but after a short, though warm dispute, they were obliged to retire with the loss of some men. Without all question the inhabitants of Guadalupe pursued the most feasible plan that could possibly have been concerted for their own safety. Instead of risking a general engagement with regular troops, in which in all probability they would have been defeated, they resolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in separate parties, to alarm and harass the English with hard duty in a sultry climate, where they were but indifferently supplied with provision and refreshment. Both the army and navy were attacked with fevers and other diseases epidemical in those hot countries; and the regimental hospitals were so crowded, that it was found absolutely necessary to send five hundred sick men to the island of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

In the mean time, the reduction of the islanders on the side of Guadalupe becoming every day

more difficult, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grand-terre, which, as I have already observed, was secured by a strong battery, named Fort Louis. In pursuance of this plan, the great ships were sent round to Grand-terre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the thirteenth day of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments sword in hand, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

In a few days after this exploit, general Hopson dying at Basseterre, the chief command devolved upon general Barrington, who determined to prosecute the entire reduction of the island with the utmost vigour and dispatch. The better to facilitate this conquest, the commodore ordered two ships of war to cruize off the island of St. Eustatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from assisting the natives of Guadalupe, whom they had hitherto constantly supplied with provisions since they withdrew to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very first day of his command, ordered the troops who were encamped to strike their tents and build huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to continue in this quarter; but in a few days the batteries in and about Basseterre were blown up and destroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced posts, and the whole army reembarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garrison at the citadel; the command of which was conferred on colonel Debrisay, an accomplished officer of great experience.

The enemy no sooner observed the coast clear than they rushed down from the hills, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of the town, from which however they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both by shot and shells, and even threatened a regular attack; but as often as they approached the place, they were repulsed by sallies from the castle. In the midst of these hostilities, the gallant Debrisay, together with major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several common soldiers, were blown up, and perished by the explosion of a powder magazine at the flanked angle of the south-east bastion. The confusion necessarily produced by such an unfortunate accident, encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to take advantage of the disaster; but they were soon repulsed by the fire of the garrison. The general, being made acquainted with the fate of colonel Debrisay, bestowed the government of the fort upon major Melvil, and sent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications.

In the mean time, commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that monsieur de Bompert had arrived at Martinico with a squadron, consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiss, and some other troops, to reinforce the garrisons of the islands, he called in his cruizers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to the windward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadalupe, whence he could always be able to oppose any attempts which the French commander might make against the operations of

the British armaments. Some reflections were thrown on his conduct for retiring so speedily to this station, and not rather advancing directly to attack the French squadron; but these censures appeared, in the sequel, to have proceeded either from prejudice or ignorance.

General Barrington being by this time left with one ship of forty guns, for the protection of the transports, concerted a plan of prosecuting the war in Guadalupe by detachments; and the success fully answered his expectation. He determined to make a descent on the division of the island called Grand-terre, and for that purpose allotted six hundred men, who, under the command of colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and demolished some batteries of the enemy, from whence he met with very little opposition. While he was employed in this service, a detachment of three hundred men attacked the town of Gosier, which, notwithstanding a severe fire, they took by assault, drove the garrison into the woods, set fire to the place, and destroyed the battery and intrenchment raised for its defence. This exploit being happily achieved, the detachment was ordered to force their way to Fort Louis, while the garrison of that castle was directed to make two sallies, in order to favour their irruption. They accordingly penetrated with some loss, sustained in forcing a strong pass, and took possession of a battery which the enemy had raised against the English camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis.

The general, having hitherto succeeded in his designs, formed the scheme of surprising at once the three towns of Petitbourg, Guoyave, and St. Mary, situated on the Basse-terre side of the little Cul de Sac, and entrusted the execution of it to the colonels Crump and Clavering: but the night appointed for the service, proved extremely dark and tempestuous, and the negro conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals that skirt this part of the island. Colonel Clavering landed with about eighty men; but found himself so entangled with mangrove-trees, and the mud so impassably deep, that he was obliged to reembark, though not before the enemy had discovered his design. This project having failed, the general detached the same commanders, whose gallantry and conduct cannot be sufficiently extolled, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred and fifty volunteers from Antigua, to land in a bay not far from the town of Arnenville, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac, under the protection of his majesty's ship the Woolwich. The enemy made no opposition to their landing; but retreated, as the English advanced, to a strong intrenchment thrown up behind the river Lecorne, a post of the utmost importance, as it commanded the whole country as far as the bay Mahaut, where provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia. The river was rendered inaccessible by a morass, covered with mangroves, except at two narrow passes, which they had secured with a redoubt, and intrenchments well pallisaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: besides, the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were intersected with deep and wide ditches.

Notwithstanding these obstructions, the English commanders resolved to hazard an assault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a constant fire upon the top of the intrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and resolute behaviour, began to abandon the first intrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders, drawing their swords, and sustained by part of the regiment, threw themselves in with their usual impetuosity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took possession: but the enemy still kept their ground within the intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the assailants both with musquetry and cannon. In half an hour, an occasional bridge being made, the English troops crossed the river in order to attack this post, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation: notwithstanding all their haste, however, about seventy were taken prisoners, and among these some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. This advantage cost the English two officers and thirteen men killed, and about fifty wounded.

The roads being mended for the passage of the artillery, the troops proceeded towards Petit-bourg, harrassed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizarde, the only ford of which the French had secured with strong intrenchments, defended by a battery of four cannon, erected on a rising ground in the rear. Colonel Clavering, while he amused them all night at this place by a constant fire into their lines, transported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a sufficient number of troops, by day-break, to attack them on the other side in flank, while he should charge them in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to sustain the assault. On the contrary, they no sooner discovered his intention than they deserted the post, and fled with precipitation. Colonel Clavering having crossed the river, pursued them to Petit-bourg, which they had also fortified; and here he found captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing shells into the redoubt. He instantly sent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumstance which the enemy no sooner perceived than they abandoned the place, and retired in disorder.

On the fifteenth day of April captain Steele destroyed a battery at Guoyave, a strong post, which, though it might have been defended against an army, the French relinquished abruptly, after having made a hasty discharge of their artillery. At the same time colonel Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the bay of Mahaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vast quantity of provisions which had been brought from the island of St. Eustatia. Colonel Clavering, having left a small garrison at Petit-bourg, began his march on the twentieth day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he understood the enemy had assembled their whole force, thrown up intrenchments, and raised barricadoes; but they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached colonel Barlow with a body of troops to

attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their intrenchment. They stood but one cannon-shot, and fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were secured with woods and precipices. When they observed the English troops endeavouring to surmount these difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppose the design; and were immediately attacked with such vivacity, in the face of a severe fire of musquetry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for the night at St. Mary's.

Next day they entered the fertile country of Capesterre, where eight hundred and seventy negroes, belonging to one planter, surrendered at discretion. Here colonel Clavering was met by messieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island, to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to Petit-bourg, where they were presented to general Barrington, who, considering the absence of the fleet, the small number of his forces daily diminishing, the nature of the country, and the possibility of the enemy's being reinforced from Martinico, wisely took advantage of their present panic, and settled the terms of capitulation without delay. The sanity of this resolution was soon visible. The inhabitants had just signed the agreement, when a messenger arrived in their camp with intelligence that M. de Beauharnois, the general of the French islands, had landed at St. Anne, to the windward, with a reinforcement from Martinico, consisting of six hundred regulars from Europe, and about fifteen hundred militia, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, mortars, and artillery, under convoy of the squadron commanded by M. de Bomparr, who no sooner heard that the capitulation was signed than he reembarked the troops and stores with all possible expedition, and sailed back to Martinico.

Thus we see that the conquest of this important island, which is said to produce a greater quantity of sugar than any other of the West Indian plantations, was as much owing to accident as to the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general: for, had the reinforcement arrived an hour sooner than it actually landed, in all probability the English would have found it extremely difficult to complete the reduction of Guadalupe. Whatever be in this, certain it is that the inhabitants manifested great gallantry in the defence of their country, and no less fortitude in bearing their subjection now that it was inevitable. They immediately quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other posts, and returned to their respective habitations.

The town of Basseterre being entirely reduced to ashes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbish, and erected occasional sheds, where they resumed their several occupations with that good humour so peculiar to the French nation; and general Barrington humanely indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

Soon after the reduction of Guadalupe, the islands of Deteada, Los Santos, and Marigalante, were summoned to surrender; and they accordingly submitted upon the same terms which was granted to the great island: but this step was not

taken till after the departure of general Barrington for England.

This officer having happily completed the reduction of Guadalupe, sent word to the commodore that he intended to send back part of the troops with the transports to Great Britain about the beginning of July. In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Moore sailed with his squadron to Basseterre road, where he was next day joined by two ships of the line from England, which rendered him superior in strength to the commander of the French squadron, who at this time retired to the island of Grenada, lying about eight leagues from Guadalupe. Here he was discovered by the ship Rippon, whose captain returned immediately to Basseterre, in order to inform the commodore of this circumstance: but before he could put to sea, a frigate arrived with advice that Bompard had departed from Grenada, and was supposed to have directed his course to Hispaniola. The commodore immediately dispatched the Ludlow-castle with this intelligence to admiral Cotes, who commanded the squadron at Jamaica.

General Barrington having made a tour of Guadalupe, in order to visit and repair the fortifications which he thought necessary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being entirely settled, he sent the Highlanders, with a body of draughts, to North America, under convoy; he garrisoned the principal towns of the island, and left the chief command to colonel Crump, who had for some time acted as brigadier-general, colonel Clavering having been sent home to England with the news of the conquest. Colonel Melville, who had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner ever since their first landing, continued governor of the citadel at Basseterre; and the command at Grand-terre was bestowed on colonel Delgarno. Three complete regiments were assigned as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himself went on board the Roebuck in the latter end of June, and with the transports, under convoy of a small squadron, set sail for Great Britain, while commodore Moore with his larger fleet directed his course to Antigua.

During these transactions in the Leeward Islands, the war was carried on with no less vigour in North America, which may be properly considered as the chief scene of action. In October of the preceding year a grand assembly had been held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was concluded, by a formal treaty, between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightwees, however, settled between the river Ohio and the lakes, did not assist at this interview, though some steps had been taken to secure the alliance of that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, accompanied by sir William Johnson's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the province of New Jersey, a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayagas, Se-

necas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys; the Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies; the Minisinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole number, including their women and children, amounting to five hundred and seven.

Some of the Six Nations thinking themselves aggrieved by the British colonists, who had imprisoned some of their countrymen, killed a few, and treated others with neglect, did not fail to express their resentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emissaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Minisinks in particular complained that the English had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were provoked to hostilities: but Teedyuscung, the chief of the former, had made overtures of peace; and, in the character of ambassador from all the ten nations, had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well disposed to peace, took umbrage at the importance assumed by this chief of the Delawares, over whom, as their descendants, they claimed a kind of parental authority; and on this occasion they made no scruple to express their displeasure. The business therefore of the English governors, at this congress, was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Six Nations with their nephews the Delawares, remove every cause of misunderstanding between the English and the Indians, detach these savages entirely from the French interest, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Twightwees to accede to this treaty.

Those Indians, though possessed of few ideas, circumscribed in their mental faculties, stupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themselves nevertheless, in matters of importance to the community, by the general maxims of reason and justice; and their treaties are always founded upon good sense, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harsh, and polysyllabical; and their speech consists of hyperbolical metaphors and similes, which invest it with an air of dignity, and heighten the expression. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of hard shells, either in single strings, or sewed in broad belts of different dimensions, according to the importance of the subject. Every proposition is offered, every answer made, every promise corroborated, every declaration attested, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging these belts of wampum.

The conferences were continued from the eighth to the twenty-sixth day of October, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, sheers, gun-locks, ivory combs, shirts plain and ruffled, shoes and stockings for men and women, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, cloaths, blankets, gartering, serges, watch-coats, and a few suits of laced cloaths for their chieftains. To complete their happiness, the stores of rum were opened: they drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective places of habitation.

This

This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the interest of Great Britain, happily contributed to facilitate the operations which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Instead of employing the whole strength of the British arms in North America upon one object, the British ministry resolved to divide the forces, and make impressions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, distracted, and weakened, and the conquest of Canada accomplished in one campaign. In order the more effectually to insure success, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to co-operate with each other occasionally; so practicable was it thought for them to maintain such a correspondence as would admit of a junction of this nature.

The project of this campaign imported, that general Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Laurence as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a considerable squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada: that general Amherst, who commanded in chief, should, with another army of regular troops and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, cross the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of St. Laurence, join general Wolfe in the siege of Quebec: that brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced by a considerable number of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of sir William Johnson, should attack the French fort erected by the fall of the cataract of Niagara, which was certainly the most important post of all French America, as it in a manner commands all the interior parts of that vast continent. It overawes the whole country of the Six Nations, who were persuaded to agree to its being built on their territory: it secured all the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and opened a way for inroads into the colonies of Great Britain. It was proposed that the British forces, having taken Niagara, should be embarked on the lake Ontario, sail down the river St. Laurence, reduce the town of Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherst's army. Besides these larger armaments, colonel Stanwix was entrusted with a smaller detachment for subduing smaller forts, and scouring the banks of the lake Ontario.

The same good fortune that so remarkably attended the British arms in the conquest of Guadalupe, seemed to accompany them in a manner still more astonishing in the siege of Quebec, the particulars of which we shall relate in their proper place: at present, we must explain the operations of general Amherst, whose separate army was first in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his armament.

The summer was already far advanced before he could pass lake George with his forces, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where in the preceding year the British troops had sustained such a terrible disaster. At first the enemy seemed de-

termined to defend this fortress; but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege, having moreover orders to retreat, from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than run the risk of being made prisoners of war; they, in the night of July the 27th, abandoned the post, after having in some measure demolished the fortifications, and retired to Crown Point, a fort situated on the banks of Lake Champlain. General Amherst having taken possession of this important post, which effectually secured the frontiers of New York, and afforded to himself a safe retreat in case of necessity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. This acquisition, however, was not made without the loss of a brave accomplished young officer, colonel Roger Townshend, who, in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon shot, and fell near the same spot which, in the former year, had been enriched with the blood of the gallant lord Howe, whom he strongly resembled in the circumstances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

While the general superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in constructing batteaus and other vessels, his scouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. From one of these detachments he received information on the first day of August, that the enemy had abruptly left Crown-Point. He forthwith detached a body of rangers before him to take possession of the place, embarked with the rest of his army, and on the fourth day of the month landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundations of a new fort, to be maintained for the security of the British dominions in that part of the country, and particularly for guarding against the inroads of scalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infested.

Here he likewise received intelligence that the enemy had retired to the isle Aux Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain, five leagues on the hither side of St. John's: that their force encamped in that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, consisted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thousand five hundred effective men, provided with a numerous artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command of M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by M. de Rigal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this intimation, the English general, who had for some time employed captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being determined to have the superiority on the lake, directed the captain to build, with all possible dispatch, a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon.

These, together with a brigantine, being finished, victualled, and manned, by the eleventh day of October, the general embarked with the whole troops in batteaus, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather growing tempestuous, he

he was forced to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were landed for refreshment. In the mean time captain Loring, with his small squadron, sailed down the lake, gave chase to a French schooner, and drove three of their ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the third run aground by their own crews, who escaped. This last, however, was repaired and brought away by captain Loring; so that now the French had but one schooner left. General Amherst, after having been some days wind-bound, reembarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the storm which had abated beginning to blow with redoubled fury, so as to swell the waves mountain high, the season for action being elapsed, and winter setting in with a most severe frost, he saw the impossibility of executing his design, and was obliged to desist.

Returning to the same bay where he had formerly taken shelter, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-Point, where he arrived on the twenty-first day of October. Having attained a superiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in raising the new fortress at Crown-Point, together with three small out-forts for its better defence; in forming roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and in making dispositions for the winter-quarters of his troops, so as to secure the country from the inroads of the enemy. During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints in some intercepted letters of the French general Montcalm, relating to the exchange of prisoners. From these he learned that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and seemed determined to undertake the siege of that city: that he had honoured him (the French general) with several notes, sometimes couched in a soothing strain, sometimes filled with menaces: that the French army intended to give him battle; and a few days would determine the fate of Quebec.

Though Mr. Amherst was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebec squadron, he enjoyed nevertheless a free communication with the forces employed against Niagara, and had the satisfaction to hear of their success before he quitted the lines of Ticonderoga. General Prideaux, with his body of troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under sir William Johnson, advanced to the cataract of Niagara without meeting with the least opposition on his march; and investing the French fortress about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour till the twentieth day of that month, when, visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a cohorn. Mr. Amherst was no sooner apprised of his disaster than he detached from Ticonderoga brigadier-general Gage, to assume the command of that army. In the mean time it devolved to sir William Johnson, who, though in a great measure unacquainted with the rules of war, prosecuted the plan of his predecessor with all the skill and activity of the most veteran commander.

The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They collected a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hun-

dred men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle; and these, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached, under the command of monsieur d'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garrison of Niagara. Sir William Johnson having received intelligence of their design, made a disposition to intercept them in their march. In the evening he ordered the light infantry and piquets to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortress; and these were reinforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Massey; and another regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Farquhar, was posted at the tail of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in sight, the Indians in the English army advanced to speak with their countrymen who served under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible scream called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its effect among the British forces, the enemy began the action with great impetuosity: but they met with such a warm reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon them in flank, that in a little more than half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers, taken, and the pursuit continued through the woods for several miles with considerable slaughter.

This battle, which happened on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara, sir William Johnson sent major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding officer, to present him with a list of the seventeen officers taken in the engagement, and advise him to surrender before more blood was shed, while he had it in his power to restrain the Indians. The commandant having certified himself of the truth, by sending an officer to visit the prisoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was signed. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven effective men, marched out with the honours of war, in order to be embarked in vessels on the lake, and conveyed in the most expeditious manner to New York. They laid down their arms when they embarked, but were permitted to keep their baggage, and, by a proper escort, protected from the savage insolence and rapacity of the Indians. All the women were conducted, at their own request, to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity.

This was the second complete victory gained, in the course of the same war, by sir William Johnson, who, without the help of a military education, succeeded so signally in the field by dint of innate courage and natural sagacity. What remarkably distinguished these battles, is the circumstance of his having taken in both the commander of the enemy. Nor was he more serviceable to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his justice, benevolence, and integrity, had acquired him among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations, whom he not only assembled at Niagara, to the number of eleven hundred, but also restrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

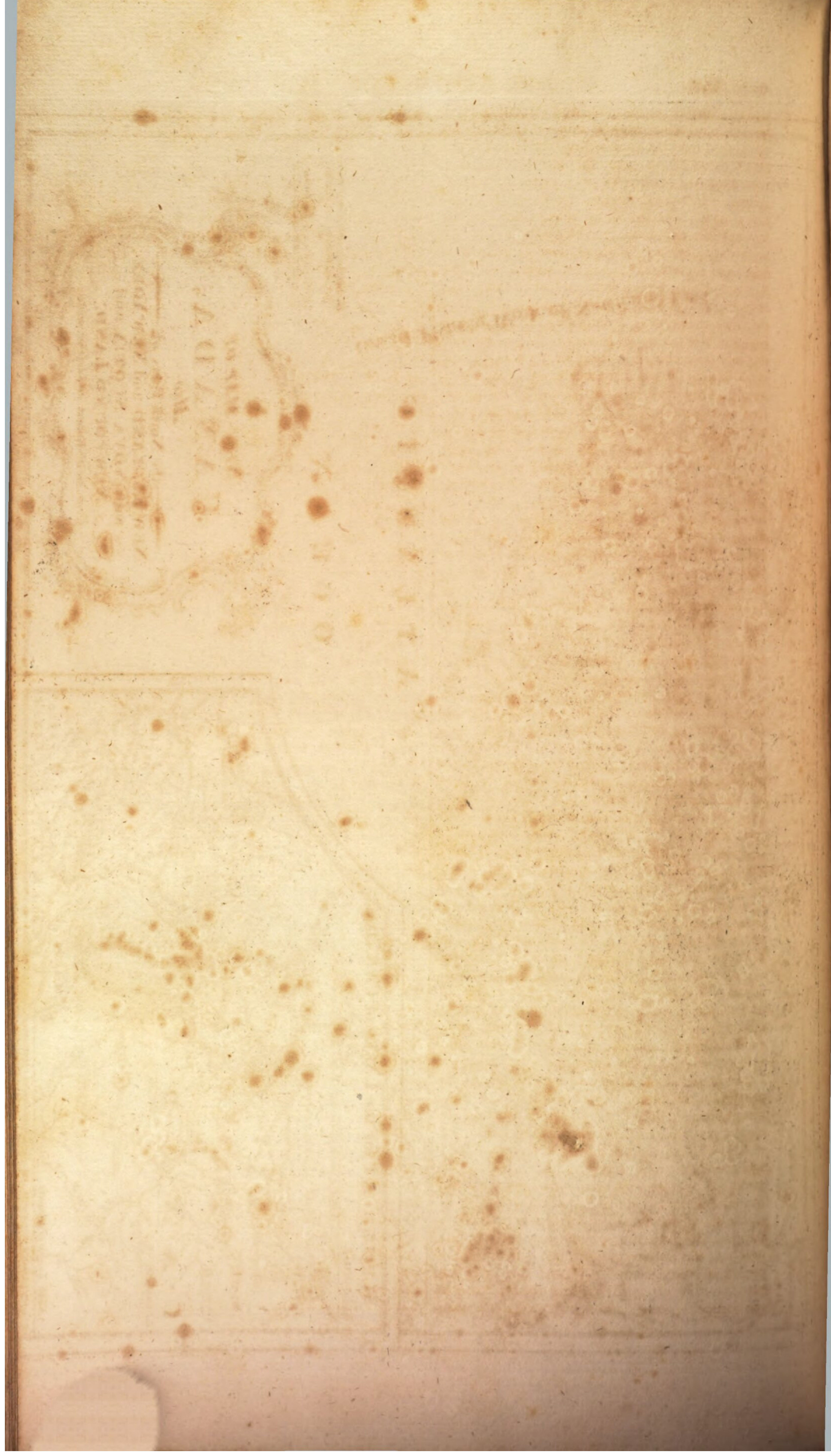


English Statute Miles, 60 to a Degree.
Marine Leagues, 20 to a Degree.

**A NEW MAP OF
CANADA,**
Also
the North Parts of
NEW ENGLAND and NEW YORK;
with NOVA SCOTIA and
NEWFOUND LAND.
From the S^r Robert with Improvements.

SUPPLEMENT for the LAKES of CANADA.





The reduction of Niagara, and the possession of Crown-Point, were exploits much more easily accomplished than the conquest of Quebec, the great object to which all these subordinate operations tended, and of which we now come to give an account. It was about the middle of February that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had on several occasions signalized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. By the twenty-first day of April they were in sight of Louisbourg: but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From thence rear-admiral Durell was detached with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. Laurence as far as the isle de Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies from France intended for Quebec: he accordingly took some store-ships; but he was anticipated by seventeen sail of ships, loaded with provision, stores, and some recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Mean while, admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, proceeded up the river without further delay.

The operations at land were intrusted to the conduct of major-general James Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had studied the military art with equal application and proficiency, and though young in years, were old in experience. The first was a soldier by descent, the son of major-general Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity: the other three resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and station, but also in family-rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of brigadier Townshend was singular: he had served abroad in the last war with reputation, and resigned his commission during the peace, in disdain of some hard usage he had received from his superiors. That his military talents, however, might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit and perseverance in projecting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and the love of glory, that though heir-apparent to a British peerage, possessed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurements of domestic felicity, he nobly disregarded these meaner considerations: he burst from all entanglements; proffered his service to his sovereign; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigours of a severe climate, and the hazards of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

The armament intended for Quebec sailed up the river St. Laurence without any interruption, or having encountered any of those difficulties and perils with which the navigation of that river had been said to be attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excel-

lent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, situated a little below Quebec, a large fertile island, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe no sooner landed on the island of Orleans than he distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, importing, That the king his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a considerable armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America: that it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war: on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel: he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He observed, that the English were masters of the river St. Laurence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe; and had, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherst: that the resolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality: that the cruelties exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals; but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war; and left it to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favourable terms, to adopt violent measures. He expatiated upon the strength and power, as well as the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture.

This declaration produced no immediate effect, nor indeed could the Canadians be persuaded to depend upon the sincerity and faith of a nation whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of those notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the general's promise of protection. Instead of pursuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the scalping parties of Indians who skulked among the woods, and issuing forth among the English stragglers, butchered them with the most inhuman barbarity. Mr. Wolfe, whose nature revolted against such wanton and perfidious cruelty, sent a letter to the French general, representing, that such enormities were contrary to the rules of war established among civilized nations, dishonour-

able to the service of France, and disgraceful to human nature: he therefore desired the French colonists and Indians might be restrained within due bounds, otherwise he would burn their villages, desolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the persons of his prisoners whatever cruelty should, in the sequel, be committed on the soldiers or subjects of his master. In all probability the French general's authority was not sufficient to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and murder with the most brutal appetite for blood and revenge; so that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a cessation of these outrages, found it necessary to connive at some irregularities in the way of retaliation.

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though superior in number to the English, wisely determined to depend upon the natural strength of the country, rather than run the risk of a general engagement in the field. The city of Quebec was skilfully fortified, defended with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provision and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the best of the inhabitants; and completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, with the several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken post, in a very advantageous situation, along the shore of Beaumont, from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci, every accessible part of his camp being deeply intrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such odds and advantages, was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash enterprize, seemingly repugnant to the dictates of common sense.

Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the same time he should always have it in his power to retreat, in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river: he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherst; and he was stimulated by an appetite for glory, which no prospect of danger could entirely overcome. Understanding that there was a body of the enemy posted with cannon at the Point of Levi, on the south shore, opposite to the city of Quebec, he detached against them brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who passed the river at night; and next morning, having skirmished with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that post, which the English immediately occupied. At the same time colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; and both these posts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for any ship to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Besides, the Point of Levi was within cannon-shot of the city, against which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this expedient, detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were completed: but this detachment fell into disorder, fired upon each other, and fled in the utmost confusion. The battery being finished without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began

to play with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely demolished.

Mean while, the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the landing the troops on the island of Orleans, the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence that many transports ran foul of one another, and were disabled; a number of boats and small craft foundered, and several large ships lost their anchors. The enemy resolving to take advantage of the confusion produced, as they believed, by this terrible tempest, prepared seven fire-ships, and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well contrived and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the vigilance of the British admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships, and towed them fast ashore, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron. On the very same day of the succeeding month, they sent down a raft of fire-ships, or radeaus, which were likewise consumed, without producing any effect.

The works for the security of the hospital, and the stores on the island of Orleans, being completed, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats, and landing under the cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river Montmorenci, which separated them from the left of the enemy; and next morning a company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and put to flight: however, the nearest troops advancing, repulsed the Indians in their turn with considerable loss. The reasons that induced general Wolfe to chuse this situation by the Falls of Montmorenci, in which he was divided from Quebec by this and another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the secretary of state. He observed that the ground he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side, on which the enemy was posted: that there was a ford below the falls, passable in every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb, and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of passing the river higher up, so as to fight the marquis de Montcalm upon less disadvantageous terms than those of directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite bank, which was naturally steep and covered with woods, the enemy had fortified in such a manner as to render it almost inaccessible. The escorte was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but these rencounters cost the English about forty men killed and wounded, including some officers.

On the eighteenth day of July the admiral, at the general's request, sent two ships of war, two armed sloops, and some transports, having troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec without having met with any obstruction. The general being on board of this little armament, carefully surveyed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult, from

from the nature of the ground; and these difficulties were further increased, by the foresight and precaution of the French commander. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, with a view to divide the enemy's force, and obtain intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of colonel Carlton, to land higher up, at the Point au Tremble; to which place, he was informed, a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss, and some prisoners were brought away; but no magazine was discovered.

The general, thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now he determined to attack them, notwithstanding their advantageous situation, and the incredible pains they had taken to render their camp absolutely impregnable. His design was, first, to reduce a detached redoubt close to the water's edge, seemingly situated within gunshot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be defended by the enemy, he foresaw that he should be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, should they remain tame spectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their situation at leisure, and fix upon the place at which they could be most easily attacked.

Dispositions were accordingly made for storming the redoubt. On the last day of July, in the forenoon, part of brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from the Point of Levi. The two brigades commanded by the brigadiers Townshend and Murray were drawn out, in order to cross the ford when it should be found necessary. To facilitate their passage, the admiral had stationed the Centurion ship of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: a numerous train of artillery was planted upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's intrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels, prepared for the purpose, were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the French by these previous steps, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was plied with great activity, determined Mr. Wolfe to storm this intrenchment without further delay. Orders were given, that the three brigadiers should put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide.

Many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and this accident occasioned a disorder, by which so much time was lost, that the general was obliged to stop the march of brigadier Townshend's corps, which he observed to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated and ranged in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells; and the general in person sounding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops might disembark with the least opposition. Thirteen companies of grenadiers,

and two hundred men of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, sustained by the corps of brigadier Monckton, as soon as the other troops should have crossed the ford, and be near enough to contribute their assistance. These instructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton had landed, and while brigadier Townshend was on his march at a considerable distance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, impetuously rushed towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost confusion. Their courage served only to increase their misfortune. They were received by such a violent and steady fire from the enemy, that, unable to stand the repeated volleys, they took shelter under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they continued some time, incapable of forming under so hot a fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of many gallant officers, who lavishly exposed, and even lost their lives, in attempting to bring them into some kind of order.

The general, seeing all their endeavours ineffectual, ordered them to retreat and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time landed, and drawn up on the beach. They accordingly retired in confusion, leaving a considerable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian savages, who butchered the living and scalped the dead, even in sight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occasioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; so that, in case of a second repulse, the retreat of brigadier Townshend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain. Mr. Wolfe therefore thought proper to desist, and returned without further molestation to the other side of the river Montmorenci. The admiral ordered the two vessels which were aground to be set on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The circumstances that determined the general to make the attack on this side consisted in the following particulars: all the artillery could be used with good effect; all the troops could act at once; and, in case of a miscarriage, the retreat was secure and open, at least for a certain time of the tide. These advantages, however, seemed to have been counterbalanced by other considerations. The enemy were posted on a commanding eminence; the beach was covered with deep mud, slippery, and broken into holes and gullies; the hill was steep, and in some places inaccessible; the enemy were numerous, strongly intrenched, and defended by a formidable artillery. Had the attack succeeded, the loss of the English must have been very considerable in comparison of that of the enemy; because the neighbouring woods afforded these last immediate shelter; and the river St. Charles remained to be passed before the town could be regularly invested.

Immediately after this severe check, in which above five hundred men and many brave officers were killed, the general detached brigadier Murray with twelve hundred men in transports, above the town, to act in concert with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had sent up with some force against

against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The brigadier was likewise directed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these instructions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore, but found it impracticable: the third attempt was more successful; he made a sudden descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, provision, and ammunition. The enemy's ships being moored in such a posture as to be out of the reach of all danger, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence procured from his prisoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown-Point abandoned, and general Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps posted at the *isle aux Noix*, under M. Burlemaque.

This information, however, though extremely agreeable, brought no prospect of the approach of any assistance from that quarter. The season wasted apace. The general fell violently ill; consumed by care, watching, and fatigue, too great to be supported by a delicate constitution, and by a body unequal to that vigorous and enterprising soul which it contained. It was not enough for him to escape from so great an expedition uncondemned and unapplauded: to be pitied was, he thought, but a milder kind of censure; and he knew that no military conduct can shine, unless it be gilded by success. His own high notions, the expectations of the public, the good success of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, and converted disappointment into disease. As soon as he had a little recovered, he dispatched an express with an account of his proceedings, to England, written indeed in the style of despondency, but with such perspicuity, clearness, and elegance, as would have ranked him among our best writers, if his military exploits had not placed him among our greatest commanders.

He resolved, when he sent away his account, to continue the campaign to the last possible moment; and, after a consultation with his officers, determined, that any further attempts at Montmorenci would be to little purpose; and that their principal operations ought to be carried on above the town, in order, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement. This resolution, however, was not adopted until the general and admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebec, with a view to a general assault; and concluded from their own observation, reinforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success. The ships of war indeed might have silenced the batteries of the lower town, but they could not affect the upper works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage.

When we consider the situation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was surrounded; the natural strength of the country; the great number of vessels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the skill, valour, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English,

to surprise parties and harass detachments; we must own, that there was such a combination of difficulties as might have discouraged and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander.

In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were reembarked, and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards passed up the river in transports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ships, to amuse the enemy posted on the north shore: and the men being much crowded on board, the general ordered one half of them to be landed for refreshment on the other side of the river. As no possibility appeared of attacking the enemy above the town, the scheme of operations was entirely changed. The three brigadiers formed and presented a plan for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hope of ascending the Heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, that they might take possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified.

The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit of enterprize that bordered on despair. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank of the river lined with centinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the ground so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time, had no opposition been expected. If the enemy had received the least intimation from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme; had the embarkation been disordered, in consequence of the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelviness of the north shore, near which they were obliged to row; had one centinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much mistaken; the Heights of Abraham must have been instantly secured, by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive; confusion would have necessarily ensued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. These objections could not escape the penetration of the gallant Wolfe, who nevertheless adopted the plan without hesitation, and even executed it in person, though at that time greatly enfeebled by the severe dysentery and fever with which he had lately been afflicted.

The necessary preparations being made, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his squadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the disembarkation, that he might deceive the enemy and amuse M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to attend the motions of that squadron; but the English admiral was ordered to sail down the river in the night, so as to protect the landing of the forces; and these orders he punctually obeyed. On the twelfth day of September, an hour after midnight, the first embarkation, consisting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the

the brigadiers Monckton and Murray; though general Wolfe accompanied them in person, and was among the first who landed, and they began to fall down with the tide to the intended place of disembarkation, rowing close to the north shore, in order to find it the more easily. Without any disorder the boats glided gently along; but, by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkness of the night, the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the disembarkation was intended.

As the troops landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by brigadier Townshend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and dislodged a captain's guard, which defended a small intrenched narrow path, by which alone the rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then they mounted without farther molestation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm was no sooner informed that the English had gained the Heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakest part, than he determined to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay, after having assembled his whole force from the side of Beauport.

General Wolfe observing the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray: to the rear of the left colonel Howe was posted with his light infantry, just returned from a four gun battery, which they had taken without opposition. M. de Montcalm advancing in such a manner as to shew his intention was to flank the left of the English, brigadier Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced by two battalions; and the reserve consisted of one regiment drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was composed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and savages: their center consisted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was posted: the bushes and corn-fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction.

This fire indeed was, in some measure, checked by the advanced posts of the British line, who piqueered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun, which the English seamen had made shift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well served, and galled their column severely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and resolution, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their shot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line;

then they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued the fire with such activity and spirit as could not fail to produce a very considerable effect. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which however did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way; for at this very instant every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar character.

While the right pressed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the center of the enemy; then the Highlanders drawing their broad swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town and the works they had raised at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the English the action was not so violent: some of the light infantry had thrown themselves into houses, where, being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe having taken post with two companies behind a small corps, sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy during this attack, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front; so that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their first intention. The brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment to support this disposition, and to overawe a body of savages posted opposite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the British army.

General Wolfe being slain, and at the same time Mr. Monckton dangerously wounded at the head of Lascelles's regiment, where he distinguished himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved to brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre; and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with uncommon expedition. This necessary task was scarce performed when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops had gained the Heights of Abraham; but did not come up in time to have any share in the battle. Mr. Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer, who retired at their approach among woods and swamps, where general Townshend was too wise to hazard a precarious attack. He had already gained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was posted in a very advantageous situation, which it would have been imprudent to forego.

The French general M. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec, from whence, before he died, he wrote a

letter to general Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity by which the British nation has been always distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an English ship, to which he had been carried. About one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; and about five hundred were slain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the garrison of Quebec, retired to Port au Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jaques Quartiers, where they remained intrenched, until they were compelled by the severity of the weather to make the best of their way to Trois Rivières and Montreal.

This important victory was obtained at the expence of fifty-six men killed, including nine officers, and of five hundred and six men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. This gentleman was formed by nature for military greatness; his memory was retentive, his judgment sound, and his comprehension amazingly quick and clear: his constitutional courage was not only uniform and daring, perhaps in the extreme, but he possessed that higher species of it, if I may be allowed the expression, that strength, steadiness, and activity of mind, which no difficulties could obstruct, nor dangers deter. With an unusual liveliness, almost to impetuosity of temper, he was not subject to passion; with the greatest independence of spirit, free from pride: generous, almost to profusion, he contemned every little art for the acquisition of wealth, whilst he searched after objects for his charity and beneficence: the deserving soldier never went unrewarded; and even the needy inferior officer frequently tasted of his bounty. Constant and distinguishing in his attachments; manly and unreserved; yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners: he enjoyed a long share of the friendship, and almost the universal good-will of mankind; and to crown all, sincerity and candour, a true sense of honour, justice, and public liberty, seemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform rule of his conduct.

He betook himself, when very young, to the profession of arms; and with such talents, joined to the most unwearied assiduity, no wonder that he was so soon singled out as a most rising military genius. Even so early as the battle of La Feldt, when scarce twenty years of age, he exerted himself in so masterly a manner, and at a very critical juncture, that it drew the highest encomiums from the great officer then at the head of our army. During the whole of that war he went on forming the military character; was present at every engagement, and never passed undistinguished. Even after the peace, whilst others lolled on pleasure's downy lap, he was cultivating the arts of war. He introduced, without one act of severity, such regularity and exactness of discipline in his corps, that as long as the six British battalions on the Plains of Minden are recorded in the annals of Europe, so long will Kingsley's stand amongst the foremost of that day. Of that regiment he continued lieutenant-colonel, till the great minister, who roused the sleeping genius of his country, called him forth into higher spheres of action. He was early in the

most secret consultations for the attack of Rochefort; and what he would have done there, and what he afterwards did at Louisbourg, are fresh in every one's memory.

He was scarce returned from thence when he was appointed to command the important expedition against Quebec. There his abilities shone forth in their brightest lustre: in spite of many unforeseen difficulties, from the nature of the ground, from the great superiority of the enemy, the strength of the place itself, and his own bad state of health, he persevered with unwearied diligence, practising every stratagem of war to effect his purpose: at last, in conjunction with his subordinates in command, he formed and executed that great, that dangerous, yet necessary plan, which drew out the French to their defeat, and will for ever denominate him the conqueror of Canada. But there—tears will flow—there, when within the grasp of victory, he received a wound, first in his wrist, and then in his breast, which obliged him to be carried off to a small distance, in the rear, where roused from fainting in the last agonies, by the sound of *they run*, he eagerly asked, “Who run?” and being told, the French, and that they were defeated, he said, “Then I thank God; I die contented;” and almost instantly expired.

Immediately after the battle of Quebec, admiral Saunders, who, together with his subordinates Durell and Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the land forces for the advantage of the service, sent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and on the seventeenth day of the month sailed up, with all the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town, while the upper part should be assaulted by general Townshend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action in fortifying the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the seventeenth, before any battery could be erected, a flag of truce was sent from the town with proposals of capitulation; which, being maturely considered by the general and admiral, were accepted and signed at eight next morning.

They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to assemble in the rear of the British army; as the season was become wet, stormy, and cold; threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident; and as a considerable advantage would accrue from taking possession of the town while the walls were in a state of defence. What rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British general was, the information he afterwards received from deserters, importing, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind Cape Rouge, under the command of M. de Levy, arrived from Montreal for that purpose, with two regular battalions; and that M. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on his march to throw himself into the town on the eighteenth, that very morning on which it was surrendered: for the place was not then completely invested, as the enemy had broke their bridge of boats, and posted detachments in very strong

strong works, on the other side of the river St. Charles.

The capitulation was no sooner signed than the British forces took possession of Quebec on the land side, and guards were posted in different parts of the town, to preserve order and discipline: at the same time captain Palliser, with a body of seamen, entered the lower town and took the same precautions. Next day about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board of transports, which set sail for France with the first opportunity: in the mean time, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity to the English government. The death of Montcalm, which indeed was an irreparable loss to France, in all probability overwhelmed the enemy with consternation, and confounded all their councils; otherwise we cannot account for the tame surrender of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained: for although the place was not regularly fortified on the land side, and most of the houses were in ruins, their walls and parapets had not yet sustained the least damage: the besiegers were hardly sufficient to complete the investiture: a fresh army was assembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open; the season was so far advanced, that the British troops in a little time must have been forced to desert, by the severity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Laurence.

When the news of this decisive action arrived in England, we all remember, though it is very difficult to describe, the various and mixed emotions with which every one was affected. But two days before this came, was received the express which general Wolfe had sent off after the miscarriage at Montmorenci. When the general doubted, the public thought they had reason to despair. But whilst this gloom was fresh, and in the midst of the general despondency, a second express arrived, and brought, all at once, an account of the victory, the taking of Quebec, and the death of general Wolfe. The effect of such joyful news, immediately on the back of such a dejection, and then the mixture of grief and pity which attended the public congratulations and applauses, was very singular and affecting. The sort of mourning triumph which manifested itself on that occasion, did equal honour to the memory of the general and to the humanity of the nation. The king expressed his satisfaction, by conferring the honour of knighthood upon captain Douglas, whose ship brought the first tidings of this success; and gratified him and colonel Hale with considerable presents. A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great Britain. The city of London, the universities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, presented congratulatory addresses to his majesty. The parliament was no sooner assembled than the secretary of state, in the house of commons, with that energy of eloquence peculiar to himself, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, the transcendent merit of the deceased general, and the conduct and courage of the admirals and officers who assisted in the conquest of Quebec. In con-

sequence of this harangue, and the motion by which it was succeeded, the house unanimously resolved to present an address, desiring his majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster-abbey, to the memory of major-general Wolfe. At the same time they passed another resolution, that the thanks of the house should be given to the surviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebec. Testimonies of this kind, while they reflect the greatest honour on those who receive them, serve at the same time to excite the ambition of other commanders to merit the like distinction.

The people of England were so elevated by the astonishing success of this campaign, which was also prosperous on the continent of Europe, that, far from expressing the least uneasiness at the heavy burthens they were obliged to bear, they, with a spirit peculiar to the British nation, voluntarily raised large contributions to purchase warm jackets, stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets, for the soldiers who were exposed to the rigours of an inclement sky, in Germany and America. But they displayed a more noble proof of universal benevolence, extended even to foes. The French ministry, straitened in their finances, which were found scarce sufficient to support the war, had sacrificed their duty to their king, and every sentiment of compassion for his unhappy subjects, to a thirst of vengeance, and sanguinary views of ambition. They had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects who were detained prisoners in England; and these wretched captives, amounting in number to near twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of those enemies whom their sovereign had taken such pains to exasperate. The allowance which they received from the British government effectually secured them from the horrors of famine: but still they remained destitute of other conveniencies, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn captives with sentiments of sympathy and compassion: they considered them as their fellow-creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their distress. A considerable subscription was raised in their behalf, and in a few weeks they were completely clothed by the charity of the British benefactors. This act of beneficence was certainly one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, which even the most inveterate enemies of Great Britain cannot help regarding with reverence and admiration.

The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the adjacent country, brigadier Townshend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, furnished it with a garrison of five thousand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray; and embarking with admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

Nor were the arms of Great Britain less successful in the East than in the West Indies. We have already observed that general Lally had formed a resolution to undertake the siege of Madras, and made

made mighty preparations for that purpose. In the month of October he had marched into Arcot without opposition, and in the beginning of December he proceeded towards Madras. On the twelfth he marched over Choultry Plain in three divisions, cannonaded by the English artillery with considerable effect, and took post at Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Laurence, who commanded the garrison of Madras, retired to the island, in order to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the island bridge; and at the same time ordered the posts to be secured in the back town, or suburbs of Madras.

In the morning of the fourteenth, the enemy advancing with their whole force to attack this place, the English detachments withdrew into the garrison; and in less than an hour a grand sally was made, under the command of colonel Draper, a gallant officer, who distinguished himself remarkably on this occasion. He fell upon the regiment of Lorraine with great impetuosity; and, in all probability, would have cut them to pieces, had not they been supported by the arrival of a fresh brigade. After an obstinate dispute, in which many officers, and a good number of men were slain on both sides, colonel Draper was obliged to retreat, not altogether satisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers. As the garrison of Madras was not very numerous, nothing further was attempted on their side without the works. In the mean time the enemy proceeded, with great expedition, to erect their batteries against the fort and town; which being opened on the sixth day of January, maintained a continued discharge of shot and shells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breast of the glacis. There they erected a battery of four pieces of cannon, and opened it on the last day of the month; but for five days successively, they were obliged to close their embrasures by the superior fire of the fort, and at length to abandon it intirely: nevertheless, they still maintained a severe fire from the first grand battery, which was placed at the distance of four hundred and fifty yards from the defences. This artillery was so well served, as to disable twenty-six pieces of cannon, three mortars, and effect an inconsiderable breach. Perhaps they might have had more success, had they battered in breach from the beginning; but Mr. Lally, in order to intimidate the inhabitants, had cruelly bombarded the town, and demolished the houses: he was, however, happily disappointed in his expectation, by the wise and resolute precautions of governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct, and bravery of the colonels Laurence and Draper, seconded by the valour and activity of Major Brereton, and the spirit of the inferior officers.

The artillery of the garrison was so well directed, that, from the fifth day of February, the fire of the enemy gradually decreased from twenty-three to six pieces of cannon: nevertheless, they advanced their sap along the sea-side, so as to undermine the north-east angle of the covered way, from whence their musquetry drove the besieged. They likewise endeavoured to open a passage into the ditch by a mine; but sprung it so injudiciously, that they could make no advantage of it, as it lay

exposed to the fire of several cannon. While these operations were carried on before the town, Major Gaillaud with a body of sipoys, some of the country horse, and a few Europeans, drawn from the English garrisons of Tiruchenappaly and Chingliput, hovered at the distance of a few miles; blocking up the roads in such a manner, that the enemy were obliged, four several times, to send large detachments against him, in order to open the communication; by which means the progress of the siege was in a great measure retarded.

On the sixteenth day of February in the evening, the Queenborough ship of war, commanded by captain Kempenfelt, and the company's ship the Revenge, arrived in the road of Madras, with a reinforcement of six hundred men, belonging to colonel Draper's regiment: and part of them was immediately disembarked. From the beginning of the siege, the enemy had discovered a backwardness in the service, which seemed to promise them but little success. They were ill supplied by their commissaries and contractors: they were disheartened by the obstinate defence of the garrison; and all their hopes were intirely extinguished by the arrival of this reinforcement. After a brisk fire, they raised the siege that very night, leaving behind them forty pieces of cannon; and, having destroyed the powder mills at Ogmore, withdrew into the territory of Arcot.

The English forces in the East-Indies, being as yet too weak to make head against Lally in the field, little detached expeditions were planned and executed with equal spirit and sagacity. Colonel Ford, who commanded the troops in Bengal, attacked and defeated the French commander Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, which he afterwards entered in triumph. At the same time captain Richard Maitland set out from Bombay, with fifteen hundred sipoys, and nine hundred Europeans, on an expedition against the sipoys who occupied the town and castle of Surat.

In the month of February, he embarked with his troops on board of the company's armed vessels, and in a few days arrived at a place called Dentioury, about nine miles from Surat; and here he quartered his troops for refreshment: in two days he advanced against the French garden, in which a considerable number of the enemy was posted, and drove them from thence after a very obstinate dispute.

Then he erected a battery, from which he battered the wall in breach: but this method appearing dilatory, he called a council of war composed of the land and sea-officers, and laid before them the plan of a general attack, which was accordingly executed next morning. The company's grab, and the bomb-ketches, being warped up the river in the night, were disposed in a line of battle opposite to the Bundar, which was the strongest fortification that the enemy possessed; and under the fire of these, the troops being landed, took the Bundar by assault. The outer town being thus reduced, he forthwith began to bombard the inner town and castle with such fury, that next morning they both surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants should march out with their effects; and captain Maitland took possession without further dispute. This conquest, which cost about two hundred men, including

a few officers, was atchieved with such expedition, that he returned to Bombay by the ninth day of April.

The main body of the English forces, which had been posted at Madras, for the security of that important settlement, took the field after the siege was raised, and possessed themselves of Conjiveram, a place of great consequence, which, with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and covered the British possessions to the northward. Mr. Lally, sensible of the importance of this post, took the same route, in order to dislodge them; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he withdrew towards Wandewash, where his troops were put into quarters of cantonment. Nothing else of moment was performed till the month of September, when major Brereton, who commanded the English forces, being joined by major Gordon with three hundred men of colonel Coote's battalion, resolved to attack the enemy in his turn. On the fourteenth day of the month he began his march from Conjiveram for Wandewash, at the head of four hundred Europeans, seven thousand sipoys, seventy European, and three hundred black horse, with fourteen pieces of artillery. During his route he invested and took the fort of Trivitar, from whence he advanced to the village of Wandewash, where the French, to the number of one thousand, were strongly encamped under the guns of a fort commanded by a Raja, mounting twenty cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. On the thirtieth day of September the English, at two in the morning, attacked the village in three different places, and drove them from it, after a very obstinate dispute; but this advantage they were not able to maintain. The black pioneers ran away during the attack, so that proper traverses could not be made in the streets; and at day-break the fort poured in upon them a prodigious discharge of grape-shot with considerable effect. The enemy had retired to a dry ditch, which served as an intrenchment, from whence they made furious sallies; and a body of three hundred European horse were already in motion, to fall upon their rear and complete their confusion. In this emergency they retired in disorder, and might have been entirely ruined, had not the body of reserve effectually covered their retreat; yet this could not be effected without the loss of several officers, and above three hundred men killed and wounded. After this mortifying check, they encamped a few days in sight of the fort, and the rainy season setting in, returned to Conjiveram. The garrison of Wandewash was afterwards reinforced by French and sipoys, and the other troops of the enemy were assembled by brigadier general de Buffly at Arcot.

During these transactions at land, the superiority at sea was still disputed between the English and French admirals. On the first day of September vice-admiral Pocock sailed from Madras to the southward, in quest of the enemy, and next day discovered the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, standing to the northward. He forthwith threw out the signal for a general chase, and stood towards them with all the sail he could carry; but the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage. During the three succeeding days he exerted his utmost endeavours to bring them to a

battle, which they still declined; and at last they disappeared. He then bent his course towards Pondicherry, on the supposition that they were bound to that harbour, and on the eighth day of the month observed them standing to the southward; but he could not bring them to an engagement till the tenth, when M. d'Apche, about two in the afternoon, made the signal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The British squadron consisted only of nine ships of the line; the enemy's fleet amounted to eleven; but they had still a greater advantage in number of men and weight of metal. Both squadrons fought with incredible obstinacy till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way; this example was soon followed by their center: and finally the van, with the whole squadron, bore away to the south south-east with all the canvas they could spread. The British squadron had suffered so much in their masts and rigging that they could not pursue; so that M. d'Apche was allowed to retreat without molestation.

On the fifteenth admiral Pocock returned to Madras, where his squadron being refitted by the twenty-sixth, he sailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road saw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off shore, he made the line of battle a-head, and for some time continued in this situation. At length the French admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but instead of bearing down upon the English squadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept close to the wind, and stretched away to the southward. Admiral Pocock finding him averse to another engagement, and his own squadron being in no condition to pursue, he, with the advice of his captains, desisted, and returned once more to the harbour of Madras. On the side of the English above three hundred men were killed in the engagement, including captain Michie, who commanded the Newcastle, captain Gore of the marines, two lieutenants, a master, gunner, and boatswain; the captains Somerset and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men, were wounded, and many of the ships considerably damaged. The loss of the enemy was, in all probability, much more considerable, inasmuch as, notwithstanding their great superiority in number of ships, weight of metal, and complements of men, they made their best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board general Lally and some other officers. Thus they left the English masters of the Indian coast; a superiority still more confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Cornish, with four ships of the line, who had set sail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined admiral Pocock at Madras on the eighteenth day of October.

The Dutch had, during the course of the present war, maintained a most pusillanimous, and, in some respects, a most insidious neutrality; and they now proceeded in the East Indies to open acts of hostility. The great extension of the English trade in the kingdom of Bengal had excited the envy and jealousy of the Dutch factory, who possessed a strong fort at Chinchura, in the river of Bengal, and determined, if possible, to engross to themselves the whole saltpetre branch of commerce. They had, without doubt, tampered with the new Nabob, who lay under such obligations to the English,

English, and probably secured his connivance. Their scheme was approved by the governor of Batavia, who undertook to put it in execution; and for that purpose chose the opportunity when the British squadron had retired to the coast of Malabar. On pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garisons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of seven ships, having on board five hundred European troops and six hundred Malayese, under the command of colonel Ruffel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October.

Colonel Clive, who then resided at Calcutta, had received intimation of their design, which he was determined at all events to defeat. He complained to the Subah, who, upon such application, could not decently refuse an order to the director and council of Hughley, forbidding this armament to proceed up the river. The colonel at the same time sent a letter to the Dutch commodore, importing, that as he had received information of their design, he could not permit them to land forces and march to Chinchura. In answer to this intimation, the Dutch commodore, whose whole fleet had not yet arrived, assured the English commander that he had no intention to send any forces to Chinchura, and begged liberty to land some of his troops for refreshment; a favour which was granted, on condition that they should not advance.

Notwithstanding the Subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the rest of the ships were no sooner arrived than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah fort, where his troops were landed, and began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of revenging the affront he pretended to have received, in being denied a passage to their own factory, he took several small vessels on the river belonging to the English company; and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilson, homeward-bound, sailing down the river, the Dutchman sent word to him, that if he attempted to pass he would sink him to the bottom. The English captain seeing them run out their guns as if they really intended to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other ships lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ships to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch armament.

The ships being properly manned, and their quarters lined with saltpetre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch squadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to oppose their passage, which it must be acknowledged they seemed able to effect; for three of them were mounted with thirty-six guns each, three of them with twenty-six, and the seventh carried sixteen. The Duke of Dorset, commanded by captain Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately ensuing, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwicke advanced to her assistance, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships slipping

their cables, bore away, and a third was driven ashore. Their commodore being thus weakened, after a few broadsides, struck his flag to captain Wilson, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without the loss of one man on the side of the English, captain Wilson took possession of the prizes, the decks of which were strewed with carnage, and sent the prisoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta.

The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of eleven hundred men, met with a check no less mortifying. Colonel Clive being informed that they were in full march to Chinchura, detached colonel Forde with five hundred men from Calcutta, in order to oppose and put a stop to their march at the French gardens. He accordingly proceeded to the northward, and entered the town of Chandernagore, where he was suddenly attacked by a Dutch party sent out from Chinchura to join and conduct the expected reinforcement. These being routed and dispersed, after a short engagement, colonel Forde in the morning advanced to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chinchura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle, on the twenty-fifth day of November. They even began the action with great spirit and activity; but found the fire of the English artillery and battalion so intolerably hot, that they soon gave way, and were totally defeated. A considerable number were slain, and the greater part of those who survived the battle were taken prisoners. During this contest the Nabob, at the head of a considerable army, maintained a suspicious neutrality; and in all likelihood would have joined with the Dutch, had they proved victorious, as he had reason to believe they would, from their great superiority in number. But fortune no sooner declared in favour of the English, than he made a tender of his service to the victor, and even offered to subdue Chinchura with his own army.

In the mean time, proposals of accommodation being made to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negociation was set on foot, and a treaty concluded, to the satisfaction of all parties. Above three hundred of the prisoners enlisted into the service of Great Britain; the rest embarked on board the ships, which were restored as soon as the peace was ratified, and immediately departed for the settlement of Batavia.

The English company were still more successful on the coast of Coromandel. The governor and council of Madras having received intelligence that the French general, Lally, had detached a strong body of troops to the southward, advanced to Syringham, and menaced Tiruchenapally with a siege, it was determined that colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, should take the field, and endeavour to stop his progress. He accordingly began his march at the head of two thousand one hundred Europeans, including cavalry, and three thousand blacks, with fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitzer. On the twenty-seventh day of November he laid siege to the fort of Wandewash: having made a practicable breach, the garrison, amounting to near nine hundred men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and here he found forty-nine pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Then he invested the

fortress of Carangoly, a place commanded by colonel O'Konnely, at the head of one hundred Europeans and five hundred sipoys. In a few days he dismounted the greater part of their guns, and they submitted, on condition that the Europeans should be allowed to march out with the honours of war; but the sipoys were disarmed and dismissed.

General Lally, alarmed at the progress of this brave, vigilant, and enterprising officer, collected all his forces at Arcot, to the number of two thousand two hundred Europeans, including horse, three hundred Cofferies, and ten thousand black troops or sipoys, with twenty-five pieces of cannon. Of these he assumed the command in person, and on the tenth of January began his march in order to recover Wandewash. Colonel Coote having received information on the twelfth that he had taken Conjiveram, endeavoured by a forced march to regain this place, which they accordingly abandoned at his approach, and prosecuting their route to Wandewash, invested the fort without delay. The English commander passed the river Palla, in order to march towards the same quarter; and, on the twenty-first day of the month, understanding that a breach was already made, determined to give them battle without further hesitation.

The cavalry being formed, and sustained by five companies of sipoys, he advanced against the enemy's horse, which, being at the same time galled by two pieces of cannon, retired in disorder. Then colonel Coote, having taken possession of a tank which they had abandoned, returned to the line, which was by this time drawn up in order of battle. Observing the men in high spirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the whole army to advance; and by nine in the morning they were within two miles of the enemy's camp, where they halted about half an hour. During this interval, the colonel examined the situation of the French forces, who were very advantageously posted, and made a movement to the right, which constrained them to alter their disposition. They now advanced, in their turn, within three quarters of a mile of the English line; and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. About noon their European cavalry coming up with a resolute air to attack the left of the English, colonel Coote brought up some companies of sipoys and two pieces of cannon, to support the horse which were ordered to oppose them; and these advancing, fell upon their flank with such fury that they broke, and were driven by the English cavalry above a mile from the left, upon the rear of their own army.

Mean while, both lines continued advancing towards each other, and about one o'clock the firing with small arms began with great vivacity. One of the French tumbrils being blown up by an accidental shot, the English commander took immediate advantage of their confusion. He ordered major Brereton to wheel Draper's regiment to the left, and suddenly to charge the enemy in flank. This service was performed with such resolution and success, that the left wing of the French was completely routed, and fell upon their center, now closely engaged with the left of the English. About two in the afternoon their whole line gave way, and fled towards their own camp, which, observing them-

selves closely pursued, they precipitately abandoned, together with twenty-two pieces of cannon. In this engagement they lost about eight hundred men, killed and wounded, besides about fifty prisoners, including brigadier-general de Buffy, the chevalier Godeville, quarter-master-general, lieutenant-colonel Murphy, three captains, five lieutenants, and some other officers. On the side of the English, two hundred and sixty-two were killed and wounded, and among the former the brave and accomplished major Brereton, whose death was universally lamented.

General Lally having retreated with his broken troops to Pondicherry, the baron de Vasserot was detached towards the same place with a thousand horse and three hundred sipoys, to ravage and lay waste the French territory. In the mean time, the indefatigable colonel Coote undertook the siege of Chilliput, which in two days was surrendered by the chevalier de Tilly, himself and his garrison remaining prisoners of war. The same too was the fate of fort Timmery, which being reduced, the colonel continued his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, against the fort of which he opened his batteries on the fifth of February. When he had carried on his approaches within sixty yards of the crest of the glacis, the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, and near three hundred sipoys, surrendered as prisoners of war; and here the English commander found twenty-two pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great quantity of all kind of military stores. Thus the campaign was gloriously finished with the conquest of Arcot, after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of colonel Coote, whose courage, conduct, and activity, cannot be sufficiently admired. The reader will observe that, rather than interrupt the thread of such an interesting narration, I have ventured to encroach upon the annals of the year 1760.

Having thus given a particular detail of all the remarkable transactions that distinguished this year in Europe, Africa, America, and Asia, I shall now proceed, as usual, to close it with taking notice of some domestic events; which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless merit a place in a general history. In the beginning of the year the court of London received the melancholy news of the death of the princess-dowager of Orange and Nassau, governess of the United Provinces, in the fiftieth year of her age, and during the minority of her son the present stadtholder. Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she signed with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the prince of Nassau Weilburg: the other was a letter to the States-general, beseeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made touching the education and tutelage of the young stadtholder. These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make a proper improvement of the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored heaven to shower down its blessings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwards continued to converse

converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

She was the eldest daughter of his Britannic majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues; pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised her authority with equal sagacity and resolution; respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange; and died with great fortitude and resignation. In her will she appointed the king her father, and the princess-dowager of Orange her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and prince Louis of Brunswic acting tutor to her children.

In the morning after her decease, the States-general and the states of Holland were extraordinarily assembled; and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswic was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths as representing the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the assembly the act by which the princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the States-general, who agreed to the resolution of Holland with respect to his guardianship; and in the evening the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young stadtholder and the princess Caroline his sister, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the princess was transmitted to the king her father, in a pathetic letter, by the States-general, deploring the loss which he, as well as they, had suffered by this melancholy event; and assuring him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interests of the young stadtholder and the princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England sustained another heavy stroke in the course of this year, by the decease of the princess Elizabeth-Caroline, second daughter of his late royal highness Frederic prince of Wales, a lady of the most engaging manners, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the nineteenth year of her age.

Whether the sanguinary spirit, which never fails to accompany a long and vigorous war, unhappily contributed at this period to render the temper of the English more savage than usual, or whether other causes less visible might not co-operate in producing this effect; certain it is, the present year was distinguished by some murders remarkable for instances of the most shocking barbarity. One Halsey, who commanded a merchant ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailor, named Davidson, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of cruelty, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in despair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have rescued a miserable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not escape while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, tied

him to the shrouds with a cord, and beat him for some time with such violence, that in a few hours after the poor creature expired. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another mariner, called Edwards; but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild for malefactors convicted of such aggravated cruelty.

Another barbarous murder was committed in the country near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seized on a distress for rent. The two young assassins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, so that he hardly retained any signs of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, scourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the sons were hung in chains, and the body of the father dissected.

One Mrs. Walker, the widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe, being cruelly murdered in her own house, Mary Edmonson, a young woman her niece, ran out into the street with her arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been assassinated by four men, who forced their way into the house, and that she (the niece) had received those wounds in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactress with a case-knife, then dragged the body from the wash-house to the parlour; that she had stole a watch and some silver spoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was soaked with the blood of the deceased.

After having acted this shocking tragedy, at the bare recital of which the humane reader must shudder with horror, she put on another apron, and wounded her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions she was suspected, and committed to prison. Being brought to trial, she was convicted and condemned upon circumstantial evidence, and finally executed at Kennington Common, though she denied the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution she behaved with great composure, and, after having spent some minutes in devotion, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge.

What seemed to corroborate this protestation, was the condition and character of this young woman, who had been educated in a sphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumstances that appeared against her almost amounted to a certainty; though nothing weaker than proof positive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused.

A miscreant, whose name was Haines, having espoused the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, who possessed an estate of eighty pounds a year, which he intended to divide among seven children, was so abandoned as to form the design of poisoning the whole family, that, in right of his wife, he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal scheme, he employed his own father to procure him a quantity of arsenic; part of which he administered to three of the children, who were immediately seized with the dreadful symptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldest expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes which he bought for the purpose, and presented to the other three children, who underwent the same terrible convulsions which had proved fatal to the eldest brother. The instantaneous effects of the poison occasioned a suspicion of Haines, who being seized and examined, the whole scene of villany was disclosed. Nevertheless, the villain found means to escape.

In the month of April five French prisoners, confined on board the king's ship the *Royal Oak*, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-prisoner, in revenge for his having discovered that they had forged passes to facilitate their escape. Enraged at this detection, they seized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, stripped him naked, tied him with a strong cord to a ring-bolt, and scourged his body with such savage cruelty, as almost put an end to his life. By dint of struggling the poor wretch disengaged himself from the cord with which he had been tied; and being unable to stand, fell upon his back; then they finished the tragedy, by leaping and stamping on his breast, till the chest was broke, and he expired. They afterwards divided the body into small pieces, and conveyed it through the necessary into the sea, because the throwing it over-board would have alarmed the centry. Next day twenty-seven of the French prisoners being carried on shore, one of them gave information of the murder; in consequence of which the criminals were secured, brought to trial, condemned, and punished with death.

Nor were the instances of cruel assassination which prevailed at this juncture confined to Great Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year an atrocious massacre was perpetrated by two Genoese mariners, upon the master and crew of an English vessel, among whom they were inrolled. These monsters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumstance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to rest with his fellows of the watch, consisting of the mate and two seamen, he waited till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having so far succeeded without discovery, he returned to the deck and communicated the exploit to his associate; then they suddenly attacked the master of the vessel, and cleft his head with an hatchet, which they likewise used in murdering the man who stood at the helm; a third was likewise dispatched, and no Englishman remained alive but the master's son, a boy, who lamented his father's death with incessant

tears and cries for three days; at the expiration of which he was likewise sacrificed, because the assassins were disturbed by his clamour.

This barbarous tragedy was acted within sixty leagues of the Rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken between the capes Ortugal and Finisterre by the captain of a French privateer called *La Favourite*, who seeing the deck stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the English consul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was sent to Bayonne in France, where it is to be hoped, for the honour of humanity, they were brought to condign punishment, notwithstanding the war that subsisted between the two nations; for there are certain established rights of general justice and humanity which no particular war can destroy.

A massacre, if possible still more shocking and horrid, was committed about the same time by a negro at St. Eustatia. This man being at work on a ship in the harbour, and having had some words with a white person, stabbed him in his passion; upon which another negro told him that he would certainly be put to death for this cruel murder, and that he could be subjected to no greater punishment if he had killed twenty more. The fellow, rendered desperate by this intimation, snatched up a knife, and throwing himself into the water, swam immediately to shore. The first person he met happened to be an English sailor, and him he cut across the belly in such a manner that his bowels came out. This done, he rushed in a moment into a woollen-draper's shop, and stabbed the apprentice, who was sitting behind the counter: then he ran into the street, and dangerously wounded two or three others. By this time the people were greatly alarmed; but the fellow being desperate, every body shunned him. The governor offered a reward to any one who would seize him alive, and a sailor undertook it, armed with a musket; but if he found it impracticable, he was ordered to shoot him. The negro, who was then at the wharf-side, alone, saw him coming, and met him with great resolution. He made an essay to stab the sailor, by giving a sudden leap upon him; but the tar avoided the blow, and struck him with the butt-end of the musket so as to break his arm. Upon this the negro, with great agility, seized the knife in the other hand, and made another push at the sailor, but with as little success as before; and by another blow he was, with the assistance of some other persons who had gathered round, secured alive. He was immediately brought to trial, and condemned; and next day hung alive in irons upon a gibbet, where he continued in the most violent agonies, and shrieking in the most terrible manner for the space of three days. His greatest cry was for water, the weather being then extremely hot, and the sun beating full upon him.

I shall conclude this bloody register with the account of a murder, remarkable in all its circumstances, for which a person, called Eugene Aram, suffered at York in the course of this year. This man, who exercised the profession of a school-master

at Knareborough, had, as far back as the year 1745, been concerned with one Houseman in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previously persuaded to borrow a considerable quantity of valuable effects from different persons in the neighbourhood, on false pretences, that he might retire with the booty. He accordingly filled a sack with these particulars, and begun his retreat with his two perfidious associates, who suddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took possession of the plunder. Though Clarke disappeared at once in such a mysterious manner, no suspicion fell upon the assassins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country.

In the summer of the present year, Houseman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the public highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road-side, discovered the skeleton of a human creature, which the majority supposed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no sooner broached than Houseman, as it were by some supernatural impulse which he could not resist, declared that it was not the skeleton of Clarke, inasmuch as his body had been interred in a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and discovered the particulars of the murder.

The skeleton of Clarke having been found exactly in the place and manner he had described, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar school in the county of Norfolk, was secured, and brought to trial at the York assizes. There, his own wife corroborating the testimony of Houseman, he was found guilty, and received sentence, notwithstanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetic terms to the king's mercy; and if ever murder was intitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended, not improperly, to this man, whose genius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending a low birth and straitened circumstances, by the dint of his own capacity and application, made considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some light upon the origin and obscurities of the European history.

Convinced, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a short poem in defence of suicide; and on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood before this attempt was discovered; yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire till he was carried to the gibbet and underwent the sentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knareborough-forest, and hung in chains near the place where the murder was committed. These are some of the most re-

markable instances of homicide that appeared in the course of this year, which was more distinguished than almost any preceding one for barbarous acts of this nature.

His present majesty, then prince of Wales, having, in the beginning of June, entered the twenty-second year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who seemed born to fulfil the hopes and complete the happiness of Great Britain. The city of London presented an address to the king on this occasion, replete with expressions of loyalty and affection, assuring his majesty that no hostile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their sovereign to repel the insults and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom.

Congratulations of the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and indeed there was not the least trace of disaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the island.

So little were the citizens of London distressed by the expence, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leisure to plan and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Blackfriars to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and at a court of common-council, it was resolved that a sum, not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding thirty thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London: that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years: and that the chamberlain should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the committee might think fit to give for securing the payment of the said annuities. Such were the first effectual steps taken towards the execution of a laudable measure, which, however violently opposed in the sequel, is now carried on with equal harmony and expedition.

The inhabitants of London were, in the course of this year, greatly alarmed by two dreadful fires, which broke out in different parts of the city at no great interval of time. The first happened in the month of November, in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, and burned with such fury that, notwithstanding the assistance of the firemen and engines, employed under the personal direction of the magistracy, it destroyed a good number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation: some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames, and some were buried in the ruin

ruin of the houses that sunk under the disaster. The other broke out in the month of December, at a cabinet-maker's in King's-street, Covent Garden, and raged with such violence that it consumed no less than fifty houses; and the loss sustained by the unhappy sufferers amounted to upwards of seventy thousand pounds.

Some successful attempts were about this time made towards the discovery of the longitude at sea, that great desideratum in navigation; for the ascertainment of which so many nations have offered a public recompence, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those who now appeared candidates for the prize deserved encouragement for the ingenuity of their several systems; but he who seemed to enjoy the pre-eminence, in the opinion and favour of the public, was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair so artfully poised, that a person sitting in it on board a ship, even in a rough sea, can, through a telescope, observe the immersion and emerſion of Jupiter's ſatellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the vessel. This gentleman was favoured with the assistance and protection of commodore lord Howe, in whose presence the experiment was tried in several ships at sea with such success, that his lordship granted a certificate signifying his approbation; and in consequence of this Mr. Irwin is said to have obtained a considerable reward from the board of admiralty.

The people of England, happy in their situation, felt none of the furious storms of war which desolated the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a surprising augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the security of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence. The university of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the earl of Westmoreland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated seat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the encœnia, which were celebrated with such classical elegance of pomp as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the Augustan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a splendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vast concourse of strangers. The processions were contrived with taste, and conducted with decorum. The installation was performed with the most striking solemnity. The congratulatory verses and public speeches breathed the spirit of old Rome: and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable sage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

In the spring of this year the liberal arts received a severe blow in the death of George-Frederic Handel, the most celebrated master in music which this age has produced. He was by birth a German; but had studied in Italy, and afterwards settled in England, where he met with the most favourable reception, and resided above half a century, universally admired for his stupendous genius in the sublime parts of musical composition.

The following event is so surprising and deplorable in all its circumstances, that it may well claim a place in the history of England. A sloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New York, met with such unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all the shoes on board: at length, being reduced to the last extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the intrails and the rest of the carcase they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice; from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, Mr. Baron, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied with about an inch and a half square of leather to each man per diem, cut from a pair of breeches that were found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, together with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days; at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at sea. By this time the whole crew, consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once pitteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle for hoisting them from one ship to another.

In the month of November the British parliament was opened by commission; and the commons attending in the house of peers, the lord-keeper made a speech to the members, importing, that his majesty had directed him to assure them, that he thought himself peculiarly happy in being able to convoke them in a situation of affairs so glorious to his crown and advantageous to his kingdoms; that the king saw and devoutly adored the hand of Providence in the many signal successes, both by sea and land, with which his arms had been blessed in the course of the last campaign: that he reflected with great satisfaction on the confidence which the parliament had placed in him, by making such ample provisions, and intrusting him with such extensive powers, for carrying on a war which the defence of their valuable rights and possessions, together with the preservation of the commerce of his people, had rendered both just and necessary: that he needed not remind them of the late successes of the British arms, the reduction of Goree on the coast of Africa, the conquest of so many important places in America, the defeat of the French army in Canada, the reduction of their capital city Quebec, effected with so much honour to the courage and conduct of his majesty's officers and forces; the important advantage obtained by the British Squadron off Cape Lagos, and the effectual blocking up for so many months the principal part of the French navy in their

their own harbours; events which must have filled the hearts of all his majesty's faithful subjects with the sincerest joy, and convinced his parliament that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour on his part, in exerting those means which they with so much prudence and public-spirited zeal had put into his majesty's hands: that the national advantages had extended even as far as the East Indies, where, by the Divine Blessing, the dangerous designs of his majesty's enemies had miscarried, and that valuable branch of commerce had received great benefit and protection: that the memorable victory gained over the French at Minden had long made a deep impression on the minds of his majesty's people: that if the crisis in which this battle was fought, the superior number of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his majesty's general, prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, were considered, that action must be the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness: that if any thing could fill the breasts of his majesty's good subjects with still farther degrees of exultation, it would be the distinguished and unbroken valour of the British troops, owned and applauded by those whom they overcame: that the glory they had gained was not merely their own, but, in a national view, was one of the most important circumstances of our success, as it must be a striking admonition to our enemies with whom they have to contend: that his majesty's good brother and ally the king of Prussia, attacked and surrounded by so many considerable powers, had, by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a surprising manner, to defeat the schemes concerted for his destruction by so many formidable enemies: that as the king of Great Britain had not entered into this war from views of ambition, so he did not wish to continue it from motives of resentment: that the desire of his majesty's heart was to see a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood: that, whenever such terms of peace could be established, as should be just and honourable for his majesty and his allies; and by procuring such advantages as, from the successes of his majesty's arms, might in reason and equity be expected, should bring along with them full security for the future, his majesty would rejoice to see the repose of Europe restored on such solid and durable foundations; and his faithful subjects, to whose liberal support and unshaken firmness his majesty owed so much, happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and tranquillity; but, in order to this great and desirable end, he said his majesty was confident the parliament would agree with him, that it was necessary to make ample provision for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour: that the great supplies which the commons had granted in the last session of parliament, had been faithfully employed for the purposes for which they were allotted; but the uncommon extent of the war, and the various services necessary to be provided for, in order to secure success to his majesty's measures, had unavoidably occasioned extraordinary expences: that his majesty took the highest satisfaction in that harmony and good agreement which was so conspicuous among his subjects; he was happy in seeing it continued and confirmed; and that experience had shewn how

much the nation owed to this union, which alone could secure the true happiness of his people.

This speech was highly applauded, not only by the parliament, but also by the nation in general. As the addresses of both houses were conceived nearly in the same strain, I shall content myself with exhibiting to the reader a complete copy of that of the commons. It was expressed in the following terms:

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, return your majesty our most humble thanks for the speech delivered, by your majesty's command, to both houses of parliament.

"Permit us, Sir, with the sincerest zeal and duty, to congratulate your majesty on the glorious and uninterrupted series of success and victory which hath attended your majesty's arms during the whole course of this distinguished and memorable year.

"With the deepest reverence and most devout gratitude to Divine Providence, we acknowledge that manifest blessing and protection which God hath vouchsafed to bestow upon your majesty's counsels and arms, and offer up our most ardent vows and prayers for its continuance.

"Your majesty's faithful commons will not attempt to enumerate all the advantages and glories derived to your majesty and these kingdoms, from the various successes which have been extended into every quarter of the world; but we humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that our hearts are filled with a lively and most grateful sense of the happy consequences which, under God, are owing to the wisdom, vigilance, and vigour of your majesty's measures in the prosecution of this just and necessary war; particularly, the taking of the island of Goree, and the extension of our commerce on the coast of Africa: the defeat of the French fleet in the East Indies, and the repulse of the land forces before Madras, whereby the dangerous designs of our enemies there have miscarried, and protection hath been given to our trade and settlement in those countries: the valuable conquest of Guadalupe and Marigalante in the West Indies; the reduction of so many forts and places in North America, completed and crowned by that glorious and decisive victory over the French army in Canada, and the surrender of their capital city Quebec, effected with so much courage and conduct of your majesty's officers, both by sea and land, and with so much lustre to your intrepid forces; the important success of your majesty's fleet, in pursuing, taking, and destroying a considerable part of the French squadron off Cape Lagos; and blocking up for so many months the rest of the navy of France, in their own ports, which has greatly augmented the distress of our enemies, whilst it has protected and secured our commerce and navigation.

"Nor can we forget that critical, signal, and memorable defeat of the French army near Minden, so justly the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness, if we consider the superior numbers of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his serene highness prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, or the unconquerable valour of your majesty's troops.

"When

“ When we reflect upon this continued train of successes, part of which would have been sufficient to have signalized this long and active campaign, it is impossible for us not to express the highest satisfaction at the great ability, resolution, and perfect harmony, so conspicuous in your majesty’s admirals and generals throughout the execution of your commands; and at the ardent courage which hath manifested itself in the behaviour of the officers and forces by sea and land with such personal and national glory. Nothing but this spirit could have enabled them to surmount every difficulty arising from the superior number and situation of the enemy; and we are persuaded that the like resolution, ardour, and zeal, exerted and animated by these best incentives, your majesty’s gracious acceptance and royal approbation of their eminent services, followed by the warmest and most universal applause of their country, will continue to give terror to the enemies, and confidence to the allies of Great Britain.

“ We view, with the highest admiration, the magnanimity and unexampled efforts of that great prince, your majesty’s ally the king of Prussia, whose consummate genius, unwearied activity, and unshaken constancy of mind, seconded by the bravery of his troops, have been able, in every situation, to supply resources sufficient to resist the united forces of so many and such formidable powers.

“ Your majesty’s faithful commons feel, with due gratitude, your paternal care and concern for the peace and happiness of your people; and cannot too much admire that true greatness of mind which disposes your heart, in the midst of prosperities, to wish that a stop may be put to the effusion of Christian blood, and that public tranquility may be restored.

“ We entirely rely on your majesty’s known wisdom and firmness, that this desirable object, whenever it shall be attained, will be on such terms as shall be just and honourable for your majesty and your allies; and shall bring along with them full security for the future, on solid and durable foundations, by procuring such advantages as may, in reason and equity, be expected from the success of our arms, and which will fix, in the minds of a grateful people, the lasting remembrance of this happy æra, and of the benefits derived to them, under your majesty’s gracious and auspicious government.

“ In order to effect this great end, we are thoroughly sensible that ample provision must be made for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour; and we assure your majesty that we will cheerfully grant your majesty such supplies as shall be found necessary to sustain, and press with effect, all our extensive operations against the enemy, and at the same time, by the blessing of God, to repel and frustrate their daring designs against these kingdoms; convinced, from the long experience we have had of your majesty’s wisdom and goodness, that they will be applied in such a manner as will best answer these purposes.

“ We cannot sufficiently testify our grateful sense of the high satisfaction which your majesty has been pleased to express, in that perfect union and good harmony which so happily subsists among your faithful subjects, the salutary effects of which

have been most conspicuous; and the pleasing experience we have had of them, joined to your majesty’s paternal recommendation, must be the most powerful motives to enforce the continuance of those dispositions, so essential to the full exertion of our utmost strength, as well as to the tranquility, good order, and happiness of your majesty’s people.”

The addresses of the two houses were no sooner presented than the commons proceeded to settle the supply. For the service of the ensuing year they voted seventy thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and for their maintenance allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds. The number of land-forces, including the British troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at fifty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-four men, and granted for their subsistence one million three hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds ten-pence. For maintaining other forces in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadalupe, Africa, and the East Indies, they allowed eight hundred forty-six thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds nineteen shillings; for the expence of four regiments on the Irish establishment, serving in North America, they voted thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four pounds eight shillings and four-pence. For pay to the general and staff-officers, and officers of the hospital for the land forces, they assigned fifty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds eleven shillings and nine-pence. They voted for the expence of the militia in South and North Britain, the sum of one hundred two thousand and six pounds four shillings and eight-pence. They granted for the maintenance of thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty men, being the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckeburg, retained in the service of Great Britain, the sum of four hundred forty-seven thousand eight hundred eighty-two pounds ten shillings and five-pence halfpenny; and for nineteen thousand Hessian troops, in the same pay, they gave three hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred twenty-five pounds one shilling and six-pence. They afterwards bestowed the sum of one hundred eight thousand and twelve pounds twelve shillings and seven-pence, for defraying the additional expence of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Hesse, and the British army serving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea officers; for carrying on the building of two hospitals, one near Gosport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth; for the support of the hospital at Greenwich; for purchasing ground, erecting wharfs, and other accommodations necessary for refitting the fleets at Halifax in Nova Scotia; for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expence incurred by that office in the course of the last year, they allowed seven hundred eighty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine pounds six shillings and six-pence. Towards paying off the navy debt, buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of the king’s ships, together with the charge of transport-service, they granted one million seven hundred and one thousand seventy-eight pounds sixteen shillings and six-pence. For defraying the extraordinary

dinary expences of the land forces, and other services not provided for by parliament, comprehending the pensions for the widows of reduced officers, they allotted the sum of nine hundred fifty-five thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds fifteen shillings and five-pence halfpenny. They voted one million to empower his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of parliament. They gave six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a new convention between him and that monarch, concluded on the ninth day of November in the present year. Fifteen thousand pounds they allowed, upon account, towards enabling the principal officers of his majesty's ordnance to defray the necessary charges and expences of taking down and removing the present magazine for gun-powder, situated in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and of erecting it in some less dangerous situation. Sixty thousand pounds they gave to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a treaty between the two powers, renewed in the month of November; the sum to be paid as his most Serene Highness should think it most convenient, in order to facilitate the means by which the landgrave might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Five hundred thousand pounds they voted, upon account, as a present supply towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread waggons, train of artillery, wood, straw, provisions, and contingencies of his majesty's combined army under the command of prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling hospital they granted five thousand pounds; and fifteen thousand for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage over and through London-bridge. To replace divers sums taken from the sinking fund, they granted two hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds nineteen shillings and four-pence. For the subsistence of reduced officers, including the allowances to the several officers and private men of the two troops of horse-guards and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guards, they voted thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-seven pounds nine shillings. Upon account, for the support of the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they granted twenty-one thousand six hundred twenty-four pounds two shillings and two-pence. For enabling the king to give a proper compensation to the provinces in North America, for the expences they might incur in levying and maintaining troops, according as the vigour and activity of those respective provinces should be thought by his majesty to merit, they advanced the sum of two hundred thousand pounds. The East India company they gratified with twenty thousand pounds towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, in lieu of a battalion of the king's troops now returned to Ireland. Twenty-five thousand pounds were provided for the payment of the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital. For subsequent augmentations of the British forces,

since the first estimate of guards and garrisons for the ensuing year was presented, they allowed one hundred thirty-four thousand one hundred thirty-nine pounds seventeen shillings and four-pence. They further voted, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling-hospital to maintain, educate, and bind apprentice, the children admitted into the said charity, the sum of forty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-five pounds. For defraying the expence of maintaining the militia in South and North Britain, to the twenty-fourth day of December of the ensuing year, they voted an additional grant of two hundred ninety thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds sixteen shillings and eight-pence: and, moreover, they granted fourscore thousand pounds, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing of the unembodied militia for the year, ending on the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. For reimbursing the colony of New-York their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, they allowed two thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds seven shillings and eight-pence: and for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, they renewed the grant of ten thousand pounds. For the maintenance and augmentation of the troops of Brunswic, in the pay of Great Britain, for the ensuing year, pursuant to an ulterior convention concluded and signed at Paderborn on the fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, they granted the sum of ninety thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds eight shillings and eleven-pence farthing: and for the troops of Hesse Cassel in the same pay, during the same period, they allotted one hundred and one thousand ninety-six pounds three shillings and two pence. For the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other services incurred, from the twenty-fourth day of December following, and not provided for, they granted the sum of four hundred and twenty thousand one hundred and twenty pounds one shilling. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of this present year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, they assigned the sum of seventy-five thousand one hundred and seventy pounds three-pence farthing. For printing the Journals of the House of Commons they gave five thousand pounds; and six hundred thirty-four pounds thirteen shillings and seven-pence as interest, at the rate of four per cent. per annum, from the twenty-fifth day of August in the present year to the same day of April next, for the sum of twenty-three thousand eight hundred pounds eleven shillings and eleven-pence remaining in the office of ordnance, and not paid into the hands of the deputy of the king's remembrancer of the court of Exchequer, as directed by an act made in the last session of parliament, to make compensation for lands and hereditaments purchased for his majesty's service at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, by reason of doubts and difficulties which had arisen touching the execution of the said act. For defraying the extraordinary charge of the mint, during the present year, they allowed eleven thousand nine hundred and

and forty pounds thirteen shillings and ten-pence; and two thousand five hundred pounds, upon account, for paying the debts claimed and sustained upon a forfeited estate in North Britain. They likewise allowed twelve thousand eight hundred and seventy-four pounds fifteen shillings and ten-pence, for defraying the charge of a regiment of light dragoons, and of an additional company to the corps commanded by lieutenant-colonel Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, to enable the king to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to defeat any enterprize or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require.

In a word, the sum total granted in this session of parliament amounted to fifteen millions five hundred three thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds fifteen shillings and nine-pence halfpenny; a sum which, however immense, and even seemingly enormous, was no more than was absolutely necessary for carrying on the war with that spirit and vigour with which it had hitherto been prosecuted.

The funds established for raising this sum consisted of the following particulars. The land-tax at four shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax, were continued, as the standing revenue of Great Britain. The committee resolved that the sum of eight millions should be raised by transferable annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum: that an additional capital of three pounds should be added to every hundred pounds advanced, to consist of a lottery ticket valued at ten pounds, to be attended also with transferable annuities, after the rate of four per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January, in the year 1761, to continue for twenty years, and then be reduced to three pounds per cent. per annum: and that the said sum of eight millions should bear the same interest of four per cent. commencing on the same day, to continue for twenty-one years, and then be reduced to three pounds per centum: that the said annuities should be transferable at the bank of England, and be redeemable by parliament, in the whole or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, after the expiration of twenty-one years, and not sooner, six months notice having been given of such payments respectively: that every subscriber should, on or before the fifteenth day of January next, make a deposit of fifteen pounds per cent. on such sums as he should chuse to subscribe towards raising the eight millions, with the cashiers of the bank of England, as a security for his making the future payments, which were fixed in the following manner; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-sixth day of February next; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-ninth day of April next; the same proportion on the last day of May, the third day of July, the fourteenth day of August, the sixteenth day of September, and the twenty-ninth day of October; which several sums so received should, by the said cashiers, be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as should then have been voted by the houses in this session of

parliament, and not otherwise: that such of the proprietors of tallies and orders made out at the Exchequer, by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, for enabling the king to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, as should be desirous of subscribing a sum equal to the principal sum contained in such respective orders; and should, on or before the eighth day of January, produce the said orders, and signify such their desire to the said cashiers, should be admitted subscribers for such sums: that any tallies or orders made out at the Exchequer, by virtue of the said act, should be received by the said cashiers as cash, to the amount of the respective sums contained in such tallies or orders, and the interest that should be due thereupon, as well in making the said deposit, as in all subsequent payments: that the tallies and orders so received, should be taken at the receipt of the Exchequer, and allowed in the payments to be made by the cashiers, for the amount of such principal sums and interest: and that every subscriber who should pay in the whole of this subscription, on or before the sixteenth day of September, should be allowed a discount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, from the day such subscription should be so completed, to the twenty-ninth day of October.

The committee further resolved, that an additional tax of three-pence should be paid for every bushel of malt made in England and Wales, and three halfpence for every bushel made in Scotland; and so proportionably for any greater or less quantity, to be paid by the makers thereof: that three halfpence should be paid for every bushel of malt conveyed from Scotland to England and Wales: and that the afore-mentioned annuities and lottery should be charged upon the said duties on malt, for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security. With regard to the same imposition they resolved, that this new duty should, both in England and Scotland, be paid for every bushel of malt, whether ground or unground, which, having been made before the commencement of these additional duties, should, on or after the said day of commencement, be in the possession of any maltster, or maker of malt, for sale, seller, or retailer of malt, brewer, distiller, inn-keeper, victualler, vinegar-maker, or any person or persons in trust for them, or for their use: that the monies arising by the said duties should be carried to, and made part of the fund for the payment of the annuities and lottery, allowing the sum of eight millions granted to his majesty in the present session of parliament.

They determined that a stamp duty of ten shillings should be charged on every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet of paper, on which any licence for making and selling measures of capacity should be engrossed, written, or printed, as well as upon every piece of vellum or paper on which a licence, for making and selling weights, should be written or printed. They resolved, that a new duty of five-pence should be charged upon every gallon of low wines or spirits, of the first extraction, made or drawn from any sort of liquor or wash brewed of malt or corn, or from brewers wash or tilts, over and above all other duties charged or chargeable thereon, to be paid by the distillers

distillers or makers thereof: that for every gallon of strong waters, or aqua vitæ, made for sale, of the materials aforesaid, one shilling and three-pence, over and above all other duties charged and chargeable thereon, should be paid by the distillers or makers thereof; and that the same duty should be exacted of the distillers or makers, for every gallon of low wines or spirits of the first extraction, made or drawn from any foreign or imported materials, or any mixture therewith, over and above all other duties: that a new duty of eight-pence per gallon should be imposed upon spirits drawn in Great Britain from any foreign or imported materials, or any mixture therewith: that six-pence three farthings, over and above all other duties chargeable thereon, should be paid for every gallon of low wines, or spirits of the first extraction, made or drawn from cyder, or any sort of British materials, except those before mentioned, or any mixture therewith; and that the distillers and makers should pay one shilling one penny three farthings for every gallon of spirits made for sale from cyder, or any other British materials, except those already mentioned, over and above all other duties chargeable in the same article: that, in order to encourage the exportation of spirits drawn or made in Great Britain, the like drawbacks and allowances should be made, under proper regulations, upon the exportation of rectified spirits made or drawn in Great Britain, as are now payable upon the exportation of home-made raw spirits; and that, as a further encouragement, an additional drawback or allowance of twenty-four pounds ten shillings per ton should be paid, upon the exportation of all such spirits: that an additional duty of one shilling for every gallon of single brandy, spirits, or aqua vitæ, imported from beyond seas; and of two shillings for every gallon of such spirits above proof, commonly called double brandy, so imported, should be paid by the importer; and that these additional duties should stand appropriated and be applied to the same uses and purposes, respectively, to which the present duties on spirituous liquors are now applied and appropriated.

The committee resolved, that the three pound per cent. annuities, amounting to six millions six hundred thousand pounds, together with the additional capital of fifteen pounds added to every hundred pounds advanced towards the said sum, amounting to nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the last session, should be, with the consent of the several proprietors, made part of the joint stock of three pounds per cent. annuities, transferable at the bank of England, consolidated by the acts in the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-second of his present majesty's reign; and the charges and expences in respect thereof, be charged upon and paid out of the sinking fund, until redemption thereof by parliament, in the same and like manner as the annuities consolidated as aforesaid are paid and payable; and that such persons as should not, on or before the twentieth day of June ensuing, signify their dissent, in books to be opened at the bank of England for that purpose, should be deemed assenting thereto: that all monies arising from the fifth day of January next, or that may afterwards arise from the produce of the subsidy of poundage

upon certain goods and merchandizes imported or to be imported into the kingdom; and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate, which were made a fund for payment of three pounds per cent. per annum, at the bank of England, on six millions six hundred thousand pounds, by virtue of an act towards the supply of this year, 1759; as also the additional capital of fifteen pounds added to every hundred advanced towards the said sum, amounting to nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds, should be made part of the sinking fund: that all duties charged upon rum or spirits of the growth, produce, and manufacture of his majesty's sugar plantations, imported into Great Britain, should be drawn back upon the re-exportation; and that an additional drawback or allowance of three pounds three shillings per ton should be paid upon the exportation of spirits drawn in Great Britain from molasses, over and above all other drawbacks and allowances payable thereon.

They resolved to continue in force several acts and clauses relating to the jurisdiction, powers, and authorities vested in commissioners for licensing hackney chairs and coaches; and agreed, that the act for making sail-cloth, now near expiring, should be protracted. They resolved, that for raising the sum of one million, granted to his majesty towards discharging the debt of the navy, and also the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, should be raised by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest, on or before the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year 1761, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received: that the sum of two millions six hundred two thousand seven hundred and six pounds nine shillings and nine-pence, should be issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surplus, excess, or overplus monies, and other revenues composing the sinking fund: and that the sum of one million should be raised by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament.

The whole provision made by the committee of ways and means, amounted to sixteen millions one hundred thirty thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds nine shillings and eight-pence, exceeding the grant for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, in the sum of six hundred twenty-six thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven pounds thirteen shillings and ten-pence halfpenny. This excess, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we consider that it was destined to make good the premium of two hundred and forty thousand pounds to the subscribers upon the eight million loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a considerable article in the supply of every session.

It will not be necessary to enumerate all the acts that were founded upon the resolutions touching the supply. It may be proper, however, to observe, that in the act for the land-tax, and in the act for the malt-tax, there was a clause of credit, empowering the commissioners of the Treasury to raise the money, which they produced by loans of

Exchequer bills, bearing an interest of four per cent. per annum, that is, one per cent. higher than the interest usually granted in time of peace. While the house of commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising a certain sum of money to be charged on the said duties, a petition was presented by the maltsters of Ipswich and parts adjacent, against an additional duty on the stock of malt in hand: but no regard was paid to this remonstrance, and the bill, with several new amendments, passed through both houses, under the title of "An act for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising the sum of eight millions by way of annuities and a lottery, to be charged on the said duties; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gauging of corn making into malt; and for making four duplicates of Exchequer bills, tickets, certificates, receipts, annuity orders, and other orders lost, burned, or otherwise destroyed."

The other three bills, that turned wholly on the supply, were passed in common course, without the least opposition in either house, and received the royal assent by commission at the end of the session. The first of these, intitled, A bill for enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, contained a clause of appropriation, added to it by instruction; and the bank was enabled to lend the million, which the commissioners of the Treasury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the interest of four pounds per cent. The second, granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund for the service of the year 1760, comprehended a clause of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted; and another clause empowering the bank to lend it without any limitation of interest. And the third, enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money towards discharging the debt of the navy, and for naval services during the ensuing year, enacted, that the Exchequer bills thereby to be issued, should not be received, or pass to any receiver or collector of the public revenue, or at the receipt of the Exchequer, before the twenty-sixth day of March in the year 1761.

As the act of the preceding session, prohibiting the malt distillery, was to expire at Christmas, the commons, thinking it necessary to consider of effectual methods for laying this branch of business under proper restrictions, began as early as the month of November to deliberate on the matter; and after some consideration determined to continue the prohibition of the malt distillery till the twenty-fourth day of December in the year 1760, unless such continuation should be abridged by any other act to be passed in the present session.

A bill for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon; for shortening the prohibition for making low wines and spirits from wheat; for encouraging the exportation of British made spirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding or importation thereof, also acquired the royal sanction.

They also, for a time limited, the act of the last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland. This permission was accordingly

extended to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year 1761. It were to be wished indeed that a free trade between Great Britain and Ireland could be allowed always to subsist with equal advantage to both kingdoms, but though this be impossible, it ought certainly to be granted, whenever the price of provisions in England are carried to an immoderate height.

As several lieutenants of counties had, for various reasons, suspended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia for limited times; which suspensions were deemed inconsistent with the intent of the legislature, a bill was now brought in to enable his majesty's lieutenants of the several counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithstanding any adjournments.

It was enacted, that as the speedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was most essentially necessary at this juncture to the peace and security of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where such suspension had happened, should within one month after the passing of this act, proceed as if there had been no such suspension, and summon a meeting for the same purpose once in every succeeding month, until a sufficient number of officers, qualified and willing to serve, should be found, or until the expiration of the act for the better ordering of the militia forces.

The institution of the militia, though certainly laudable and necessary, was attended with so many unforeseen difficulties, that every session of parliament, since it was first established, has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, confining, and better regulating the payment of the weekly allowances made by act of parliament, for the maintenance of families unable to support themselves during the absence of militia men embodied and ordered into actual service; as well as for amending and improving the establishment of the militia, and lessening the number of officers entitled to pay, within that part of Great Britain called England.

While this bill was under consideration, the house received a petition from the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, sheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradesmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, importing, That by an act passed relating to the militia, it was provided, that when any militia men should be ordered out into actual service, leaving families unable to support themselves during their absence, the overseers of the parish where such families reside should allow them such weekly support as should be prescribed by any one justice of the peace; which allowance should be reimbursed out of the county stock. They represented, that a considerable number of men, inhabitants of the said city, had entered themselves to serve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for several parishes and persons; yet their families were, nevertheless, supported by the county stock of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed, that if it should pass into a law, they might have such relief in the premises, as to the house should seem proper. Regard was had to this petition

in the amendments to the bill, which passed through both houses, and received the royal assent by commission.

By this law it was enacted, that if any militia man, who shall have been accepted and enrolled as a substitute, hired man, or volunteer, before the passing of the act, or who shall have been chosen by lot, whether before or after the passing of the act, shall, when embodied, or called out into actual service, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to support themselves, the overseers shall, by order of some one justice of the peace, pay, out of the poor's rates of such parish, a weekly allowance to such family, according to the usual and ordinary price of labour and husbandry there, viz. for one child under the age of ten years, the price of one day's labour; for two children under the age aforesaid, the price of two days labour; for three or four children under the age aforesaid, the price of three days labour; for five or more children under the age aforesaid, the price of four days labour; and for the wife of such militia man, the price of one day's labour; but that the families of such men only as shall be chosen by lot, and of the substitutes, hired men, and volunteers, already accepted and enrolled, shall, after the passing of this act, receive any such weekly allowance. For removing the grievance complained of in the above petition, it is enacted, that where treasurers shall reimburse to overseers any money, in pursuance of this act, on account of the weekly allowance to the family of any militia man, serving in the militia of any county or place, other than that wherein such family shall dwell, they are to transmit an account thereof, signed by some justice, for the place where such family shall dwell, to the treasurer of the county, &c. in the militia whereof such militia man shall serve, who is thereupon to pay him the sums so reimbursed to such overseers, and the same to be allowed in his accounts.

During the dependence of this bill, another was brought in to explain so much of the militia act passed in the thirty-first year of his majesty's reign, as related to the money to be given to private militia men, upon their being ordered out into actual service. By this law it was enacted, that the guinea which, by the former act was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual service, should be paid to every man that shall afterwards be inrolled into such regiment or company whilst in actual service: that no man should be intitled to his cloaths for his own use, until he should have served three years, if unembodied, or one year if embodied, after the delivery of the cloaths: and that the full pay of the militia should commence from the date of his majesty's warrant for drawing them out.

The next law I shall mention was intended to be one of the most important that ever fell under the cognizance of the legislature: it was a law that affected the freedom, dignity, and independency of parliaments. By an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of queen Anne, it was provided, that no person should be chosen a member of parliament who did not possess, in England or Wales, an estate, freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: for every knight of a shire, six hundred pounds per annum, over and above what will satisfy all incumbrances; and

three hundred pounds per annum for every citizen, burgess, and baron of the cinque-port. It was also decreed, that the return of any person not thus qualified should be void; and that every candidate should, at the reasonable request of any other candidate at the time of election, or by two or more persons who had a right to vote, take an oath prescribed to establish his qualifications. This restraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had of late been prescribed, that they began to lose their due influence on the minds of men; and in particular, political perjury grew so common, that it was no longer considered as a crime. Subterfuges were discovered, by means of which this law relating to the qualification of candidates was effectually eluded. Those who were not actually possessed of such estates procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being restored and cancelled after the election. By this scandalous fraud, the intention of the legislature was frustrated; the dignity of parliament prostituted; the example of perjury and corruption extended; the morals of the people depraved; and the constitution exposed to the most imminent danger.

In order to remedy these alarming evils, a few gentlemen, warmed with the real love of their country, presented a bill to the house, importing, that every person who shall be elected a member of the house of commons, should, before he presumed to take his seat, deliver to the clerk of the house at the table, while the commons are sitting, and the speaker in the chair, a paper or schedule signed by himself, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification, specifying the nature of his estate, whether messuage, land, rent, tythe, or what else; and if such estate consists of messuages, lands, or tythes, then specifying in whose occupation they are; and if in rent, then specifying the names of the owners or possessors of the lands and tenements out of which such rent is issuing; and also specifying the parish, township, or precinct and county, in which the said estate lies, and the value thereof; and every such person shall, at the same time also, take and subscribe the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or schedule: I, A. B. do swear, that the above is a true rental; and that I truly, and *bona fide*, have such an estate in law or equity, to and for my own use and benefit, of and in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, above described, over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same; and that such estate hath not been granted or made over to me fraudulently, on purpose to qualify me to be a member of this house. So help me God.

It was provided that the said paper or schedule, with the oath aforesaid, should be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inspected by the members of the house of commons, without fee or reward: that if any person elected to serve in any future parliament, should presume to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons, before he has delivered in such a paper or schedule, and taken the oath aforesaid, or should not be qualified according to the true intent or meaning of this act, his election should be void; and every person so sitting and voting should forfeit a certain sum, to

be recovered by such person as should sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, whereon no essoin, privilege, protection, or wager of law, should be allowed, and only one imparlance: that if any person should have delivered in, and sworn to his qualification as aforesaid, and taken his seat in the house of commons; yet at any time after should, during the continuance of such parliament, sell, dispose of, alien, or any other ways encumber the estate, or any part thereof comprized in the schedule, so as to lessen or reduce the same under the value of the qualification by law directed; every such person, under a certain penalty, must deliver in a new or further qualification, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and swear to the same, in manner before directed, before he shall again presume to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons: that in case any action, suit, or information, shall be brought, in pursuance of this act, against any member of the house of commons, the clerk of the house shall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and attested copy of the paper or schedule so delivered in to him as aforesaid by such member, to the plaintiff or prosecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain sum for the same; which being proved a true copy, shall be admitted to be given in evidence upon the trial of any issue, in any such action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to the eldest son or heir-apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any person qualified to serve as knight of the shire, or to the members for either of the universities, in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

Such was the substance of the bill, as originally presented to the house of commons; but it was altered and amended in such a manner as will perhaps render it in a great measure ineffectual. It ran thus:

Clause 1. "Whereas by an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majesty queen Anne, intituled, "An act for securing the freedom of parliaments, by the further qualifying the members to sit in the house of commons," it was enacted, That no person should be capable to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons, for any county, city, borough, or cinque-port, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, who should not have an estate, freehold or copyhold, for his own life, or for some greater estate, either in law or equity, to and for his own use and benefit, of or in lands, tenements, or hereditaments, over and above what will clear all incumbrances that might affect the same, lying or being within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, of the respective annual value therein limited, viz. the annual value of six hundred pounds above reprises for every knight of a shire, and the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprises for every citizen, burgess, or baron of the cinque-ports.

2. "Now, in order to enforce and render the said act more effectual, be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and

commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That, from and after the determination of this present parliament, every person, except as is herein after excepted, who shall be elected a member of the house of commons, shall, before he presumes to vote in the house of commons, or sit there during any debate in the said house of commons, after their speaker is chosen, produce and deliver in to the clerk of the said house, at the table in the middle of the said house, and whilst the house of commons is there duly sitting, with their speaker in the chair of the said house, a paper or account, signed by every such member, containing the name or names of the parish, township, or precinct, or of the several parishes, townships, or precincts, and also of the county, or of the several counties in which the lands, tenements, or hereditaments do lie, whereby he makes out his qualification, declaring the same to be of the annual value of six hundred pounds above reprises, if a knight of a shire; and of the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprises, if a citizen, burgess, or baron of the cinque-ports; and shall also at the same time take and subscribe the following oath, viz.

"I A. B. do swear, that I truly and *bona fide* have such an estate, in law or equity, and of such value, to and for my own use and benefit, of or in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same, as doth qualify me to be elected and returned to serve as a member for the place I am returned for, according to the tenor and good meaning of the acts of parliament in that behalf; and that such lands, tenements, or hereditaments do lie, as described in the paper or account signed by me, and now delivered to the clerk of the house of commons. So help me God.

"And the said house of commons is hereby impowered and required to administer the said oath and subscription according to the directions of this act, as occasion shall be, from time to time, to every person duly demanding the same, immediately after such person shall have taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, at the said table; and the said oaths and subscription, herein before directed to be taken and made, shall be entered into a parchment roll, to be provided for that purpose by the clerk of the house of commons; and the said papers or accounts so signed and delivered in to the said clerk as aforesaid, shall be filed and carefully kept by him.

3. "And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any person who shall be elected to serve in any future parliament, as knight of a shire, or as a citizen, burgess, or baron of the cinque-port, shall presume to sit or vote, as aforesaid, as a member of the house of commons, before he has delivered in such paper or account, and taken and subscribed such oath, as aforesaid; or shall not be qualified according to the true intent and meaning of the said recited act, and of this act, his election shall be, and is hereby declared to be, void, and a new writ shall be issued to elect another member in the said person's room.

4. "Provided always, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to the eldest son or heir-apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any person qualified to serve as knight of a shire, or

or to the members for either of the universities, in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members of that part of Great Britain called Scotland."

The house having examined an account of the produce of the fund established for paying annuities granted in the year 1759, with the charge on that fund, on the fifth day of January in the succeeding year, it appeared that there had been a considerable deficiency in the said fund on the fifth day of July preceding; and this had been made good out of the sinking fund, by a resolution of the seventh of February, which we have already specified. They therefore instructed the committee of ways and means, to consider so much of the annuity and lottery act passed in the preceding session as related to the three per cent. annuities, amounting to the sum of seven millions five hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the year 1759; and also to consider so much of the said act as related to the subsidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandizes to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate.

The committee having taken these points into deliberation, agreed to the two resolutions we have already mentioned, with respect to the consolidation; and a bill was brought in for adding those annuities granted in the year 1759, to the joint stock of three per cent. annuities, consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty second year of his majesty's reign; and for several duties therein mentioned, to the sinking fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to insert a clause for cancelling such lottery tickets as were made forth in an act passed in the thirtieth year of his majesty's reign, and were not then disposed of; a clause for this purpose was accordingly added to the bill, which passed through both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent at the end of the session.

Towards the end of April admiral Townshend presented a bill for the more effectual securing the payment of such prize and bounty monies as were appropriated to the use of Greenwich hospital, by an act passed in the twenty-ninth year of his majesty's reign. As by that law no time was limited, or particular method prescribed for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the shares of the prizes and bounty-money; and as many agents had neglected to specify in the notification given in the London Gazette, for payment of shares of prizes condemned in the courts of admiralty in Great Britain, the particular day or time when such payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the time when the hospital at Greenwich became intitled to the unclaimed shares; of consequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act. The bill now prepared imported, that from and after the first day of September, in the present year, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken by any of his majesty's ships of war, and condemned in Great Britain, and from and after the first day of February, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the

British plantations in America; and from and after the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions, shall be respectively given and published in the following manner: If the prize be condemned in any court of admiralty in Great Britain, such notification, under the agent's hand, shall be published in the London Gazette; and if condemned in any court of admiralty, in any other of his majesty's dominions, such notifications shall be published in like manner in the Gazette, or other news-paper of public authority, of the island or place where the prize is condemned; and if there shall be no Gazette or such news-paper published there, then in some one of the public news-papers of the place; and such agents shall deliver to the collector, customer, or searcher, or his lawful deputy; and if there shall be no such office, then to the principal officer or officers of the place where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of such principal officer, two of the Gazettes or other news-papers in which such notifications are inserted; and if there shall not be any public news-papers in any such island or place, the agent shall give two such notifications in writing, under his hand; and every such collector or other officer as aforesaid, shall subscribe his name on both the said Gazettes, news-papers, or written notifications, and by the first ship which shall sail from thence to any port of Great Britain, shall transmit to the treasurer or deputy treasurers of the said royal hospital, one of the said notifications with his name so subscribed, to be there registered, and shall faithfully preserve and keep the other, with his name thereon subscribed, in his own custody; and in every notification as aforesaid, the agent shall specify his place of abode, and the precise day of the month and year appointed for the payment of the respective shares to the captors; and all notifications with respect to prizes condemned in Great Britain shall be published in the London Gazette, three days at least before any share of such prizes shall be paid; and with respect to prizes condemned in any other part of his majesty's dominions, such notification shall be delivered to the said collector or other officers aforesaid, three days at least before any share of such prizes shall be paid. It was likewise enacted, that the agents of the distribution of bounty bills should insert, and publish under their hands, in the London Gazette, three days at least before payment, public notifications of the day and year appointed for such payment, and also insert therein their respective places of abode.

A committee having been appointed to enquire into the original standards of weights and measures in the kingdom of England, to consider the laws relating thereto, and to report their observations thereupon, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform and certain standards of weights and measures, the prepared copies, models, patterns, and multiples, and presented them to the house: then they were locked up by the clerk of the house; and the lord Carystort presented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and measures to the standards by law to be established: but this measure, which had been so long in dependence,

pendence, was not yet fully discussed, and the standards and weights were reserved to another occasion.

These and a good number of other bills of less importance, both private and public, were passed into laws by commission, on the twenty-second day of May, when the lord-keeper of the great seal closed the session with a speech to both houses. He declared in his majesty's name, that the king looked back on their proceedings with entire satisfaction: that the duty and affection which they had expressed for the king's person and government, the zeal and unanimity they had shewed in maintaining the true interest of their country, could only be equalled by what his majesty had formerly experienced from this parliament: that it would have given his majesty the most sensible pleasure, had he been able to assure them that his endeavours to promote a general peace, had met with more suitable returns: that his majesty, in conjunction with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia, had chosen to give their enemies proof of this equitable disposition, in the midst of a series of glorious victories; an opportunity the most proper to take such a step with dignity, and to manifest to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views: that after such a conduct, the king had the comfort to reflect, that the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to him or his allies: that he trusted in the blessing of heaven, upon the justice of his arms, and upon those ample means which the zeal of the parliament, in so good a cause, had wisely put into his hands, that his future successes in carrying on the war would not fall short of the past; and that, in the event, the public tranquillity would be restored on solid and durable foundations: that his majesty had taken the most effectual care to augment the combined army in Germany; and at the same time to keep up such a force at home as might frustrate any attempts of the enemy to invade these kingdoms; such attempts as had hitherto ended only in their own confusion: that the royal navy was never in a more flourishing and respectable condition; and the signal victory obtained last winter over the French fleet, on their own coasts, had given lustre to his majesty's arms, fresh spirit to his maritime forces, and reduced the naval strength of France to a very low ebb: that his majesty had disposed his squadrons in such a manner as might best conduce to the annoyance of his enemies; to the defence of his own dominions, both in Europe and America; to the preserving and pursuing his conquests, as well as to the protection of the trade of his subjects, which he had extremely at heart: that nothing could relieve his majesty's royal mind, under the anxiety he felt for the burthens of his faithful subjects, but the public-spirited cheerfulness with which the commons had granted him such large supplies, and his conviction that they were necessary for the security and essential interests of his kingdoms: he therefore returned them his hearty thanks for these supplies, and assured them they should be duly applied to the purposes for which they had been given. Finally, he recommended to both houses the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had observed with so much pleasure, and from which they had derived such important advantages. He

desired they would study to promote these desirable objects, to support the king's government, and the good order of their respective countries, and consult their own real happiness and prosperity.

The advances towards an accommodation which had been made in the preceding year by the kings of England and Prussia, in their manifesto published at the Hague by prince Lewis of Brunswic, seemed to be regarded by neutral powers as a certain proof of their pacific disposition. We have already seen that the king of Spain offered his best offices in quality of mediator. When a congress was proposed, the States-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negotiation. The king of Great Britain, by the mouth of his ambassador, thanked their High Mightinesses for the sincere desire they expressed to put an end to the ravages of war, which had extended desolation over the face of Europe; he readily closed with their gracious offer, and, in consequence of his high regard and invariable friendship for their High Mightinesses, wished earnestly that it might be acceptable to the other powers at war. The French king returned an answer nearly of the same import. His ambassador declared, That his most Christian majesty was highly sensible of the offer they had made of Breda for the holding the congress; that, in order to give a fresh proof of his sincere desire to encrease the good harmony that subsisted between him and the States-general, he accepted their offer with pleasure: but as he could take no step without the concurrence of his high allies, he was obliged to wait for their answer, which could not fail to be favourable, if nothing remained to be settled but the place for holding the congress.

King Stanislaus having written a letter to his Britannic majesty, offering the city of Nancy for the same purpose, he received a civil answer, expressing the king of England's sense of his obliging offer, which however he declined, as a place not conveniently situated for all the powers interested in the great work of pacification. Civilities of the same nature likewise passed between the sovereign of Lorraine and the king of Prussia. As the proposals for a peace made by the king of England and his allies might have left an unfavourable impression of their adversaries, had they been flatly rejected, the court of Vienna was prevailed upon to concur with her allies in a declaration, professing their pacific sentiments; which declaration was delivered on the third day of April, by the Austrian minister residing at the Hague, to his serene highness prince Lewis of Brunswic; and a paper of the same nature was also delivered to him separately by the French and Russian ministers. These professions, however, did not interrupt the military operations.

Though the French army under the marshal duke de Broglie remained in cantonment in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and prince Ferdinand had retired from Corfдорff to Marburg, where, in the beginning of January, he fixed his head quarters, yet was not the winter altogether inactive. As far back as the twenty-fifth day of December, the duke de Broglie, having called in his detachments, attempted to surprise the allied army by a forced march to Klein-linnes; but finding that his scheme

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After this attempt the French parties were recalled, and their army retired into winter quarters in and about Franckfort on the Maine; while prince Ferdinand quartered the allies at Cassel, Paderborn, Munster, and Osnabrug, this last place being allotted to the British troops, as being the nearest to Embden, where the reinforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of February the hereditary prince of Brunswic, with the detachment of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz in Saxony for Westphalia, where he safely arrived, after having assisted at a long conference in Hamelen, with his father the reigning duke, his uncle prince Ferdinand, and some principal members of the regency of Hanover.

The French general continued to detach strong parties to beat up the quarters of the allies, and lay their towns under contribution. In the beginning of March the marquis de Blaisel advanced at the head of two thousand four hundred men from Giesfen, where he commanded, to Marburg, forced the gates of the town, and constrained the garrison of the allies to take shelter in the castle. As he

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The same inconveniencies lay more heavy on prince Ferdinand, who, being in an exhausted country, was obliged to fall back as far as Paderborn, and draw his supplies from Hamburgh and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weser. By this time, however, he had received a reinforcement of British troops from Embden, under the command of major-general Griffin; and before the end of the campaign the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to five and twenty thousand. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the fifth day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the twentieth, they encamped; but part of the troops left in the bishopric of Munster, under general Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head against the French corps commanded by the count de St. Germain.

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This alarm was not so mortifying as the secession of the Wirtemberg troops, amounting to ten thousand men, commanded by their duke in person, who left the French army in disgust, and returned to his own country. The Imperial army, under the prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naumburg on the twentieth of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry having received a check from a body of Prussians near Lutzen, they fell back; and on the fourth day of June encamped at Lichtenfels upon the Maine. The small detachments of the grand armies, as well as those belonging to the bodies commanded by general Sporcken and the count de St. Germain in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary prince of Brunswic being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of grenadiers and two regiments of English dragoons, advanced to the county of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under general Gilsoe, and performed some inconsiderable exploits, particularly at Hofenfeldt and Zielbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

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The French have long laid claim to the character of the most polite and civilized nation in Europe; notwithstanding which, they are sometimes found as brutal and rapacious as the most barbarous enemy. On pretence of taking umbrage at the town of Hanau Muntzenberg, for having, without their permission, acknowledged the regency of the landgraviate of Hesse Cassel, they, in the month of February, ordered the magistrates of that place to pay, within the term of twenty-four hours, the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand livres, on pain of being subjected to military execution. This order was signified by the prince de Robecq, to whom the magistrates represented the impossibility of raising such a sum, as the country was totally exhausted, and their credit absolutely destroyed, in consequence of their inability to pay the interest of the capitals negociated in the course of the preceding year. He still insisting upon finding the money before night, they offered to pay eighty thousand florins, which they raised with the utmost difficulty, and begged the payment of the rest might be postponed for a few weeks; but their request was rejected with disdain. The garrison was reinforced by two battalions, and four squadrons dispersed in the principal squares and markets in the city, and the gates were shut. They even planted cannon in the street, and tarred matches were fixed to many houses, in order to intimidate the inhabitants. These expedients proving ineffectual, detachments of grenadiers entered the houses of the principal magistrates and merchants, from whence they removed all their best effects to the town-hall, where they were kept in deposit, until they were redeemed with all the money that could possibly be raised. This exaction, so little consistent with the character of a civilized nation, the French minister declared to the diet at Ratisbon was agreeable to the instructions of his most Christian majesty.

By way of retaliation for the cruelty practised at Hanau, a detachment of the allied army under general Luckner was sent to raise contributions in Fulda, and actually carried off hostages from that city; but retired before a strong body of the enemy, who took possession of the place. From hence the French marched, in their turn, to plunder the town of Hirschfeldt and Vacha. Accordingly they appeared at Vacha, situated on the frontiers of Hesse, and forming the head of the chain of cantonments which the allies had on the Werra. This place was attacked with such vigour that colonel Freytag, who commanded the post, was obliged to abandon the town; but he maintained himself on a rising ground in the neighbourhood, where he amused the enemy, until two battalions of grenadiers came to his assistance. Thus reinforced, he repulsed the French, pursued them

them for three leagues, and drove them with a considerable loss from Giffa, where they had resolved to fix their quarters. These skirmishes happened in the beginning of May, when the grand armies were just in motion to begin the campaign.

By this time the forces under the marechal duke de Broglie were augmented to one hundred thousand; while the count de St. Germain commanded a separate army on the Rhine, consisting of thirty thousand men, assembled from the quarters of Dusseldorp, Cologne, Cleves, and Wesel. This second corps was intended to divide the allied army, which, by such a division, would be considerably weakened; and the French court threatened to form a third army, under the prince de Soubise; but this was never assembled. The duke de Broglie was in such favour with the French ministry at this juncture, that he was promoted over the heads of many old generals, who now demanded and obtained their dismissal; and every step was taken to render the campaign glorious to this spirited commander: but, notwithstanding all their care, and his own activity, he found it impossible to take the field early enough in the spring, from want of forage for his cavalry. While his quarters were established at Frankfort, his troops were plentifully supplied with all sorts of provision from the Upper Rhine; but this convenience depended upon his being master of the course of the river: nor could he move from this position without forfeiting the advantage, and providing magazines for the use of his forces; so that he was obliged to lie inactive until he could have the benefit of green forage in his march.

The same inconveniencies lay more heavy on prince Ferdinand, who, being in an exhausted country, was obliged to fall back as far as Paderborn, and draw his supplies from Hamburgh and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weser. By this time, however, he had received a reinforcement of British troops from Embden, under the command of major-general Griffin; and before the end of the campaign the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to five and twenty thousand. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the fifth day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the twentieth, they encamped; but part of the troops left in the bishopric of Munster, under general Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head against the French corps commanded by the count de St. Germain.

General Imhoff was sent with a detachment to Kirchayn on the Orme; and general Gilfoe, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirschfeld on the Fulda. The former of these having ordered colonel Luckner to scour the country with a body of hussars, that officer, on the twenty-fourth day of May, fell in with a French patrol, which gave the alarm at Butzbach, when the garrison of that place, amounting to five hundred picquets, under general Waldener, fled with great precipitation. Being, however, pursued and overtaken near a wood, they were routed and dispersed. Colonel Luckner, entering Butzbach, found a considerable quantity of forage, flour, wine, and equipage, belonging to the fugitives. What he could not carry off, he distributed among the poor inha-

bitants, and returned to general Imhoff's camp at Ameneburg, with above an hundred prisoners. This excursion alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that their whole army was put in motion; and the duke de Broglie, in person, advanced with a large body of troops as far as Friedberg: but understanding the allies had not quitted their camp at Fritzlar, he returned to Frankfort, after having cantoned that part of his army in the Wetteraw.

This alarm was not so mortifying as the secession of the Wirtemberg troops, amounting to ten thousand men, commanded by their duke in person, who left the French army in disgust, and returned to his own country. The Imperial army, under the prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naumberg on the twentieth of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry having received a check from a body of Prussians near Lutzen, they fell back; and on the fourth day of June encamped at Lichtenfels upon the Maine. The small detachments of the grand armies, as well as those belonging to the bodies commanded by general Sporcken and the count de St. Germain in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary prince of Brunswic being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of grenadiers and two regiments of English dragoons, advanced to the county of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under general Gilfoe, and performed some inconsiderable exploits, particularly at Hofenfeldt and Zielbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

By the twenty-fourth of June prince Ferdinand, quitting his camp at Fritzlar, advanced to Frillendorf, and took post on the hills between Ziegenheim and Freysa, general Imhoff commanding at a small distance on the right, and the hereditary prince, now returned from Fulda, being stationed on the left of the army. In the mean time, the duke de Broglie, assembling his forces between Merlau and Laubach, advanced to Neustadt, where he encamped on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and at the same time occupied a strong post at Wassenburg. His intention was to penetrate through the country of Hesse into Hanover, and make himself entirely master of that electorate. With this view he resolved to effect a junction with the count de St. Germain, whom he ordered to advance towards Brilau and Corbach; while he himself decamped from Neustadt on the eighth day of July, advanced by the way of Frankenberg. Prince Ferdinand, having received intelligence that the count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the ninth day of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildungen.

The hereditary prince, at the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with some battalions and squadrons under major-general Griffin, was sent forwards to Saxenhausen, whither the army followed the next morning. The hereditary prince, continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but supposing their whole force did not exceed ten thousand infantry and seventeen squadrons, and being impelled by the ardour of his own courage, he resolved to give them battle. He accordingly attacked them about two in the afternoon, and the action became very warm

had been previously discovered, nothing but a cannonade ensued, and he retreated to his former quarters. On the twenty-ninth colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, consisting of four hundred men, under the command of count Muret. These he attacked with such fury, that the count was made prisoner, and all his party either killed or taken, except two and twenty who escaped. On the third day of January the marquis de Vogue attacked the town of Herborn, which he carried, and took a small detachment of the allies who were there posted. At the same time the marquis Dauvet surprized the town of Dillemburg, the garrison of the allied troops being obliged to retire into the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand was no sooner informed of their situation than he began his march with a strong detachment for their relief, on the seventh day of the month, when he attacked and totally defeated the besiegers, took seven hundred prisoners, including forty officers, with seven pair of colours and two pieces of cannon.

On that very day the Highlanders, under major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons was posted on the side of Dillemburg, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses, and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline. On the eighth day of January Mr. de St. Germain advanced on the left of the allies, with the grenadiers of the French army, sustained by eight battalions and a body of dragoons: but he was opposed by the duke of Holstein, at the head of a strong detachment in the neighbourhood of Erldorff, who, by dint of a furious cannonade, compelled him to retreat with precipitation.

After this attempt the French parties were recalled, and their army retired into winter quarters in and about Franckfort on the Maine; while prince Ferdinand quartered the allies at Cassel, Paderborn, Munster, and Osnabrug, this last place being allotted to the British troops, as being the nearest to Embden, where the reinforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of February the hereditary prince of Brunswic, with the detachment of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz in Saxony for Westphalia, where he safely arrived, after having assisted at a long conference in Hamelen, with his father the reigning duke, his uncle prince Ferdinand, and some principal members of the regency of Hanover.

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dinary expences of the land forces, and other services not provided for by parliament, comprehending the pensions for the widows of reduced officers, they allotted the sum of nine hundred fifty-five thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds fifteen shillings and five-pence halfpenny. They voted one million to empower his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of parliament. They gave six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a new convention between him and that monarch, concluded on the ninth day of November in the present year. Fifteen thousand pounds they allowed, upon account, towards enabling the principal officers of his majesty's ordnance to defray the necessary charges and expences of taking down and removing the present magazine for gun-powder, situated in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and of erecting it in some less dangerous situation. Sixty thousand pounds they gave to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a treaty between the two powers, renewed in the month of November; the sum to be paid as his most Serene Highness should think it most convenient, in order to facilitate the means by which the landgrave might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Five hundred thousand pounds they voted, upon account, as a present supply towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread waggons, train of artillery, wood, straw, provisions, and contingencies of his majesty's combined army under the command of prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling hospital they granted five thousand pounds; and fifteen thousand for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage over and through London-bridge. To replace divers sums taken from the sinking fund, they granted two hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds nineteen shillings and four-pence. For the subsistence of reduced officers, including the allowances to the several officers and private men of the two troops of horse-guards and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guards, they voted thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-seven pounds nine shillings. Upon account, for the support of the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they granted twenty-one thousand six hundred twenty-four pounds two shillings and two-pence. For enabling the king to give a proper compensation to the provinces in North America, for the expences they might incur in levying and maintaining troops, according as the vigour and activity of those respective provinces should be thought by his majesty to merit, they advanced the sum of two hundred thousand pounds. The East India company they gratified with twenty thousand pounds towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, in lieu of a battalion of the king's troops now returned to Ireland. Twenty-five thousand pounds were provided for the payment of the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital. For subsequent augmentations of the British forces,

since the first estimate of guards and garrisons for the ensuing year was presented, they allowed one hundred thirty-four thousand one hundred thirty-nine pounds seventeen shillings and four-pence. They further voted, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling-hospital to maintain, educate, and bind apprentice, the children admitted into the said charity, the sum of forty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-five pounds. For defraying the expence of maintaining the militia in South and North Britain, to the twenty-fourth day of December of the ensuing year, they voted an additional grant of two hundred ninety thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds sixteen shillings and eight-pence; and, moreover, they granted fourscore thousand pounds, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing of the unembodied militia for the year, ending on the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. For reimbursing the colony of New-York their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, they allowed two thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds seven shillings and eight-pence; and for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, they renewed the grant of ten thousand pounds. For the maintenance and augmentation of the troops of Brunswic, in the pay of Great Britain, for the ensuing year, pursuant to an ulterior convention concluded and signed at Paderborn on the fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, they granted the sum of ninety thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds eight shillings and eleven-pence farthing; and for the troops of Hesse Cassel in the same pay, during the same period, they allotted one hundred and one thousand ninety-six pounds three shillings and two pence. For the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other services incurred, from the twenty-fourth day of December following, and not provided for, they granted the sum of four hundred and twenty thousand one hundred and twenty pounds one shilling. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of this present year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, they assigned the sum of seventy-five thousand one hundred and seventy pounds three-pence farthing. For printing the Journals of the House of Commons they gave five thousand pounds; and six hundred thirty-four pounds thirteen shillings and seven-pence as interest, at the rate of four per cent. per annum, from the twenty-fifth day of August in the present year to the same day of April next, for the sum of twenty-three thousand eight hundred pounds eleven shillings and eleven-pence remaining in the office of ordnance, and not paid into the hands of the deputy of the king's remembrancer of the court of Exchequer, as directed by an act made in the last session of parliament, to make compensation for lands and hereditaments purchased for his majesty's service at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, by reason of doubts and difficulties which had arisen touching the execution of the said act. For defraying the extraordinary charge of the mint, during the present year, they allowed eleven thousand nine hundred and

and forty pounds thirteen shillings and ten-pence; and two thousand five hundred pounds, upon account, for paying the debts claimed and sustained upon a forfeited estate in North Britain. They likewise allowed twelve thousand eight hundred and seventy-four pounds fifteen shillings and ten-pence, for defraying the charge of a regiment of light dragoons, and of an additional company to the corps commanded by lieutenant-colonel Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, to enable the king to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to defeat any enterprize or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require.

In a word, the sum total granted in this session of parliament amounted to fifteen millions five hundred three thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds fifteen shillings and nine-pence halfpenny; a sum which, however immense, and even seemingly enormous, was no more than was absolutely necessary for carrying on the war with that spirit and vigour with which it had hitherto been prosecuted.

The funds established for raising this sum consisted of the following particulars. The land-tax at four shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax, were continued, as the standing revenue of Great Britain. The committee resolved that the sum of eight millions should be raised by transferable annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum: that an additional capital of three pounds should be added to every hundred pounds advanced, to consist of a lottery ticket valued at ten pounds, to be attended also with transferable annuities, after the rate of four per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January, in the year 1761, to continue for twenty years, and then be reduced to three pounds per cent. per annum: and that the said sum of eight millions should bear the same interest of four per cent. commencing on the same day, to continue for twenty-one years, and then be reduced to three pounds per centum: that the said annuities should be transferable at the bank of England, and be redeemable by parliament, in the whole or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, after the expiration of twenty-one years, and not sooner, six months notice having been given of such payments respectively: that every subscriber should, on or before the fifteenth day of January next, make a deposit of fifteen pounds per cent. on such sums as he should chuse to subscribe towards raising the eight millions, with the cashiers of the bank of England, as a security for his making the future payments, which were fixed in the following manner; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-sixth day of February next; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-ninth day of April next; the same proportion on the last day of May, the third day of July, the fourteenth day of August, the sixteenth day of September, and the twenty-ninth day of October; which several sums so received should, by the said cashiers, be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as should then have been voted by the houses in this session of

parliament, and not otherwise: that such of the proprietors of tallies and orders made out at the Exchequer, by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, for enabling the king to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, as should be desirous of subscribing a sum equal to the principal sum contained in such respective orders; and should, on or before the eighth day of January, produce the said orders, and signify such their desire to the said cashiers, should be admitted subscribers for such sums: that any tallies or orders made out at the Exchequer, by virtue of the said act, should be received by the said cashiers as cash, to the amount of the respective sums contained in such tallies or orders, and the interest that should be due thereupon, as well in making the said deposit, as in all subsequent payments: that the tallies and orders so received, should be taken at the receipt of the Exchequer, and allowed in the payments to be made by the cashiers, for the amount of such principal sums and interest: and that every subscriber who should pay in the whole of this subscription, on or before the sixteenth day of September, should be allowed a discount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, from the day such subscription should be so completed, to the twenty-ninth day of October.

The committee further resolved, that an additional tax of three-pence should be paid for every bushel of malt made in England and Wales, and three halfpence for every bushel made in Scotland; and so proportionably for any greater or less quantity, to be paid by the makers thereof: that three halfpence should be paid for every bushel of malt conveyed from Scotland to England and Wales: and that the afore-mentioned annuities and lottery should be charged upon the said duties on malt, for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security. With regard to the same imposition they resolved, that this new duty should, both in England and Scotland, be paid for every bushel of malt, whether ground or unground, which, having been made before the commencement of these additional duties, should, on or after the said day of commencement, be in the possession of any maltster, or maker of malt, for sale, seller, or retailer of malt, brewer, distiller, inn-keeper, victualler, vinegar-maker, or any person or persons in trust for them, or for their use: that the monies arising by the said duties should be carried to, and made part of the fund for the payment of the annuities and lottery, allowing the sum of eight millions granted to his majesty in the present session of parliament.

They determined that a stamp duty of ten shillings should be charged on every piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet of paper, on which any licence for making and selling measures of capacity should be engrossed, written, or printed, as well as upon every piece of vellum or paper on which a licence, for making and selling weights, should be written or printed. They resolved, that a new duty of five-pence should be charged upon every gallon of low wines or spirits, of the first extraction, made or drawn from any sort of liquor or wash brewed of malt or corn, or from brewers wash or tilts, over and above all other duties charged or chargeable thereon, to be paid by the distillers

distillers or makers thereof: that for every gallon of strong waters, or aqua vitæ, made for sale, of the materials aforesaid, one shilling and three-pence, over and above all other duties charged and chargeable thereon, should be paid by the distillers or makers thereof; and that the same duty should be exacted of the distillers or makers, for every gallon of low wines or spirits of the first extraction, made or drawn from any foreign or imported materials, or any mixture therewith, over and above all other duties: that a new duty of eight-pence per gallon should be imposed upon spirits drawn in Great Britain from any foreign or imported materials, or any mixture therewith: that six-pence three farthings, over and above all other duties chargeable thereon, should be paid for every gallon of low wines, or spirits of the first extraction, made or drawn from cyder, or any sort of British materials, except those before mentioned, or any mixture therewith; and that the distillers and makers should pay one shilling one penny three farthings for every gallon of spirits made for sale from cyder, or any other British materials, except those already mentioned, over and above all other duties chargeable in the same article: that, in order to encourage the exportation of spirits drawn or made in Great Britain, the like drawbacks and allowances should be made, under proper regulations, upon the exportation of rectified spirits made or drawn in Great Britain, as are now payable upon the exportation of home-made raw spirits; and that, as a further encouragement, an additional drawback or allowance of twenty-four pounds ten shillings per ton should be paid, upon the exportation of all such spirits: that an additional duty of one shilling for every gallon of single brandy, spirits, or aqua vitæ, imported from beyond seas; and of two shillings for every gallon of such spirits above proof, commonly called double brandy, so imported, should be paid by the importer; and that these additional duties should stand appropriated and be applied to the same uses and purposes, respectively, to which the present duties on spirituous liquors are now applied and appropriated.

The committee resolved, that the three pound per cent. annuities, amounting to six millions six hundred thousand pounds, together with the additional capital of fifteen pounds added to every hundred pounds advanced towards the said sum, amounting to nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the last session, should be, with the consent of the several proprietors, made part of the joint stock of three pounds per cent. annuities, transferable at the bank of England, consolidated by the acts in the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-second of his present majesty's reign; and the charges and expences in respect thereof, be charged upon and paid out of the sinking fund, until redemption thereof by parliament, in the same and like manner as the annuities consolidated as aforesaid are paid and payable; and that such persons as should not, on or before the twentieth day of June ensuing, signify their dissent, in books to be opened at the bank of England for that purpose, should be deemed assenting thereto: that all monies arising from the fifth day of January next, or that may afterwards arise from the produce of the subsidy of poundage

upon certain goods and merchandizes imported or to be imported into the kingdom; and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate, which were made a fund for payment of three pounds per cent. per annum, at the bank of England, on six millions six hundred thousand pounds, by virtue of an act towards the supply of this year, 1759; as also the additional capital of fifteen pounds added to every hundred advanced towards the said sum, amounting to nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds, should be made part of the sinking fund: that all duties charged upon rum or spirits of the growth, produce, and manufacture of his majesty's sugar plantations, imported into Great Britain, should be drawn back upon the re-exportation; and that an additional drawback or allowance of three pounds three shillings per ton should be paid upon the exportation of spirits drawn in Great Britain from molasses, over and above all other drawbacks and allowances payable thereon.

They resolved to continue in force several acts and clauses relating to the jurisdiction, powers, and authorities vested in commissioners for licensing hackney chairs and coaches; and agreed, that the act for making sail-cloth, now near expiring, should be protracted. They resolved, that for raising the sum of one million, granted to his majesty towards discharging the debt of the navy, and also the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, should be raised by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest, on or before the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year 1761, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received: that the sum of two millions six hundred two thousand seven hundred and six pounds nine shillings and nine-pence, should be issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surplus, excess, or overplus monies, and other revenues composing the sinking fund: and that the sum of one million should be raised by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament.

The whole provision made by the committee of ways and means, amounted to sixteen millions one hundred thirty thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds nine shillings and eight-pence, exceeding the grant for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, in the sum of six hundred twenty-six thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven pounds thirteen shillings and ten-pence halfpenny. This excess, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we consider that it was destined to make good the premium of two hundred and forty thousand pounds to the subscribers upon the eight million loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a considerable article in the supply of every session.

It will not be necessary to enumerate all the acts that were founded upon the resolutions touching the supply. It may be proper, however, to observe, that in the act for the land-tax, and in the act for the malt-tax, there was a clause of credit, empowering the commissioners of the Treasury to raise the money, which they produced by loans of

Exchequer bills, bearing an interest of four per cent. per annum, that is, one per cent. higher than the interest usually granted in time of peace. While the house of commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising a certain sum of money to be charged on the said duties, a petition was presented by the maltsters of Ipswich and parts adjacent, against an additional duty on the stock of malt in hand: but no regard was paid to this remonstrance, and the bill, with several new amendments, passed through both houses, under the title of "An act for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising the sum of eight millions by way of annuities and a lottery, to be charged on the said duties; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gauging of corn making into malt; and for making four duplicates of Exchequer bills, tickets, certificates, receipts, annuity orders, and other orders lost, burned, or otherwise destroyed."

The other three bills, that turned wholly on the supply, were passed in common course, without the least opposition in either house, and received the royal assent by commission at the end of the session. The first of these, intitled, A bill for enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, contained a clause of appropriation, added to it by instruction; and the bank was enabled to lend the million, which the commissioners of the Treasury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the interest of four pounds per cent. The second, granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund for the service of the year 1760, comprehended a clause of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted; and another clause empowering the bank to lend it without any limitation of interest. And the third, enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money towards discharging the debt of the navy, and for naval services during the ensuing year, enacted, that the Exchequer bills thereby to be issued, should not be received, or pass to any receiver or collector of the public revenue, or at the receipt of the Exchequer, before the twenty-sixth day of March in the year 1761.

As the act of the preceding session, prohibiting the malt distillery, was to expire at Christmas, the commons, thinking it necessary to consider of effectual methods for laying this branch of business under proper restrictions, began as early as the month of November to deliberate on the matter; and after some consideration determined to continue the prohibition of the malt distillery till the twenty-fourth day of December in the year 1760, unless such continuation should be abridged by any other act to be passed in the present session.

A bill for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon; for shortening the prohibition for making low wines and spirits from wheat; for encouraging the exportation of British made spirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding or importation thereof, also acquired the royal sanction.

They also, for a time limited, the act of the last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland. This permission was accordingly

extended to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year 1761. It were to be wished indeed that a free trade between Great Britain and Ireland could be allowed always to subsist with equal advantage to both kingdoms, but though this be impossible, it ought certainly to be granted, whenever the price of provisions in England are carried to an immoderate height.

As several lieutenants of counties had, for various reasons, suspended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia for limited times; which suspensions were deemed inconsistent with the intent of the legislature, a bill was now brought in to enable his majesty's lieutenants of the several counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithstanding any adjournments.

It was enacted, that as the speedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was most essentially necessary at this juncture to the peace and security of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where such suspension had happened, should within one month after the passing of this act, proceed as if there had been no such suspension, and summon a meeting for the same purpose once in every succeeding month, until a sufficient number of officers, qualified and willing to serve, should be found, or until the expiration of the act for the better ordering of the militia forces.

The institution of the militia, though certainly laudable and necessary, was attended with so many unforeseen difficulties, that every session of parliament, since it was first established, has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, confining, and better regulating the payment of the weekly allowances made by act of parliament, for the maintenance of families unable to support themselves during the absence of militia men embodied and ordered into actual service; as well as for amending and improving the establishment of the militia, and lessening the number of officers entitled to pay, within that part of Great Britain called England.

While this bill was under consideration, the house received a petition from the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, sheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradesmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, importing, That by an act passed relating to the militia, it was provided, that when any militia men should be ordered out into actual service, leaving families unable to support themselves during their absence, the overseers of the parish where such families reside should allow them such weekly support as should be prescribed by any one justice of the peace; which allowance should be reimbursed out of the county stock. They represented, that a considerable number of men, inhabitants of the said city, had entered themselves to serve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for several parishes and persons; yet their families were, nevertheless, supported by the county stock of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed, that if it should pass into a law, they might have such relief in the premises, as to the house should seem proper. Regard was had to this petition

in the amendments to the bill, which passed through both houses, and received the royal assent by commission.

By this law it was enacted, that if any militia man, who shall have been accepted and enrolled as a substitute, hired man, or volunteer, before the passing of the act, or who shall have been chosen by lot, whether before or after the passing of the act, shall, when embodied, or called out into actual service, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to support themselves, the overseers shall, by order of some one justice of the peace, pay, out of the poor's rates of such parish, a weekly allowance to such family, according to the usual and ordinary price of labour and husbandry there, viz. for one child under the age of ten years, the price of one day's labour; for two children under the age aforesaid, the price of two days labour; for three or four children under the age aforesaid, the price of three days labour; for five or more children under the age aforesaid, the price of four days labour; and for the wife of such militia man, the price of one day's labour; but that the families of such men only as shall be chosen by lot, and of the substitutes, hired men, and volunteers, already accepted and enrolled, shall, after the passing of this act, receive any such weekly allowance. For removing the grievance complained of in the above petition, it is enacted, that where treasurers shall reimburse to overseers any money, in pursuance of this act, on account of the weekly allowance to the family of any militia man, serving in the militia of any county or place, other than that wherein such family shall dwell, they are to transmit an account thereof, signed by some justice, for the place where such family shall dwell, to the treasurer of the county, &c. in the militia whereof such militia man shall serve, who is thereupon to pay him the sums so reimbursed to such overseers, and the same to be allowed in his accounts.

During the dependence of this bill, another was brought in to explain so much of the militia act passed in the thirty-first year of his majesty's reign, as related to the money to be given to private militia men, upon their being ordered out into actual service. By this law it was enacted, that the guinea which, by the former act was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual service, should be paid to every man that shall afterwards be enrolled into such regiment or company whilst in actual service: that no man should be intitled to his cloaths for his own use, until he should have served three years, if unembodied, or one year if embodied, after the delivery of the cloaths: and that the full pay of the militia should commence from the date of his majesty's warrant for drawing them out.

The next law I shall mention was intended to be one of the most important that ever fell under the cognizance of the legislature: it was a law that affected the freedom, dignity, and independency of parliaments. By an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of queen Anne, it was provided, that no person should be chosen a member of parliament who did not possess, in England or Wales, an estate, freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: for every knight of a shire, six hundred pounds per annum, over and above what will satisfy all incumbrances; and

three hundred pounds per annum for every citizen, burgess, and baron of the cinque-port. It was also decreed, that the return of any person not thus qualified should be void; and that every candidate should, at the reasonable request of any other candidate at the time of election, or by two or more persons who had a right to vote, take an oath prescribed to establish his qualifications. This restraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had of late been prescribed, that they began to lose their due influence on the minds of men; and in particular, political perjury grew so common, that it was no longer considered as a crime. Subterfuges were discovered, by means of which this law relating to the qualification of candidates was effectually eluded. Those who were not actually possessed of such estates procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being restored and cancelled after the election. By this scandalous fraud, the intention of the legislature was frustrated; the dignity of parliament prostituted; the example of perjury and corruption extended; the morals of the people depraved; and the constitution exposed to the most imminent danger.

In order to remedy these alarming evils, a few gentlemen, warmed with the real love of their country, presented a bill to the house, importing, that every person who shall be elected a member of the house of commons, should, before he presumed to take his seat, deliver to the clerk of the house at the table, while the commons are sitting, and the speaker in the chair, a paper or schedule signed by himself, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification, specifying the nature of his estate, whether messuage, land, rent, tythe, or what else; and if such estate consists of messuages, lands, or tythes, then specifying in whose occupation they are; and if in rent, then specifying the names of the owners or possessors of the lands and tenements out of which such rent is issuing; and also specifying the parish, township, or precinct and county, in which the said estate lies, and the value thereof; and every such person shall, at the same time also, take and subscribe the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or schedule: I, A. B. do swear, that the above is a true rental; and that I truly, and *bona fide*, have such an estate in law or equity, to and for my own use and benefit, of and in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, above described, over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same; and that such estate hath not been granted or made over to me fraudulently, on purpose to qualify me to be a member of this house. So help me God.

It was provided that the said paper or schedule, with the oath aforesaid, should be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inspected by the members of the house of commons, without fee or reward: that if any person elected to serve in any future parliament, should presume to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons, before he has delivered in such a paper or schedule, and taken the oath aforesaid, or should not be qualified according to the true intent or meaning of this act, his election should be void; and every person so sitting and voting should forfeit a certain sum, to be

be recovered by such person as should sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, whereon no essoin, privilege, protection, or wager of law, should be allowed, and only one imparlance: that if any person should have delivered in, and sworn to his qualification as aforesaid, and taken his seat in the house of commons; yet at any time after should, during the continuance of such parliament, sell, dispose of, alien, or any other ways encumber the estate, or any part thereof comprized in the schedule, so as to lessen or reduce the same under the value of the qualification by law directed; every such person, under a certain penalty, must deliver in a new or further qualification, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and swear to the same, in manner before directed, before he shall again presume to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons: that in case any action, suit, or information, shall be brought, in pursuance of this act, against any member of the house of commons, the clerk of the house shall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and attested copy of the paper or schedule so delivered in to him as aforesaid by such member, to the plaintiff or prosecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain sum for the same; which being proved a true copy, shall be admitted to be given in evidence upon the trial of any issue, in any such action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to the eldest son or heir-apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any person qualified to serve as knight of the shire, or to the members for either of the universities, in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

Such was the substance of the bill, as originally presented to the house of commons; but it was altered and amended in such a manner as will perhaps render it in a great measure ineffectual. It ran thus:

Clause 1. "Whereas by an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majesty queen Anne, intituled, "An act for securing the freedom of parliaments, by the further qualifying the members to sit in the house of commons," it was enacted, That no person should be capable to sit or vote as a member of the house of commons, for any county, city, borough, or cinque-port, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, who should not have an estate, freehold or copyhold, for his own life, or for some greater estate, either in law or equity, to and for his own use and benefit, of or in lands, tenements, or hereditaments, over and above what will clear all incumbrances that might affect the same, lying or being within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, of the respective annual value therein limited, viz. the annual value of six hundred pounds above reprises for every knight of a shire, and the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprises for every citizen, burgess, or baron of the cinque-ports.

2. "Now, in order to enforce and render the said act more effectual, be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and

commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That, from and after the determination of this present parliament, every person, except as is herein after excepted, who shall be elected a member of the house of commons, shall, before he presumes to vote in the house of commons, or sit there during any debate in the said house of commons, after their speaker is chosen, produce and deliver in to the clerk of the said house, at the table in the middle of the said house, and whilst the house of commons is there duly sitting, with their speaker in the chair of the said house, a paper or account, signed by every such member, containing the name or names of the parish, township, or precinct, or of the several parishes, townships, or precincts, and also of the county, or of the several counties in which the lands, tenements, or hereditaments do lie, whereby he makes out his qualification, declaring the same to be of the annual value of six hundred pounds above reprises, if a knight of a shire; and of the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprises, if a citizen, burgess, or baron of the cinque-ports; and shall also at the same time take and subscribe the following oath, viz.

"I A. B. do swear, that I truly and *bona fide* have such an estate, in law or equity, and of such value, to and for my own use and benefit, of or in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same, as doth qualify me to be elected and returned to serve as a member for the place I am returned for, according to the tenor and good meaning of the acts of parliament in that behalf; and that such lands, tenements, or hereditaments do lie, as described in the paper or account signed by me, and now delivered to the clerk of the house of commons. So help me God.

"And the said house of commons is hereby impowered and required to administer the said oath and subscription according to the directions of this act, as occasion shall be, from time to time, to every person duly demanding the same, immediately after such person shall have taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, at the said table; and the said oaths and subscription, herein before directed to be taken and made, shall be entered into a parchment roll, to be provided for that purpose by the clerk of the house of commons; and the said papers or accounts so signed and delivered in to the said clerk as aforesaid, shall be filed and carefully kept by him.

3. "And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any person who shall be elected to serve in any future parliament, as knight of a shire, or as a citizen, burgess, or baron of the cinque-port, shall presume to sit or vote, as aforesaid, as a member of the house of commons, before he has delivered in such paper or account, and taken and subscribed such oath, as aforesaid; or shall not be qualified according to the true intent and meaning of the said recited act, and of this act, his election shall be, and is hereby declared to be, void, and a new writ shall be issued to elect another member in the said person's room.

4. "Provided always, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to the eldest son or heir-apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any person qualified to serve as knight of a shire,

or

or to the members for either of the universities, in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members of that part of Great Britain called Scotland."

The house having examined an account of the produce of the fund established for paying annuities granted in the year 1759, with the charge on that fund, on the fifth day of January in the succeeding year, it appeared that there had been a considerable deficiency in the said fund on the fifth day of July preceding; and this had been made good out of the sinking fund, by a resolution of the seventh of February, which we have already specified. They therefore instructed the committee of ways and means, to consider so much of the annuity and lottery act passed in the preceding session as related to the three per cent. annuities, amounting to the sum of seven millions five hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the year 1759; and also to consider so much of the said act as related to the subsidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandizes to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate.

The committee having taken these points into deliberation, agreed to the two resolutions we have already mentioned, with respect to the consolidation; and a bill was brought in for adding those annuities granted in the year 1759, to the joint stock of three per cent. annuities, consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty second year of his majesty's reign; and for several duties therein mentioned, to the sinking fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to insert a clause for cancelling such lottery tickets as were made forth in an act passed in the thirtieth year of his majesty's reign, and were not then disposed of; a clause for this purpose was accordingly added to the bill, which passed through both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent at the end of the session.

Towards the end of April admiral Townshend presented a bill for the more effectual securing the payment of such prize and bounty monies as were appropriated to the use of Greenwich hospital, by an act passed in the twenty-ninth year of his majesty's reign. As by that law no time was limited, or particular method prescribed for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the shares of the prizes and bounty-money; and as many agents had neglected to specify in the notification given in the London Gazette, for payment of shares of prizes condemned in the courts of admiralty in Great Britain, the particular day or time when such payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the time when the hospital at Greenwich became intitled to the unclaimed shares; of consequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act. The bill now prepared imported, that from and after the first day of September, in the present year, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken by any of his majesty's ships of war, and condemned in Great Britain, and from and after the first day of February, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the

British plantations in America; and from and after the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions, shall be respectively given and published in the following manner: If the prize be condemned in any court of admiralty in Great Britain, such notification, under the agent's hand, shall be published in the London Gazette; and if condemned in any court of admiralty, in any other of his majesty's dominions, such notifications shall be published in like manner in the Gazette, or other news-paper of public authority, of the island or place where the prize is condemned; and if there shall be no Gazette or such news-paper published there, then in some one of the public news-papers of the place; and such agents shall deliver to the collector, customer, or searcher, or his lawful deputy; and if there shall be no such office, then to the principal officer or officers of the place where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of such principal officer, two of the Gazettes or other news-papers in which such notifications are inserted; and if there shall not be any public news-papers in any such island or place, the agent shall give two such notifications in writing, under his hand; and every such collector or other officer as aforesaid, shall subscribe his name on both the said Gazettes, news-papers, or written notifications, and by the first ship which shall sail from thence to any port of Great Britain, shall transmit to the treasurer or deputy treasurers of the said royal hospital, one of the said notifications with his name so subscribed, to be there registered, and shall faithfully preserve and keep the other, with his name thereon subscribed, in his own custody; and in every notification as aforesaid, the agent shall specify his place of abode, and the precise day of the month and year appointed for the payment of the respective shares to the captors; and all notifications with respect to prizes condemned in Great Britain shall be published in the London Gazette, three days at least before any share of such prizes shall be paid; and with respect to prizes condemned in any other part of his majesty's dominions, such notification shall be delivered to the said collector or other officers aforesaid, three days at least before any share of such prizes shall be paid. It was likewise enacted, that the agents of the distribution of bounty bills should insert, and publish under their hands, in the London Gazette, three days at least before payment, public notifications of the day and year appointed for such payment, and also insert therein their respective places of abode.

A committee having been appointed to enquire into the original standards of weights and measures in the kingdom of England, to consider the laws relating thereto, and to report their observations thereupon, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform and certain standards of weights and measures, the prepared copies, models, patterns, and multiples, and presented them to the house: then they were locked up by the clerk of the house; and the lord Carystort presented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and measures to the standards by law to be established: but this measure, which had been so long in dependence,

pendence, was not yet fully discussed, and the standards and weights were reserved to another occasion.

These and a good number of other bills of less importance, both private and public, were passed into laws by commission, on the twenty-second day of May, when the lord-keeper of the great seal closed the session with a speech to both houses. He declared in his majesty's name, that the king looked back on their proceedings with entire satisfaction: that the duty and affection which they had expressed for the king's person and government, the zeal and unanimity they had shewed in maintaining the true interest of their country, could only be equalled by what his majesty had formerly experienced from this parliament: that it would have given his majesty the most sensible pleasure, had he been able to assure them that his endeavours to promote a general peace, had met with more suitable returns: that his majesty, in conjunction with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia, had chosen to give their enemies proof of this equitable disposition, in the midst of a series of glorious victories; an opportunity the most proper to take such a step with dignity, and to manifest to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views: that after such a conduct, the king had the comfort to reflect, that the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to him or his allies: that he trusted in the blessing of heaven, upon the justice of his arms, and upon those ample means which the zeal of the parliament, in so good a cause, had wisely put into his hands, that his future successes in carrying on the war would not fall short of the past; and that, in the event, the public tranquillity would be restored on solid and durable foundations: that his majesty had taken the most effectual care to augment the combined army in Germany; and at the same time to keep up such a force at home as might frustrate any attempts of the enemy to invade these kingdoms; such attempts as had hitherto ended only in their own confusion: that the royal navy was never in a more flourishing and respectable condition; and the signal victory obtained last winter over the French fleet, on their own coasts, had given lustre to his majesty's arms, fresh spirit to his maritime forces, and reduced the naval strength of France to a very low ebb: that his majesty had disposed his squadrons in such a manner as might best conduce to the annoyance of his enemies; to the defence of his own dominions, both in Europe and America; to the preserving and pursuing his conquests, as well as to the protection of the trade of his subjects, which he had extremely at heart: that nothing could relieve his majesty's royal mind, under the anxiety he felt for the burthens of his faithful subjects, but the public-spirited cheerfulness with which the commons had granted him such large supplies, and his conviction that they were necessary for the security and essential interests of his kingdoms: he therefore returned them his hearty thanks for these supplies, and assured them they should be duly applied to the purposes for which they had been given. Finally, he recommended to both houses the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had observed with so much pleasure, and from which they had derived such important advantages. He

desired they would study to promote these desirable objects, to support the king's government, and the good order of their respective countries, and consult their own real happiness and prosperity.

The advances towards an accommodation which had been made in the preceding year by the kings of England and Prussia, in their manifesto published at the Hague by prince Lewis of Brunswic, seemed to be regarded by neutral powers as a certain proof of their pacific disposition. We have already seen that the king of Spain offered his best offices in quality of mediator. When a congress was proposed, the States-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negociation. The king of Great Britain, by the mouth of his ambassador, thanked their High Mightinesses for the sincere desire they expressed to put an end to the ravages of war, which had extended desolation over the face of Europe; he readily closed with their gracious offer, and, in consequence of his high regard and invariable friendship for their High Mightinesses, wished earnestly that it might be acceptable to the other powers at war. The French king returned an answer nearly of the same import. His ambassador declared, That his most Christian majesty was highly sensible of the offer they had made of Breda for the holding the congress; that, in order to give a fresh proof of his sincere desire to encrease the good harmony that subsisted between him and the States-general, he accepted their offer with pleasure: but as he could take no step without the concurrence of his high allies, he was obliged to wait for their answer, which could not fail to be favourable, if nothing remained to be settled but the place for holding the congress.

King Stanislaus having written a letter to his Britannic majesty, offering the city of Nancy for the same purpose, he received a civil answer, expressing the king of England's sense of his obliging offer, which however he declined, as a place not conveniently situated for all the powers interested in the great work of pacification. Civilities of the same nature likewise passed between the sovereign of Lorraine and the king of Prussia. As the proposals for a peace made by the king of England and his allies might have left an unfavourable impression of their adversaries, had they been flatly rejected, the court of Vienna was prevailed upon to concur with her allies in a declaration, professing their pacific sentiments; which declaration was delivered on the third day of April, by the Austrian minister residing at the Hague, to his serene highness prince Lewis of Brunswic; and a paper of the same nature was also delivered to him separately by the French and Russian ministers. These professions, however, did not interrupt the military operations.

Though the French army under the marshal duke de Broglie remained in cantonment in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and prince Ferdinand had retired from Corfsdorff to Marburg, where, in the beginning of January, he fixed his head quarters, yet was not the winter altogether inactive. As far back as the twenty-fifth day of December, the duke de Broglie, having called in his detachments, attempted to surprise the allied army by a forced march to Klein-linnes; but finding that his scheme

had been previously discovered, nothing but a cannonade ensued, and he retreated to his former quarters. On the twenty-ninth colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, consisting of four hundred men, under the command of count Muret. These he attacked with such fury, that the count was made prisoner, and all his party either killed or taken, except two and twenty who escaped. On the third day of January the marquis de Vogue attacked the town of Herborn, which he carried, and took a small detachment of the allies who were there posted. At the same time the marquis Dauvet surprized the town of Dillemburg, the garrison of the allied troops being obliged to retire into the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand was no sooner informed of their situation than he began his march with a strong detachment for their relief, on the seventh day of the month, when he attacked and totally defeated the besiegers, took seven hundred prisoners, including forty officers, with seven pair of colours and two pieces of cannon.

On that very day the Highlanders, under major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons was posted on the side of Dillemburg, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses, and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline. On the eighth day of January Mr. de St. Germain advanced on the left of the allies, with the grenadiers of the French army, sustained by eight battalions and a body of dragoons: but he was opposed by the duke of Holstein, at the head of a strong detachment in the neighbourhood of Erfsdorff, who, by dint of a furious cannonade, compelled him to retreat with precipitation.

After this attempt the French parties were recalled, and their army retired into winter quarters in and about Franckfort on the Maine; while prince Ferdinand quartered the allies at Cassel, Paderborn, Munster, and Osnabrug, this last place being allotted to the British troops, as being the nearest to Embden, where the reinforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of February the hereditary prince of Brunswic, with the detachment of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz in Saxony for Westphalia, where he safely arrived, after having assisted at a long conference in Hamelen, with his father the reigning duke, his uncle prince Ferdinand, and some principal members of the regency of Hanover.

The French general continued to detach strong parties to beat up the quarters of the allies, and lay their towns under contribution. In the beginning of March the marquis de Blaisel advanced at the head of two thousand four hundred men from Giefesen, where he commanded, to Marburg, forced the gates of the town, and constrained the garrison of the allies to take shelter in the castle. As he

could not pretend to undertake the siege of the fortress, by the fire of which he was exceedingly galled, he demanded of the town a contribution of one hundred thousand florins, and carried some of the magistrates along with him as hostages for the payment of this imposition. He afterwards appeared at Hombourg, Alsfeldt, and Hartzberg, the frontier posts of the allies; but did not think proper to attack either, because he perceived he would meet with an obstinate resistance.

The French have long laid claim to the character of the most polite and civilized nation in Europe; notwithstanding which, they are sometimes found as brutal and rapacious as the most barbarous enemy. On pretence of taking umbrage at the town of Hanau Muntzenberg, for having, without their permission, acknowledged the regency of the landgraviate of Hesse Cassel, they, in the month of February, ordered the magistrates of that place to pay, within the term of twenty-four hours, the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand livres, on pain of being subjected to military execution. This order was signified by the prince de Robecq, to whom the magistrates represented the impossibility of raising such a sum, as the country was totally exhausted, and their credit absolutely destroyed, in consequence of their inability to pay the interest of the capitals negociated in the course of the preceding year. He still insisting upon finding the money before night, they offered to pay eighty thousand florins, which they raised with the utmost difficulty, and begged the payment of the rest might be postponed for a few weeks; but their request was rejected with disdain. The garrison was reinforced by two battalions, and four squadrons dispersed in the principal squares and markets in the city, and the gates were shut. They even planted cannon in the street, and tarred matches were fixed to many houses, in order to intimidate the inhabitants. These expedients proving ineffectual, detachments of grenadiers entered the houses of the principal magistrates and merchants, from whence they removed all their best effects to the town-hall, where they were kept in deposit, until they were redeemed with all the money that could possibly be raised. This exaction, so little consistent with the character of a civilized nation, the French minister declared to the diet at Ratisbon was agreeable to the instructions of his most Christian majesty.

By way of retaliation for the cruelty practised at Hanau, a detachment of the allied army under general Luckner was sent to raise contributions in Fulda, and actually carried off hostages from that city; but retired before a strong body of the enemy, who took possession of the place. From hence the French marched, in their turn, to plunder the town of Hirschfeldt and Vacha. Accordingly they appeared at Vacha, situated on the frontiers of Hesse, and forming the head of the chain of cantonments which the allies had on the Werra. This place was attacked with such vigour that colonel Freytag, who commanded the post, was obliged to abandon the town; but he maintained himself on a rising ground in the neighbourhood, where he amused the enemy, until two battalions of grenadiers came to his assistance. Thus reinforced, he repulsed the French, pursued them

them for three leagues, and drove them with a considerable loss from Gissa, where they had resolved to fix their quarters. These skirmishes happened in the beginning of May, when the grand armies were just in motion to begin the campaign.

By this time the forces under the mareschal duke de Broglie were augmented to one hundred thousand; while the count de St. Germain commanded a separate army on the Rhine, consisting of thirty thousand men, assembled from the quarters of Dusseldorp, Cologne, Cleves, and Wesel. This second corps was intended to divide the allied army, which, by such a division, would be considerably weakened; and the French court threatened to form a third army, under the prince de Soubise; but this was never assembled. The duke de Broglie was in such favour with the French ministry at this juncture, that he was promoted over the heads of many old generals, who now demanded and obtained their dismissal; and every step was taken to render the campaign glorious to this spirited commander: but, notwithstanding all their care, and his own activity, he found it impossible to take the field early enough in the spring, from want of forage for his cavalry. While his quarters were established at Frankfort, his troops were plentifully supplied with all sorts of provision from the Upper Rhine; but this convenience depended upon his being master of the course of the river: nor could he move from this position without forfeiting the advantage, and providing magazines for the use of his forces; so that he was obliged to lie inactive until he could have the benefit of green forage in his march.

The same inconveniences lay more heavy on prince Ferdinand, who, being in an exhausted country, was obliged to fall back as far as Paderborn, and draw his supplies from Hamburgh and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weser. By this time, however, he had received a reinforcement of British troops from Embden, under the command of major-general Griffin; and before the end of the campaign the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to five and twenty thousand. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the fifth day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the twentieth, they encamped; but part of the troops left in the bishopric of Munster, under general Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head against the French corps commanded by the count de St. Germain.

General Imhoff was sent with a detachment to Kirchayn on the Orme; and general Gilsoe, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirschfeld on the Fulda. The former of these having ordered colonel Luckner to scour the country with a body of hussars, that officer, on the twenty-fourth day of May, fell in with a French patrolle, which gave the alarm at Butzbach, when the garrison of that place, amounting to five hundred picquets, under general Waldener, fled with great precipitation. Being, however, pursued and overtaken near a wood, they were routed and dispersed. Colonel Luckner, entering Butzbach, found a considerable quantity of forage, flour, wine, and equipage, belonging to the fugitives. What he could not carry off, he distributed among the poor inha-

bitants, and returned to general Imhoff's camp at Ameneburg, with above an hundred prisoners. This excursion alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that their whole army was put in motion; and the duke de Broglie, in person, advanced with a large body of troops as far as Friedberg: but understanding the allies had not quitted their camp at Fritzlar, he returned to Frankfort, after having cantoned that part of his army in the Wetteraw.

This alarm was not so mortifying as the secession of the Wirtemberg troops, amounting to ten thousand men, commanded by their duke in person, who left the French army in disgust, and returned to his own country. The Imperial army, under the prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naunberg on the twentieth of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry having received a check from a body of Prussians near Lutzen, they fell back; and on the fourth day of June encamped at Lichtenfels upon the Maine. The small detachments of the grand armies, as well as those belonging to the bodies commanded by general Sporcken and the count de St. Germain in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary prince of Brunswic being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of grenadiers and two regiments of English dragoons, advanced to the county of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under general Gilsoe, and performed some inconsiderable exploits, particularly at Hofenfeldt and Zielbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

By the twenty-fourth of June prince Ferdinand, quitting his camp at Fritzlar, advanced to Frillendorf, and took post on the hills between Ziegenheim and Freysa, general Imhoff commanding at a small distance on the right, and the hereditary prince, now returned from Fulda, being stationed on the left of the army. In the mean time, the duke de Broglie, assembling his forces between Merlau and Laubach, advanced to Neustadt, where he encamped on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and at the same time occupied a strong post at Wassenburg. His intention was to penetrate through the country of Hesse into Hanover, and make himself entirely master of that electorate. With this view he resolved to effect a junction with the count de St. Germain, whom he ordered to advance towards Brilau and Corbach; while he himself decamping from Neustadt on the eighth day of July, advanced by the way of Frankenberg. Prince Ferdinand, having received intelligence that the count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the ninth day of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildungen.

The hereditary prince, at the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with some battalions and squadrons under major-general Griffin, was sent forwards to Saxenhausen, whither the army followed the next morning. The hereditary prince, continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but supposing their whole force did not exceed ten thousand infantry and seventeen squadrons, and being impelled by the ardour of his own courage, he resolved to give them battle. He accordingly attacked them about two in the afternoon, and the action became very warm

warm and obstinate: but the enemy being continually reinforced with fresh battalions, and having the advantage of a numerous artillery, all the prince's efforts were ineffectual. Prince Ferdinand, being at too great a distance to support him, sent him an order to rejoin the army, which was by this time formed at Saxenhausen. He forthwith made dispositions for a retreat, which, however, was attended with great confusion. The enemy perceiving the disorder of the allied troops, plied their artillery with redoubled vigour; while a powerful body of their cavalry charged with irresistible fury. In all likelihood, the whole infantry of the allies would have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince made a diversion in their favour, by charging in person at the head of the British dragoons, who acted with their usual gallantry and spirit. This respite furnished them with an opportunity of effecting their retreat to Saxenhausen; but they lost above five hundred men, and fifteen pieces of cannon. General count Keilmansegge, major-general Griffin, and major Hill of Bland's dragoons, distinguished themselves by their conduct and intrepidity on this occasion.

The hereditary prince exposed his life in the hottest part of the action, and received a slight wound in the shoulder, which gave him far less uneasiness than he felt from the chagrin and mortification produced by his defeat.

Many days, however, did not pass, before he found an opportunity of retrieving his honour. Prince Ferdinand, receiving intelligence that a body of the enemy, commanded by major-general Glau-bitz, had advanced on the left of the allies to Ziegenheim, detached the hereditary prince to oppose them, at the head of six battalions of Hanoverians and Hessians, with Elliot's regiment of light horse, Luckner's hussars, and two brigades of Chasseurs. On the sixteenth day of the month, he attacked the enemy near the village of Exdorff, and a very warm action ensued, in which Elliot's regiment performed feats of the most undaunted valour. Though this was the first time they had appeared in the field, they out-did in courage the most experienced veterans. They charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge: but these exploits they did not achieve without sustaining a heavy loss in officers, men, and horses. At length victory declared for the allies. Five battalions of the enemy, including the commander in chief, and the prince of Anhalt Cothen, were taken, with six pieces of cannon, and all their arms, baggage, and artillery.

During these transactions, the marshal duke de Broglie remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. He had, in advancing from Frankfort, left detachments to reduce the castles of Marburg and Dillemburg, which were occupied by the allies; and they fell into his hands, the garrisons of both being obliged to surrender prisoners of war. These were but inconsiderable conquests; nor did the progress of the French general equal the idea which had been formed of his talents and activity. The count de St. Germain, who was his senior officer, and believed by many to be at least his equal in capacity, having now joined his corps to the grand army, and conceiving disgust at his being obliged to serve under the duke de Broglie, threw up his command, in which he was succeeded by the chevalier de Muy. At the same time, the mar-

quis de Voyer, and the count de Luc, two generals of experience and reputation, quitted the army, and returned to France, actuated by the same motives.

The allied army having advanced from Saxenhausen to the village of Halle, near Cassel, remained in that situation till the thirtieth day of July, when the troops were again put in motion. The chevalier de Muy, having crossed the Dymel at Stadbergen, with the reserve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, and extending these troops down the banks of the river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia; while the duke de Broglie marched up with his main body to their camp at Kalle, and prince Xavier of Saxony, who commanded their reserve on the left, advanced towards Cassel; prince Ferdinand, leaving general Kielmansegge with a body of forces for the defence of that city, decamped in the night of the thirtieth, and passed the Dymel without loss, between Liebenau and Dringleberg. The hereditary prince, who had the preceding day crossed the same river, in order to reinforce general Sporcken, who was posted near Corbeke, now reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and found them possessed of a very advantageous camp between Warbourg and Ochsendorff. Prince Ferdinand, having resolved to attack them, ordered the hereditary prince and Mr. Sporcken to turn their left, while he himself advanced against their front, with the main body of his army.

The enemy was accordingly attacked, almost at the same instant, both in flank and in rear, with equal impetuosity and success. As the infantry of the allied army could not march fast enough to charge at the same time, the marquis of Granby was ordered to advance with the cavalry of the right; and the brigade of English artillery, commanded by captain Philips, made such expedition, that they were up in time to second the attack in a most surprising manner. All the French cavalry, except three squadrons, fled with precipitation at the approach of the marquis; and these were entirely broke at the very first charge. Then the English horse fell upon the enemy's infantry, which suffered greatly, while the town of Warbourg was assaulted by the Britannic legion. The French being hard pressed on both flanks, as well as in front and rear, betook themselves to flight, with considerable damage, occasioned chiefly by the British cannon and dragoons, and many were drowned in attempting to ford the Dymel. The battalion of Maxwell, and a brigade under general Beckwith, composed of grenadiers and Highlanders, distinguished themselves remarkably on this occasion. The enemy left about fifteen hundred men, killed or wounded, in the field of battle, with some colours, and ten pieces of cannon, and about the same number were taken prisoners. Monsieur de Muy lay all night under arms, on the heights of Volk-Missen, from whence he retired to Wolfshagen. On the evening of the battle, the marquis of Granby received orders to pass the river in pursuit of them, with twelve British battalions, and ten squadrons, and encamped at Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg, the heights of which were occupied by the enemy's grand army.

By this success, prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Westphalia, and keep



keep the enemy at a distance from the heart of Hanover; but to these objects he was obliged to sacrifice the country of Cassel; for prince Xavier of Saxony, at the head of a detached body, much more numerous than that which was left under general Kielmansegge, advanced towards Cassel, and made himself master of that city; then he reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the electorate of Hanover. All that prince Ferdinand could do, considering how much he was outnumbered by the French, was to secure posts and passes with a view to retard their progress, and employ detachments to harass and surprise their advanced parties.

In a few days after the action at Warbourg, general Luckner repulsed a French detachment which had advanced as far as Elmbeck, and surprised another at Nordheim. About the same time colonel Donap, with a body of the allied army, attacked a French corps of two thousand men, posted in the wood of Sababourg, to maintain the communication between their grand army and their troops on the other side of the Weser; and, notwithstanding the strength of their situation, drove them from their post, with the loss of five hundred men, either killed or made prisoners: but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the reduction of Ziegenhain, garrisoned by seven hundred men of the allied army, who, after a vigorous resistance, were forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war. On the fifth day of August, prince Ferdinand being encamped at Buhne, received intimation that a considerable body of the enemy, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, were preparing to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geismar. He immediately formed a resolution to defeat their intention. With this view he passed the Dymel early in the morning, with a body of troops and some artillery, and posted them in such an advantageous manner as to oblige the enemy to abandon their purpose.

On the same morning the hereditary prince set out on an expedition to beat up the quarters of a French detachment. Being informed that a body of their horse and foot, amounting to upwards of two thousand men, were cantoned at Zierenberg, at a small distance from the French camp at Dierenberg, and passed their time in the most careless security, he advanced towards them from his camp at Warbourg. About a league on the other side of the Dymel, at the village of Witzen, they were joined by the light troops under major Bulow; and now the disposition was made, both for entering the town, and securing a retreat, in case of being repulsed.

When they had arrived within two miles, they divided into three bodies, which took three different routes, by which the place was completely surrounded. At eight in the evening they set out from Warbourg, and came before this place at two the following morning. Notwithstanding the precautions taken, the trampling of the troops over the gardens gave the alarm to a guard of the enemy's dragoons, who immediately began to fire. Strict orders had been given to proceed with as little noise as possible, and to reserve their fire; and such was the deliberate courage, such the perfect discipline of the British forces, that they sustained the enemy's fire, pushed on with their bayo-

nets, drove back the French piquets, killed the guard at the gate, and entered the towns along with the fugitives, without the least noise, hurry, or confusion. Never was surprize more complete.

The column of the British forces having forced the gate, advanced regularly with their bayonets fixed, and without firing a musquet, through the two streets that led to their church-yard (which, being the only open part of the town, served the French as a place of arms) killing or taking a great number of those who ran from the houses towards this place of rendezvous; and thus they advanced with the greatest order and the most profound silence, until they reached the church-yard. The night was so dark, that they formed by the side of the French, who for a while took them to be their own piquets that had assembled: but they were soon undeceived: a fierce encounter with bayonets ensued, in which the French were quickly obliged to give way. Two regiments of the enemy's dragoons endeavoured to fly to their camp; but they found it occupied by four hundred grenadiers, who drove them back with their bayonets. Forced from hence, they fled to another gate; but there they were repulsed with a sharp fire of small arms. Then they were compelled to separate; and flying at random as fortune and the night directed, made their escape at the several breaches of the wall. The prince was master of the place in about an hour; but the nearness of the French camp and the approach of day, prevented so long a continuance in the town as he wished for reaping the full fruits of his victory: therefore about three o'clock he began his retreat, carrying off two pieces of cannon, thirty-six officers, and about five hundred private men. The slaughter also of the enemy was considerable. The prince reached his camp without the least molestation in his retreat.

If we consider the difficulty of this attempt, very few have been bolder; if we examine the dispositions, none could be conducted with greater wisdom; if we attend to the behaviour of the troops we shall no where find an example of more exact obedience, discipline, and courage. To attack so large a body of the enemy so strongly posted, within little more than a league of their grand camp; to march so far in that critical situation, and in a very dark night; to divide into so many parts, yet to act with so much order and so entire a concert, was certainly an exploit of the very first rank; and, though not of any great importance in its consequences, is so admirable in its conduct and execution, that it well deserves to be particularly narrated. This added greatly to the reputation of the English as soldiers, and no less to their honour as men, by the humanity they shewed to their prisoners, and the generous sentiments of the common sort with regard to money, as there were several noble instances that night of their refusing to take any thing from their prisoners, who had offered them their purses. They lost but ten men.

From this period the operations of the two armies, which for a time seemed to languish, were renewed with fresh vigour. Prince Ferdinand perceived, that whilst the enemy's communication with the Rhine, and with Frankfort on the Maine, continued open, it would be to very little purpose to attempt any thing either for the relief of

Gottingen or Cassel. Their progress indeed into Hanover had been checked; but whilst they still continued in so advanced a position, it was evidently impossible to prevent their making very ruinous inroads into that country. To force them to a battle against their inclination, would be difficult, and the attempt itself dangerous. There remained but one method, which was to make frequent and strong detachments into the southern parts of Hesse and Wetteravia, and thus render precarious the enemy's communication with the Rhine and Maine, from whence they drew the greatest part of their supplies of all kinds.

With this view he detached major Bulow at the head of a strong corps, who pushed forward toward Marburg, surprised the town, destroyed the French ovens, and brought off a considerable quantity of stores and baggage, with some prisoners. He met with the same success at Butzbach, where he surprised and took two companies belonging to the regiment of Raugrave, and retired with his body to Frankenberg, where he joined colonel Forfen. On the twelfth day of September they made a movement towards Frankenau; and M. de Stainville, who was posted with a body of French troops at Merdenhagen, advanced to check their progress. He came up with their rear in the neighbourhood of Munden, and attacked them in passing the river Orck with such vigour, that Forfen, with some of his cavalry, was taken, and Bulow obliged to abandon some pieces of cannon.

The action was just determined when this last was reinforced by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who had made a forced march of five German miles, which had fatigued the troops to such a degree, that he deferred his attack till next morning; but in the mean time, M. de Stainville retired towards Frankenberg. The Hanoverian general Wangenheim, at the head of four battalions and six squadrons, had driven the enemy from the defiles of Soheite, and encamped at Lawenthagen; but, being attacked by a superior number, he was obliged in his turn to give way, and his retreat was not effected without the loss of two hundred men, and some pieces of artillery. When the enemy retired, general Wangenheim repassed the Weser, and occupied his former situation at Uffar. Mean while, general Luckner gained an advantage over a detachment of French cavalry near Norten. Prince Ferdinand, when marshal Broglie quitted his camp at Immenhausen, made a motion of his troops, and established his head quarters at Geismarwells, the residence of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel: from thence, however, he transferred them about the latter end of September to Ovilgune, on the Westphalian side of the Dymel.

Such was the position of the two opposite grand armies, when the world was surprised by an expedition to the Lower Rhine, made by the hereditary prince of Brunswick. Whether this excursion was intended to hinder the French from reinforcing their army in Westphalia, or to co-operate in the Low Countries with the armament now ready equipped in the ports of England; or to gratify the ambition of a young prince, overboiling with courage, and glowing with the desire of conquest, certain it is, the Austrian Netherlands were at this juncture entirely destitute of troops, except the French garrisons of Ostend and Nieuport, which

were weak and inconsiderable. Had ten thousand English troops been landed on the coast of Blankenburg, they might have taken possession of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp, without resistance, and joined the hereditary prince in the heart of the country: in that case, he would have found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and might have made such a diversion in favour of Hanover, as to transfer the seat of war from Westphalia into Flanders. The empress-queen might indeed have complained of this invasion, as the formality of declaring war against her had not been observed by Great Britain; but, considering that she was the declared enemy of Hanover, and had violated the barrier-treaty, in establishing which the kingdom of Great Britain had lavished so much blood and treasure; a step of this kind, it was thought, might have been taken without any imputation of perfidy or injustice.

Whatever were the motives for the prince's expedition, he certainly quitted the grand army of the allies in the month of September, and traversing Westphalia with twenty battalions and ten squadrons, appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbeck and Duffeldorp. On the twenty-ninth day of the month he sent a large detachment over the river at Rocroot, which surprised part of the French partizan Fischer's corps at Rhyenberg, and scoured the country. Next day, other parties crossing at Rees and Emerick, took possession of some redoubts which the French had raised along the bank of the river; and here they found a number of boats sufficient to transport the rest of the forces. Then the prince advanced to Cleves, and at his approach the French garrison, consisting of five hundred men, under the command of M. de Barrel, retired into the castle, which however they did not long defend; for on the third day of October they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having in vain endeavoured to obtain more favourable conditions.

A more important object was Wesel, which the prince invested, and began to besiege in form. The approaches were made on the right of the Rhine, while the prince in person remained on the left to cover the siege; and preserved his communication open with the other side, by a bridge above and another below the place. He had hoped to carry it by a vigorous assault, without the formality of a regular siege; but he met with a warmer reception than he expected; and his operations were retarded by heavy rains, which, by swelling the river, endangered his bridges, and laid his trenches under water. The difficulties and delays occasioned by this circumstance entirely disappointed his design. The French being informed of his motions, were not slow in taking measures to anticipate his success. M. de Castres was detached after him with thirty battalions and thirty-eight squadrons; and by forced marches arrived, on the fourteenth day of October, at Rhyenberg, where the prince's light troops were posted. These he attacked immediately, and compelled to abandon the post, notwithstanding all the efforts of the prince, who commanded in person, and appeared in the warmest part of this short but sanguinary affair. The enemy, leaving five battalions with some squadrons at Rhyenberg, proceeded by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen.

The

The prince having received intimation that M. de Castries was not yet joined by some reinforcements that were on the march, determined to be before-hand with them, and attempt that very night to surprise him in his camp. For this purpose he began his march at ten in the evening, after having left four battalions and five squadrons under general Bock, with instructions to observe Rhynberg, and attack that post in case the attempt on Campen should succeed. Before the allied forces could reach the enemy's camp, they were under the necessity of overpowering Fischer's corps of irregulars, which occupied the convent of Campen, at the distance of half a league in their front. This service occasioned some firing, the noise of which alarmed the French army. Their commander formed them with great expedition, and posted them in a wood, where they were immediately attacked, and at first obliged to give ground; but they soon found means to recover their ranks, and sustained, without flinching, an unceasing fire of musquetry, from five in the morning till nine at night, when they reaped the fruits of their perseverance. The hereditary prince, whose horse was killed under him, seeing no prospect of success in prolonging an action which had already cost him a considerable number of men, thought proper to give orders for a retreat, which was not effected without confusion, and left the field of battle to the enemy. His loss on this occasion did not fall short of sixteen hundred choice men, killed, wounded, and taken; and this loss fell chiefly on the troops of Great Britain, who were always found in the hottest parts of the battle. All their officers, both of infantry and dragoons, distinguished themselves remarkably, and many were dangerously wounded. Among these, the nation regretted the loss of lord Downe, whose wounds proved mortal: he was a young nobleman of spirit, who had lately embraced a military life, though he was not regularly trained up in the service.

Next day, which was the sixteenth of October, the enemy attacked an advanced body of the allies, which was posted in a wood before Elverick, and extended along the Rhine. The firing of cannon and musquetry was maintained till night. Meanwhile, a column of the French infantry, commanded by M. de Chabot, marched through Walach, and took post among the thickets, at the distance of a quarter of a league, in the front of the prince's army. By this time, the Rhine was so much swelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in such a manner, that it was necessary to repair and move lower down the bridge, which had been thrown over that river. This work was accordingly performed in presence of the enemy, and the prince, passing without molestation, proceeded to Bruynen, where he fixed his head-quarters. His passing the Rhine so easily, not only under the eye, but also within the grasp of a superior and victorious army, may be reckoned among the fortunate incidents of his life.

In the month of November, while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Schermbeck, a body of the enemy attempted to beat up his quarters: having received intimation of their design, he immediately called in his advanced posts, and made a disposition for giving them a proper

reception. He abandoned the tents that were in the front of his camp, and posted his infantry in ambuscade behind those that were in the rear: at the same time he ordered some regiments of horse and hussars to take a compass, and fall upon the back of the enemy. The stratagem was crown'd with the desired success. The French detachment, believing the allies had actually abandoned their camp, began to pillage the tents in the utmost disorder: then the infantry sallied from the place where they were concealed, and fell upon them with irresistible fury; the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank. In a word, of twelve hundred who marched from Wesel on this expedition, scarce two hundred escaped.

The duke de Broglie attempted, by sundry means, to take advantage of the allied army on the other side of the Weser, thus weakened by the absence of the troops under the hereditary prince; but he found prince Ferdinand too vigilant to be surprised, and too strongly situated to be attacked with any prospect of success. He therefore contented himself with wasting the country by detachments: he sent M. de Stainville with a considerable body of forces to penetrate into the heart of Hanover; and on the fifteenth day of September, that officer falling in with a detachment of the allies, commanded by major Bulow, attacked them near the abbey of Schaken. After a warm and obstinate engagement, they were defeated and pursued to Bulemont, with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and a good number of men, who fell into the hands of the victors. After this exploit, M. de Stainville advanced to Halberstadt, and demanded of that capital a contribution of one million five hundred thousand livres; but the citizens had been so exhausted by former exactions, that they could not raise above thirty thousand: for the remainder the French partizan took hostages, with whom he returned to the grand army encamped at Cassel, from whence they, in a little time, fell back as far as Gottingen.

As the enemy retired, prince Ferdinand advanced as far as Hurste, where he fixed his head quarters about the latter end of November. While he continued in this position, several skirmishes happened in the neighbourhood of Gottingen. Major-general Breidenbach, at the head of two regiments of Hanoverian and Brunswick guards, with a detachment of cavalry, attacked on the twenty-ninth day of November, the French post at Heydemunden, upon the river Worrau. This he carried, together with the town, which the enemy hastily abandoned. Part of their detachment crossed the river in boats; the rest threw themselves into an intrenchment that covered the passage, which the allies endeavoured to force in several unsuccessful attempts, galled as they were by the fire of the enemy's redoubts on the other side of the river. At length M. Breidenbach was obliged to desist and retire into the town, from whence he withdrew at midnight, after having sustained considerable damage.

Prince Ferdinand had it very much at heart to drive the French from Gottingen, and accordingly invested that city; but the French garrison, which was numerous and well provided, made such a vigorous resistance, as baffled all the attempts of the allies, who were moreover incommoded by the rainy

rainy weather, which, added to other considerations, prevented them from undertaking the siege in form. Nevertheless, they kept the place blocked up from the twenty-second day of November to the twelfth of the following month, when the garrison, in a desperate sally, took one of their principal posts, and compelled them to abandon the enterprise. About the middle of December, prince Ferdinand withdrew into winter quarters, he himself residing at Ullar, and the English troops being cantoned in the bishopric of Paderborn. Thus the enemy were left in possession of Hesse, and the whole country eastward of the Weser to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover.

The king of Prussia, after all his labours, notwithstanding the great talents he had displayed, and the incredible efforts he had made, still found himself environed by his enemies, and in danger of being crushed, by their closing and contracting their circle. Even the Swedes, who had languished so long, seemed to be roused to action in Pomerania, during the severity of the winter-season. The Prussian general Manteuffel had, on the twentieth day of January, crossed the river Peene, repulsed the advanced posts of the enemy at Zieten, and penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Griesswalde; but finding the Swedes on their guard, he returned to Anclam, where his head quarters were established. This insult was soon retaliated with interest. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, at five in the morning, a body of Swedes attacked the Prussian troops posted in the suburbs of Anclam, on the other side of the Peene, and drove them into the city, which they entered pell-mell. General Manteuffel, being alarmed, endeavoured to rally the troops, but was wounded and taken, with about two hundred men and three pieces of cannon. The victors, having performed this exploit, returned to their own quarters. As for the Russian army, which had wintered on the other side of the Vistula, the season was pretty far advanced before it could take the field; though general Tottleben was detached from it about the beginning of June, at the head of ten thousand Cossacks, and other light troops, with which he made an inroad into Pomerania, and fixed his head quarters at Belgard.

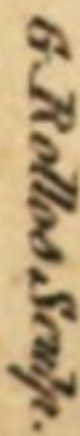
At the beginning of the campaign the king of Prussia's chief aim was to take measures for the defence of Silesia, the conquest of which seemed to be the principal object which the court of Vienna had in view. While the Austrian army under count Daun lay strongly intrenched in the neighbourhood of Dresden, the king of Prussia had attempted, in the month of December, to make him quit that advantageous situation, by cutting off his provisions, and making an incursion into Bohemia. For these purposes he had taken possession of Dippelwalde, Maxen, and Pretchendorff, as if he intended to enter Bohemia by the way of Pafsberg; but this scheme being found impracticable, he returned to his camp at Freyberg; and in January the Prussian and Austrian armies were cantoned so near each other that daily skirmishes were fought with various success. The head of the Prussian camp was occupied by a body of four thousand men under general Zettwitz, who, upon the twenty-ninth day of January was attacked with such irresistible fury by the Austrian general Beck, that

he retreated in great confusion to Torgau, with the loss of five hundred men, eight pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of new cloathing, and other baggage.

Another advantage of the same nature was gained by the Austrians at Newstadt over a small body of Prussians who guarded that city. In the month of march general Laudohn advanced with a strong detachment of horse and foot, in order to surprise the Prussians, who, in endeavouring to accomplish a retreat to Steinau, were surrounded accordingly, and very roughly handled. General Laudohn summoned them twice by sound of trumpet to lay down their arms; but their commanders, the captains Blumenthal and Zittwitz, rejecting the proposal with disdain, the enemy attacked them on all hands with a great superiority of number. In this emergency the Prussian captains formed their troops into a square, and by a close continued fire kept the enemy at bay; until, perceiving that the Croats had taken possession of a wood between Siebenhausen and Steinau, they, in apprehension of being intercepted, abandoned their baggage, and forced their way to Steinau, which they reached with great difficulty, having been continually harrassed by the Austrians, who paid dear for this advantage. Several other petty exploits of this kind were achieved by detachments on both sides, before the campaign was opened by the grand armies.

Towards the end of April, the king of Prussia altered his position, and withdrew that part of his chain of cantonments, which extended from the forest of Thurundt to the right of the Elbe. He now took possession of a very strong camp, between the Elbe and the Mulda, which he intrenched in every part that was accessible, and fortified with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these precautions he was enabled to keep his ground against the army of count Daun, and at the same time detach a body of troops as a reinforcement to his brother prince Henry, who collected a separate army near Franckfort upon the Oder, that he might be at hand either to oppose the Russians, or march to the relief of Silesia, which the enemy was bent upon invading. It was for this purpose that the Austrian general Laudohn advanced with a considerable army into Lusatia, about the beginning of May, and general Beck with another body of troops took possession of Cobus. Mean while count Daun continued in his old situation on the Elbe; general Lacy commanded a small detached army upon the frontiers of Saxony, to the southward of Dresden; and the prince de Deux-ponts marched into the same neighbourhood with the army of the empire.

Prince Henry of Prussia having encamped with his army for some time at Sagan in Silesia, proceeded from thence to Gorlitz in Lusatia, to watch the motions of general Laudohn, encamped at Koningsgratz; from whence, in the beginning of June, he marched into the county of Glatz, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, which he seemed determined to besiege, having a train of eighty pieces of cannon. In order to disappoint his design, prince Henry reinforced the body of troops under general Fouquet; and at the same time sent a detachment into Pomerania under colonel Lessow, who defeated the rear-guard of general



general Tottleben, and obliged that officer to abandon Pomerania. By this time, however, the marechal Soltikoff had arrived from Petersbourg, and taken the command of the grand Russian army, which passed the Vistula in June, and began its march towards the frontiers of Silesia.

In the month of June general Laudohn made a fruitless attempt to carry Glatz by assault; but he was more successful in his next enterprize. Understanding that general Fouquet, who occupied the post at Landshut, had weakened himself by sending off detachments under the major-generals Ziethen and Grant, he resolved to attack him with such a superiority of number as he should not be able to withstand. Accordingly, on the twenty-third day of June, at two in the morning, he began the assault with his whole army upon some redoubts which Fouquet possessed; and these were carried one after another, though not without a desperate opposition. General Fouquet being summoned to surrender, refused to submit; and having received two wounds, was at length taken prisoner: about three hundred of his men escaped to Breslau; the rest were killed or taken; but the loss of the victors considerably exceeded that of the vanquished. In July general Laudohn undertook the siege of Glatz, which was taken after a very faint resistance; for, on the very day that the batteries were opened against the place, the garrison abandoned part of the fortifications, which the besiegers immediately occupied. The Prussians made repeated efforts to regain the ground they had lost, but they were repulsed in all their attempts. At length the garrison laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. In this place the enemy found an immense magazine, including above one hundred brass cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vast quantity of ammunition.

Laudohn, encouraged by the reduction of Glatz, advanced immediately to Breslau, which he began to bombard with great fury; but his chief hopes of success consisted in carrying the place by a sudden attack, or intimidating count Tavenzein the governor into an immediate surrender; for he knew the Russian army was at a considerable distance, and judged, from the character of prince Henry of Prussia, that he would advance to the relief of the place long before it could be taken according to the usual forms.

Influenced by these considerations, when he had invested the town, he sent a letter to the governor, specifying, that his army consisted of fifty battalions and fourscore squadrons; that the Russian army, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, was within three days march of Breslau; that no succour could be expected from the king of Prussia, encamped as he was on the other side of the Elbe, and overawed by the army of count Daun; that prince Henry, far from being in a condition to bring relief, would not be able to stand his ground against the Russians; that Breslau being an open mercantile town, not a fortress, could not be defended without contravening the established rules of war; and therefore the governor, in case of obstinacy, had no reason to expect an honourable capitulation, the benefit of which was now offered. He at the same time sent a memorial to the civil magistrates, threatening their town with destruction, which could by no other means be prevented

than by joining with the inhabitants in persuading the governor to embrace immediately the terms that were proposed.

Count Tavenzein, instead of being intimidated, was encouraged by these menaces, which implied an apprehension in Laudohn that the place would be relieved. He therefore replied to the summons he had received, that Breslau was not simply a mercantile town, but ought to be considered as a place of strength, as being surrounded with works and wet ditches: that the Austrians themselves had defended it as such after the battle of Lissa, in the year 1757; that the king his master having commanded him to defend the place to the last extremity, he could neither comply with general Laudohn's proposals, nor pay the least regard to his threats of destroying the town, as he had not been intrusted with the care of the houses, but with the defence of the fortifications. The Austrian convinced him that same evening that he threatened nothing but what he meant to perform. He opened his batteries, and poured in upon the town a most terrible shower of bombs and red hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful discharge, which filled the place with horror and desolation, he attempted the out-works by assault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their usual impetuosity; but were repulsed with considerable loss, by the conduct and resolution of the governor and garrison. These proceedings having made no impression upon Tavenzein, the besieging general had recourse again to negotiation, and offered the most flattering articles of capitulation, which were rejected with disdain. The governor gave him to understand, that the destruction of the town had made no change in his resolution, though it was a practice contrary to the law of arms, as well as to the dictates of common humanity, to begin the siege of a fortress by ruining the inhabitants: finally, he assured him he would wait for him upon the ramparts, and defend the place to the utmost of his power.

To this extremity, however, he was not obliged to have recourse. Prince Henry of Prussia, one of the most accomplished generals of the age, having received repeated intelligence that the Russian army intended to join Laudohn at Breslau, determined to advance, and give them battle before the purposed junction. In the latter end of July he set out from Gleissen, and on the last day of that month had arrived at Linden near Slauve, where he learned that Tottleben's detachment only had passed through the plains of Polnich-Lissa, and that the grand Russian army had marched through Kosten and Gustin. The prince, finding it impossible to overtake them by that route, directed his march to Glogau, where he heard that Breslau was besieged by general Laudohn, and immediately advanced by forced marches to its relief. With such celerity did he proceed, that in five days he marched above one hundred and twenty English miles, and at his approach the Austrian general relinquished his enterprize. Thus, by his spirited and prudent conduct, he not only prevented the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies, but also saved the capital of Silesia, and streightened Laudohn in such a manner as subjected him to a defeat by the Prussian monarch, to whose motions it is now time to attend.

Whether his design was originally upon Dresden, or he proposed to act in concert with his brother prince Henry in Silesia, which his adversaries seemed to have chosen as the scene of their operations, we shall not pretend to determine: certain it is, in the beginning of July he began his march in two columns through Lusatia; and count Daun being apprised of his march, ordered his army to be put in motion. Committing the defence of Saxony to the army of the empire, and to the body of the troops under Lacy, he proceeded with great expedition towards Silesia, in full persuasion that the Prussian monarch had thither directed his route. On the seventh day of July the king, knowing that Daun was now removed at a distance, repassed the Pulsnitz, which he had crossed but two days before, and advanced with the van of his army towards Lichtenberg, in order to attack the forces of general Lacy, who was there encamped; but the Austrian retired at his approach. Then the army advanced to Marienstern, when the king understood that count Daun was in full march for Lauban, having already gained two marches upon the Prussians. Perhaps it was this intimation that induced the king to alter his plan, and return to the Elbe. On the eighth day of the month he repassed the Sprehe, in the neighbourhood of Bautzen, and proceeded towards Dresden with extraordinary diligence. On the thirteenth his army having passed the Elbe at Kadetz, on a bridge of boats, took post between Pirna and Dresden, which last he determined to besiege, in hope of reducing it before count Daun could return to its relief. In this expectation, however, he had the misfortune to be disappointed. General Macguire the governor being summoned to surrender, replied, that having the honour to be intrusted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it till the last extremity. Batteries were immediately erected against the town on both sides of the Elbe, and the place overwhelmed with a dreadful bombardment; but this expedient proved altogether ineffectual. Though the suburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried, this advantage made no impression on general Macguire, who made several vigorous sallies, and took every necessary precaution for the defence of the city; encouraged moreover by the vicinity of Lacy's body and the army of the empire, encamped in an advantageous situation near Gros Seydlitz; and confident that count Daun would hasten to his relief: nor was it long before his expectations were answered. The Austrian general finding himself outwitted by the stratagem of the Prussian monarch, and being informed of his enterprize against Dresden, instantly wheeled about, and marched back with such rapidity, that on the nineteenth day of the month he arrived in the neighbourhood of that capital. In consequence of his approach, the king of Prussia, whose heavy artillery was now come up, redoubled his efforts against the city, so as to reduce to ashes the cathedral church, the new square, several noble streets, some palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. These calamities, however, affected neither the fortifications nor the garrison, which count Daun found means to reinforce with sixteen battalions. This supply, and the neighbourhood of three hostile armies, rendered it altogether impossible to prosecute the siege with any

prospect of success: the king therefore relinquished the enterprize, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured to bring Daun to a battle, which that general artfully declined.

The fate of this prince seemed now at its crisis. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his brother prince Henry, the Russians were fast advancing to join Laudohn, who had already blocked up Schweidnitz and Neiss, and their junction seemed to threaten the loss of all Silesia. The king had nothing to oppose to superior numbers, but superior activity, of which he determined to avail himself without delay. Instead of making a feint towards Silesia, he resolved to march thither in earnest; and with that view passing the Elbe, encamped at Dallwitz, on the farther bank of the river, leaving general Hulsen with fifteen thousand men in the intrenched camp at Schlettow, to preserve his footing in Saxony. On the third day of August he began his march for Silesia, followed by count Daun with the grand Austrian army, while the detached body under Lacy took post at Rechenberg, and the imperial army encamped at Xesseldorf. Both the Prussians and Austrians marched at the rate of one hundred miles in five days. On the tenth the king took possession of the camp of Lignitz; and here he seemed in danger of being quite environed by the enemy, who occupied the whole ground between Parchwitz and Cossendau, an extent of thirty miles. Count Daun's army lay in the center of this chain, possessing the Heights of Whalstadt and Hochkirk; general Laudohn covered the ground between Jeischendorf and Coschitz: the rising grounds of Parchwitz were secured by general Nauendorff; and M. de Beck, who formed the left, extended his troops beyond Cossendau.

The king marched, in the night of the eleventh, with a view to turn the enemy, and advance to Jauer: but at break of day he discovered a new camp at Prausnitz, which consisted of Lacy's detachment, just arrived from Lauban. The Prussians immediately crossed the Katzbach to attack this general; but he made such a skilful disposition for a retreat towards the army of count Daun, that he not only baffled the attempts of the king to bring him to action, but, by posting himself on the Heights of Hennerdorff, prevented his march to Jauer. In vain did the Prussian monarch endeavour next day to turn the enemy on the side of the mountain, by Pomsen and Jagerdorff; the roads were found impassable to the ammunition-waggons, and the king returned to the camp at Lignitz.

While he remained in this situation, he received intelligence that twenty-four thousand Russians, under count Czernichew, had formed bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they proposed to pass that river, and he imagined the enemy had conceived a design to close him in, and attack him with their joint forces. Daun had indeed projected a plan for surprising him in the night, and had actually put his army in motion for that purpose; but he was anticipated by the vigilance and good fortune of the Prussian monarch. That prince, reflecting that if he should wait for his adversaries in his camp, he ran the risque of being attacked at the same time by Lacy on his right, by Daun in his front, and by Laudohn on his left, he changed his position, in order to disconcert their operations;

operations; and on the fourteenth day of the month proceeded to the Heights of Pfaffendorff, where he drew up his army in order of battle. Being informed, about two in the morning, that Laudohn was in full march, advancing in columns, by Benowitz, he divided his army into two separate bodies. One of these continued on the ground, in order to defend the post against any attempts that might be made by count Daun to assist Laudohn; and that this service might be the more effectually performed, the Heights were fortified with batteries, so judiciously disposed as to check and overawe the whole Austrian army.

The king having taken this precaution, wheeled about with sixteen battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack Laudohn as he should advance; but that general knew nothing of his design, until he himself arrived at the village of Pfaffendorff about three in the morning, when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually dispersing, the whole detachment of the Prussian army appeared in order of battle, in a well chosen situation, strengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the best advantage. Laudohn was equally mortified and surprised to find himself caught in his own snare; but he had advanced too far to recede, and therefore making a virtue of necessity, determined to stand an engagement. With this view he formed his troops as well as the time, place, and circumstances would permit; and the Prussians advancing to the attack, a severe action ensued. The king rode along the lines to animate the troops, and superintended every part of the charge, hazarding his life in the most dangerous scenes of the battle to such a degree, that his horse was killed under him, and his cloaths were shot through in several places. The Austrians maintained the conflict with great obstinacy until six in the morning, when they gave way, and were pursued to the Katzbach, beyond which the king would not allow his troops to prosecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be at hand to succour the right, in case mareschal count Daun should succeed in his attempt to advance against them from Lignitz. That general had actually begun his march to attack the Prussians on one side, while Laudohn should charge them on the other; but he was not a little surprised to find they were decamped; and when he perceived a thick cloud of smoke at a distance, he immediately comprehended the nature of the king's manœuvre. He then endeavoured to advance by Lignitz; but the troops and artillery which had been left on the Height of Pfaffendorff, to oppose his march, were so advantageously posted as to render all his attempts ineffectual. Laudohn is said to have lost in the action about eight thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken, including eighty-four officers, with twenty-three pair of colours, and eighty-two pieces of cannon; and this loss was greatly increased by the desertion with which it was followed. The Prussians obtained the victory at the expence of one general, with five hundred men killed, and twelve hundred wounded. Immediately after the action the king proceeded to Parchwitz; while Daun detached prince Lowenstein and general Beck, with the reserve of his army, to join prince Czernichew, who had passed the Oder at Auras; but he was so thunderstruck by the defeat at Lignitz, that he forthwith repassed the river,

and prince Lowenstein retreated on the side of Jauer. By this bold and well-conducted adventure, the Prussian monarch not only escaped the most imminent hazard of a total defeat from the joint efforts of two strong armies, but also prevented the dreadful junction of the Russian and Austrian forces.

His business now was to open the communication with Breslau and his brother prince Henry, whom he joined at Newmarcke. The prince, after Laudohn was compelled to abandon the siege of Breslau, had narrowly watched the motions of the Russian army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of that city, and without all doubt would have bombarded it from some commanding heights, had not they been prevented by prince Henry, who took possession of these posts, and fortified them with redoubts. The king having delivered Breslau from the neighbourhood of his enemies, and being reinforced by his brother's army, left a considerable detachment under the command of general Goltze, to secure the country against the Russian irregulars, and advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was blocked up by the Austrian army under the command of the mareschal count Daun. In his march he attacked a separate body under general Beck, made two battalions of Croats prisoners, and dispersed several squadrons. This achievement had such an effect upon the enemy, that they raised the blockade, and retreated with some precipitation to the mountains of Landshut.

While the king exerted himself with so much spirit and success, in the defence of Silesia, general Hulsen, who commanded his troops in Saxony, was exposed to the most imminent danger. Being informed that the army of the empire had laid a plan for cutting off his communication with Torgau, he instantly decamped from Meissen, and marched to Strehla. The enemy having divided their forces into two bodies, one of them, on the twentieth day of August, attacked an advanced post of the Prussians; while the other was disposed in such a manner as to overawe Hulsen's camp, and prevent him from taking any step for the relief of his battalions, who maintained their ground with difficulty against the superior number of the assailants. In this emergency the Prussian general ordered his cavalry to take a circuit round a rising ground, and if possible attack the enemy in flank. This order was executed with equal vigor and success. They rushed upon the imperial army with such impetuosity, as drove their battalions and horse upon each other in the utmost confusion. A considerable number of the enemy were killed, and forty-one officers, with twelve hundred men, made prisoners. By this advantage, which was gained at a very small expence, general Hulsen opened for himself a way to Torgau, whither he instantly retreated, observing that the whole army of the imperialists was advancing to cut off his communication with the Elbe; and this retreat furnished the enemy with a pretext for claiming the victory.

After all these heroic exploits of the Prussian monarch and his officers, his affairs continued in such a desperate situation as seemed to forebode approaching ruin: for though in person he commanded a numerous and gallant army, he found it absolutely impossible to guard against the different

rent detachments from the three separate armies of his adversaries. Bodies of Austrian troops scoured the country of Lusatia; the Russians traversed part of Silesia, and made incursions even into Brandenburg; the imperial army domineered in Saxony; the Swedish army meeting with no resistance, advanced into the heart of Pomerania; so that the king was not only threatened on every side, but all correspondence between him and his hereditary dominions was at this juncture cut off.

His enemies having been hitherto baffled by his activity and spirit, in their designs upon Silesia, now projected a scheme, the execution of which he could not but feel in the most sensible manner. The Russian army being on its retreat from Silesia, count Czernichew was sent with a strong detachment into the Marche of Brandenburg, while a numerous body of Austrians, under the generals Lacy and Brentano, penetrated into the same country from Saxony, with instructions to join the Russians at the gates of Berlin. The Prussian general Hulsen, finding himself unable to cope with the army of the empire in Misnia, had retired towards this capital, where he was joined by the troops under general Werner, lately returned from Pomerania: but as their forces after this junction did not amount to above fifteen thousand men, and the allies advancing against them consisted of no less than forty thousand, they would not pretend to oppose the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of such extent, and so imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt would have not only exposed their troops to ruin, without being able to save the capital; but would have likewise subjected the place to more severe treatment, in consequence of their opposition. They therefore determined to retire, after having repulsed the advanced guard of the Russians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and even bombarded the town, before the great armies appeared.

At their approach the Prussian generals retreated, leaving three weak battalions in the place, in order to enable it to obtain some sort of conditions from the enemy. Nevertheless they made no resistance; but on the first summons proposed articles of capitulation, which being rejected, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The foreign ministers, however, residing at Berlin, employed their good offices with such zeal and success, that tolerable terms were procured. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exercise of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their persons and effects. The enemy promised that the Russian irregulars should not be touched. These articles being ratified, the Austrian and Russian troops entered the place, where they totally destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, with an immense quantity of military stores, and a great number of cannon and small arms: then they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thousand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thousand German crowns. Many outrages were committed by the licentious soldiery, in spite of all the precautions which the officers could take to preserve the most exact discipline. The houses of the private inhabitants were tolerably secured; but the king's palaces were ravaged with the most shocking barbarity. In the royal palace of Charlottenburg they pillaged and spoiled the rich furniture;

they defaced and mutilated the valuable pictures and antique statues, collected by cardinal de Polignac, and purchased by the family of Brandenburg. The castle of Schonhausen belonging to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeld the property of the margrave Charles, were robbed of effects to an immense value. The palace of Potsdam was effectually preserved by prince Esterhazy, who would not suffer one article of furniture or ornament to be touched; but desired leave to take one picture of the king, and two of his German flutes, that he might keep them, he said, as memorials of an illustrious prince, whose character he admired, whilst he fought against his arms. The Austrian and Russian troops entered Berlin on the ninth day of October, and quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the king was advancing with great speed to the relief of his capital. In their retreat, by different routes from Brandenburg, they drove away all the cattle and horses they could find, ravaged the country, plundered the inhabitants, and committed many brutal outrages, which no pretence of retaliation could justify or excuse.

The body of Russians which entered Berlin, proceeded from thence into Poland, by the way of Furstenwalde, while the Austrians directed their march towards Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburg. Mean while the town of Wirtemberg, in that electorate, was subdued by the duke de Deux Ponts, commander of the imperial army, which, in conjunction with the Austrians, reduced likewise the towns of Torgau and Leipzig.

The king of Prussia, in his way through Lusatia, was still watched by count Daun at the head of his grand army, and both crossed the Elbe about the latter end of October. His majesty passed the river at Coswick, where he was joined by the troops under prince Eugene of Wirtemberg and general Hulsen; so that his army was now augmented to eighty thousand fighting men, with whom he determined to strike some stroke of importance. Indeed he was at this time under a necessity of embracing some such expedient. General Laudohn, with a considerable body of Austrians, continued in Silesia; the Russian army still threatened Breslau, the capital of that country. The Imperialists and Austrians had made themselves masters of all the great towns in Saxony, and absolutely commanded on both sides of the Elbe. In the eastern part of Pomerania the Russians had blockaded Colberg by sea and land, seemingly determined to reduce the place, that they might have a sea-port, by which they could be furnished with provision, ammunition, necessaries, and reinforcements, without the trouble and inconvenience of a long and laborious march from the banks of the Vistula.

On the western side of Pomerania the war, which had hitherto languished, was renewed by the Swedes with uncommon vigour. They crossed the river Pene without opposition; and compelling general Stullerheim to retire, advanced as far as Stransberg. That officer, however, having received a reinforcement, attacked a Swedish post at Passelvalik, killed about five hundred of the enemy, and took an equal number, with six pieces of cannon; but he was not strong enough to maintain his ground against their whole army.

Thus

Thus the Prussian monarch saw himself constrained to abandon Silesia, deprived of all the places he held in Saxony, which had been his best resource; and in danger of being driven into his hereditary country of Brandenburg, which was unable either to support, or even recruit his army.

In this emergency he resolved to make one desperate effort against the grand Austrian army, under count Daun, who had passed the Elbe at Torgau, and advanced to Eulenburg, from whence, however, he retreated to his former camp at Torgau, while the king chose his situation between this last place and Schilda. His majesty was fully sensible of the strength, the advantageous posture, and the precautions of mareschal Daun: he could have no hope of drawing that wary commander from his post; and yet he saw a necessity of fighting him even there. The winter was far advanced. His troops were extremely exhausted by long and rapid marches; he had no place for their winter-quarters but his own country, already wasted by the enemy's incursions; and here streightened for subsistence, cut off from all power of recruiting, he was to expect to be attacked, as it were, in a narrow corner, by the combined force of so many powerful and exasperated enemies.

In these circumstances he was resolved to come to a battle. He caused his army to be informed, that he led them to a most desperate attempt; that his affairs required it; and that he was determined to conquer or die in the ensuing engagement. They unanimously answered that they would die along with him.

Animated by this declaration, he began his march on the third day of November; and having taken a resolution as daring as could be dictated by despair, he made all the dispositions with as much skill and foresight as could be suggested by the most guarded prudence. He divided his army into three columns. General Hulsen, with one, was to take the post that lay on the left of the Austrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the rest of the Prussians engaged. General Ziethen was to charge on the right: the great attack in front was to be made by the king in person. His majesty had disposed his force in such a manner, that either his right or left must take the enemy in rear, and close them in, so as to disable them from undertaking any thing against that part where he intended to effect his principal attack.

M. Daun no sooner perceived that the king of Prussia was serious in his resolution of fighting, than, in order to prevent confusion, he sent all his baggage over the Elbe, across which he threw three bridges, to be ready in case a retreat should be found necessary. At the same time he caused Torgau to be evacuated; and then extending his left line to a village called Zinne on the left, he stretched it to another called Groschwitz on the right, supporting the right of his second line upon the Elbe.

In this disposition he was found, when, about two in the afternoon, the king began his attack, and was received with the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, which were planted along the Austrian front. Three times did the Prussians advance to the charge with incredible courage and resolution; and three times were they repulsed and broken with the most terrible slaughter. The king

at length ordered a fresh body of his cavalry to advance, which at first compelled the Austrians to give way: but as fresh reinforcements were continually poured upon that part, this body was in its turn obliged to fall back; and the battle still remained at least doubtful, if not rather inclined against the king of Prussia, whose troops, as they had made the most astonishing efforts, so had they suffered beyond all description. But whilst the Prussians sustained themselves in that quarter with invincible perseverance, general Ziethen, with the right wing, took the enemy in rear, repulsed them, and possessed himself of some eminences, which commanded the whole Austrian army. Encouraged by this success, the Prussian infantry once more advanced, forced several of the enemy's intrenchments, and made way for a new attack of their cavalry, which broke in with irresistible impetuosity upon the Austrians, and threw several bodies of them into irreparable disorder. It was now about nine o'clock; the two armies were involved in pitchy darkness; yet the fire continued without intermission, and the battalions, with a blind rage, discharged at each other, without distinguishing friend from foe.

M. Daun did every thing in the disposition and the action that could be expected from his high character; but he was obliged to yield to the miraculous fortune of the king of Prussia. He received a dangerous wound in the thigh, and was carried from the field; a circumstance that, in all probability, disheartened the troops and hastened the defeat. The command then fell to the count O'Donnel, who finding a great part of his troops in confusion, the night advanced, and the enemy possessed of eminences which commanded his camp, and of which it was in vain to think of dispossessing them, ordered a retreat, which was conducted in this darkness and across the Elbe with wonderful regularity: none were lost in passing the bridges, and far the greater part of their artillery was preserved. The Prussians remained masters of this well fought and bloody field. The darkness hindered them from molesting the enemy's retreat, or improving their victory, which they bought at the expence of ten thousand men killed and wounded, and about fifteen hundred prisoners. But, even with this loss, the advantage was well purchased; it was a necessary and a glorious victory; it re-established the reputation of their arms; it secured their winter-quarters; and put them once more in possession of a great part of Saxony.

Of all the king of Prussia's battles this was probably the most important; and it was that in the conduct of which he discovered the greatest skill, intrepidity, and perseverance. His troops behaved with a firmness which would have done honour to those whom he formerly led into Bohemia. In this action, where they were to surmount every obstacle, and encounter every difficulty and danger in order to attack an army of eighty thousand Austrians, under such an accomplished commander as M. Daun, their number did not amount to above fifty thousand men.

The loss of the Austrians was very great, though the number of killed and wounded was never exactly ascertained. Probably it did not much, if at all, exceed the loss on the side of the victorious army; but the prisoners were far more numerous;

two hundred and sixteen officers were taken, among whom were four generals, together with eight thousand of the common men. The king in this battle, in which he every moment exposed his life to the greatest dangers, received a slight contusion in his breast by a musket-shot.

The Swedes, having advanced a good way into Pomerania, returned again to their winter-quarters at Stralsund; and the Russian generals fell back once more towards the Vistula: so that the confederates gained little else in the course of this campaign, but the contributions which they levied in Berlin, and the open country of Brandenburg.

The diet of Poland being convoked in the beginning of October, the king confidently expected they would take some resolution in his favour; but the nobles wisely adhered to their former maxims of a neutrality: and one of the deputies protesting against holding a diet while there were foreign troops in the kingdom, the assembly broke up in a tumultuous manner, even before they had chosen a marshal.

The diet of Sweden, which met about the same period, seemed determined to proceed upon business. They elected count Axel Ferson their grand marshal, in opposition to count Horn, by a great majority; which was an unlucky circumstance for the Prussian interest at Stockholm, inasmuch as the same majority obstinately persisted in opinion that the war should be carried on in the spring with redoubled vigour, and the army in Germany augmented to the number of at least thirty thousand fighting men.

This unfavourable circumstance made but little impression upon the Prussian monarch, who had maintained his ground with equal spirit and success since the beginning of the campaign, and now enjoyed in prospect the benefit of winter, which he is said to have termed his best auxiliary.

The animosity which prevailed between the contending parties was not confined to the operations of war; it broke out likewise in printed declarations, which the belligerent powers dispersed all over Europe. In the beginning of the season the states of the circle of Westphalia had been required by the imperial court to furnish their contingent of troops against the king of Prussia, or to commute for this contingent with a sum of money. In consequence of this demand, some of the Westphalian estates had sent deputies to confer with the assembly of the circle of Cologne; and to these the king signified by a declaration dated at Munster, that as this demand of money, instead of troops, was not less extraordinary than contrary to the constitutions of the empire, should they comply with it, or even continue to assist his enemies either with troops or money, he would consider them as having actually taken part in the war against him and his allies, and treat them accordingly on all occasions.

This intimation, however, seems to have been but little regarded. The duke of Mecklenbourg adhered to the opposite cause; and the elector of Cologne co-operated with the French in their designs against Hanover. By way of retaliation for this partiality, the Prussians ravaged the country of Mecklenbourg, and the Hanoverians raised contributions in the territories of Cologne. The parties thus aggrieved had recourse to complaints

and remonstrances. The duke's envoy at Ratisbon delivered a rescript to the imperial ministers, representing, that the Prussian troops under general Werner and colonel de Belling had oppressed his country in the autumn with grievous extortions; that afterwards prince Eugene of Wirtembourg, in the service of Prussia, had demanded an exorbitant quantity of provisions, with some millions of money, and a great number of recruits; or, in lieu of these, that the duke's forces should act under the Prussian banner. He therefore declared, that as the country of Mecklenbourg was impoverished and almost depopulated by these oppressions, the duke would find himself obliged to take measures for the future security of his subjects, if not immediately favoured with such assistance from the court of Vienna as would put a stop to those violent proceedings. This declaration was by some considered as the prelude of his renouncing his engagements with the house of Austria.

As the imperial court had threatened to put the elector of Hanover under the ban of the empire, on account of the hostilities which his troops had committed in the electorate of Cologne, his resident at Ratisbon presented to the ministers who assisted at the diet, a memorial, importing, that the emperor had no power, singly, to subject any prince to the ban, or declare him a rebel; and that, by arrogating such a power, he exposed his authority to the same contempt into which the pope's bulls of excommunication were so justly fallen. With regard to the elector of Cologne, he observed, that this prince was the first who began hostilities, by allowing his troops to act in concert with the French in their invasions of Hanover, and by celebrating with rejoicings the advantages which they had gained in that electorate: he therefore declared to the states of the empire that the best way of protecting their subjects from hostile treatment, would be a strict observation of neutrality in the present disputes of the empire.

This was a strain much more likely to operate upon princes and powers who understood and pursued their own interest, than was the repetition of complaints, equally pathetic and unavailing, uttered by the unfortunate king of Poland, elector of Saxony. The damage done to his capital by the last attempt of the Russians upon that city affected the old king in such a manner, that he published at Vienna an appeal to all the powers of Europe, against the cruel and unprecedented outrages which, he alleged, had been committed by his adversaries in Saxony. His case, it must be owned, was truly deplorable; though perhaps, in justice, it ought only to be considered as the necessary consequence of those dangerous and impolitic engagements which he had originally contracted with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg.

With regard to the neutral powers of Europe, they still seemed to persevere in the same pacific maxims which they had hitherto pursued. The king of Denmark continued to prosecute those plans which he had so wisely projected for increasing the wealth, and promoting the happiness of his subjects; nor did he neglect any opportunity of improving natural knowledge, for the benefit of mankind in general. He employed men of ability, at his own expence, to travel into
foreign

foreign countries, and collect the most curious productions for the advancement of natural history: he encouraged the liberal and mechanic arts at home, by munificent rewards and peculiar protection: he invited above a thousand foreigners from Germany to become his subjects, and settle in certain districts of Jutland, which had lain waste above three centuries; and they forthwith began to build villages, and cultivate the lands in the dioceses of Wibourg, Arhous, and Ripen: their travelling expences from Altena to their new settlement were defrayed by the king, who moreover maintained them until the produce of the lands could afford a comfortable subsistence. He likewise bestowed upon each colonist a house, a barn, and a stable, with a certain number of horses and cattle. Finally, this generous patriot having visited these new subjects, who received him with unspeakable emotions of joy and affection, he ordered a considerable sum of money to be distributed among them, as an additional mark of his favour. Such conduct in a prince cannot fail to secure the warmest returns of loyalty and attachment from his people; and the execution of such laudable schemes will transmit his name with honour to the latest posterity.

The Dutch, as usual, adhered to their old maxims of prosecuting every branch of commerce, unmoved alike by the insinuations of France or the remonstrances of Great Britain. The violation of the peace by their subjects in Bengal was no sooner known to the court of London than orders were sent to general Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, to demand an explanation. He accordingly delivered a memorial to the States-general, importing, that their High Mightinesses must doubtless be greatly astonished to hear, by the public papers, of the irregularities committed by their subjects in the East Indies; but, that they would be much more amazed on perusing the piece annexed to his memorial, containing a minute account, specified with the strictest regard to the truth, of the irregular conduct observed by the Dutch towards the British subjects in the river of Bengal, at a time when the factors and traders of Holland enjoyed all the sweets of peace, and all the advantages of unmolested commerce; at a time when his Britannic majesty, from his great regard to their High Mightinesses, carefully avoided giving the least umbrage to the subjects of the United Provinces: that the king his sovereign was deeply affected by these outrageous doings and mischievous designs of the Dutch in the East Indies, whose aim was to destroy the British settlements in that country; an aim that would have been accomplished, had not the king's victorious arms brought them to reason, and obliged them to sue for an accommodation: that his majesty would willingly believe their High Mightinesses had given no order for proceeding to such extremities, and that the directors of their India company had no share in the transaction; nevertheless he (the ambassador) was ordered to demand signal satisfaction in the name of the king his master; that all who should be found to have shared in the offence, so manifestly tending to the destruction of the English settlements in that country, should be exemplarily punished; and that their High Mightinesses should confirm the stipulations agreed upon, im-

mediately after the action, by the directors of the respective companies; in consideration of which agreement, the Dutch ships were restored, after their commanders acknowledged their fault, in owning themselves the aggressors.

To this remonstrance the States-general replied, that nothing of what was laid to the charge of their subjects, had yet reached their knowledge; but they requested his Britannic majesty to suspend his judgment, until he should be made perfectly acquainted with the grounds of those disputes; and they promised he should have reason to be satisfied with the exemplary punishment that would be inflicted upon all who should be found concerned in violating the peace between the two nations. As a proof of their regard for the king of Great Britain, they at length agreed, after warm disputes, to the proposed match between the princess Caroline, sister to the prince of Orange, and the prince of Nassau Weilbourg, in consequence of which the nuptials were celebrated at the Hague, in the month of March with great magnificence.

Notwithstanding the prospect of a rupture in Italy, no new incident disturbed the tranquility of the southern parts of Europe. The king of Spain, though warmly importuned by the other branch of the house of Bourbon to engage in the war as its ally, refused to interpose in any other way than as a mediator between the courts of London and Versailles. He sent the Conde de Fuentes, a nobleman of high rank and character, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the king of Great Britain, in order to offer his good offices for effecting a peace; and the Conde, after having conferred with the English ministry, made an excursion to Paris; but his proposal with respect to a cessation of hostilities, if in reality such a proposal was ever made, did not meet with a favourable reception. He found no difficulty, however, in compromising some other differences that subsisted between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain. His Catholic majesty wisely persisted in the execution of that patriotic plan which he had hitherto pursued with so much steadiness. In the first place, he spared no pains and application to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of his kingdom. He remitted to his people all they owed the crown, amounting to threescore millions of reals: he demanded an exact account of his father's debts, that they might be discharged with the utmost punctuality: an order was sent to the treasury, that ten millions of reals should be annually appropriated for this purpose, until the whole should be liquidated; and, to the first year's payment, he added fifty millions, to be divided equally among the legal claimants. He took measures for the vigorous execution of the laws against offenders, encouraged industry, protected commerce, and felt the exquisite pleasure of being beloved as the father of his people. To give importance to his crown, and encrease his influence among the powers of Europe, he fitted out a powerful squadron of ships at Carthagen, and is said to have declared his intention to employ them against Algiers, should the dey refuse to release the slaves of the Spanish nation.

The commotion excited in Portugal by the late conspiracy had not yet entirely subsided. The pope's nuncio was not only forbid the court, but even

even sent under a strong guard to the frontiers: an indignity which induced the pontiff to order the Portuguese minister at Rome to evacuate the ecclesiastical dominions. In the mean time, another embarkation of jesuits was sent from Civita Vecchia; yet the expulsion of these fathers did not restore the internal peace of Portugal, or put an end to the practice of plotting; for, even after their departure, some persons of rank were either committed to close prison, or exiled from the kingdom. The jesuits were not more fortunate in America; for in the month of October, in the foregoing year, an obstinate battle was fought between the united forces of Spain and Portugal, and the Indians of Paraguay, who were under the dominion of the jesuits: victory at length declared in favour of the two crowns; so that the vanquished were obliged to capitulate and lay down their arms. As the court of Portugal had made remonstrances to the British ministry against the proceedings of the English squadron under admiral Boscawen, which had attacked and destroyed some French ships under the Portuguese fort in the bay of Lagos, his Britannic majesty thought proper to send the earl of Kinnoul as ambassador extraordinary to Lisbon, where that nobleman made such excuses for the insult of the English admiral as entirely removed all misunderstanding between the two crowns, and could not fail of being agreeable to the Portuguese monarch, thus respected, soothed, and deprecated by a mighty nation in the very zenith of power and prosperity. On the sixth of June, being the birthday of the king of Portugal, the marriage of his brother Don Pedro with the princess of Brazil, was celebrated in the chapel of the palace where the king resides, to the universal joy of the people, as this match will prevent all disputes with respect to the succession. The nuptials were announced to the public by the discharge of cannon, and celebrated with illuminations, and all kinds of rejoicing.

An incident which happened in the Mediterranean had like to have exposed the knights of the order of Malta to the resentment and indignation of the Ottoman Porte. A large Turkish ship of the line, mounted with sixty-eight brass cannon, having on board a complement of seven hundred men, besides seventy Christian slaves, under the immediate command of the Turkish admiral, had, in company with two frigates, five galleys, and other smaller vessels, sailed in June from the Dardanelles, cruised along the coasts of Smyrna, Scio, and Trio, and at length anchored in the channel of Stangie, where the admiral with four hundred persons went on shore, on the nineteenth day of September. The Christian slaves seizing this opportunity, armed themselves with knives, and fell upon the three hundred that remained with such irresistible fury, that a great number of the Turks were instantly slain: many leaped over board into the sea, where they perished; and the rest sued for mercy. The Christians, having thus secured possession of the ship, hoisted sail and bore away for Malta; which, though chased by the two frigates and a Ragusan ship, they reached by crowding all their canvas, and brought their prize safe into the harbour of Volette, amidst the acclamations of the people.

The order of Malta, as a recompence for this

signal act of bravery and resolution, assigned to the captors the whole property of the ship and slaves, together with all the effects on board, including a sum of money, which the Turkish commander had collected by contribution, amounting to a million and an half of florins. The grand signor was so enraged at this event, that he disgraced his admiral, and threatened to take vengeance on the order of Malta, for having detained the ship and countenanced the capture.

Such a dangerous ferment arose at Constantinople, that a revolution was apprehended. Mustapha, the present emperor, had no sons; but his brother Bajazet, whose life he had spared, contrary to the custom of Turkish policy, produced a son by one of the women with whom he was indulged in his confinement; a circumstance which aroused the jealousy of the emperor to such a degree, that he resolved to dispatch his brother. The great officers of the Porte opposed this design, which was so disagreeable to the people, that an insurrection ensued. Several Turks and Armenians taking it for granted that a revolution was at hand, bought up great quantities of grain, and a dreadful dearth was the consequence of this monopoly. The sultan assembled the troops, quieted the insurgents, ordered the engrossers of corn to be executed, and in a little time the repose of the city was re-established. Let us now return to the affairs of Great Britain.

Great expectations were formed in England this year from the prodigious increase of the navy, which at this juncture amounted to one hundred and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these capital ships seventeen were stationed in the East Indies, twenty for the defence of the West Indian islands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and sixty-one, either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of the British commerce. Notwithstanding these numerous and powerful armaments, the enemy, who had not a ship of the line at sea, were so alert with their small privateers and armed vessels, that in the beginning of this year, from the first of March to the tenth of June they had made prize of two hundred vessels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland. The whole number of British ships taken by them, from the first day of June in the year 1756, to the first of June in the present year, amounted to two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine; of these seventy-eight were privateers, three hundred and twenty-one were retaken, and about the same number ransomed. In the same space of time the British cruisers had made captures of nine hundred forty-four vessels, including two hundred forty-two privateers, many fishing boats and small coasters; the acquisition of which was not of so great consequence by their intrinsic value, as by depriving the enemy of an additional number of their sailors. That such a small proportion of ships should be taken from the French during this period will not appear surprising, when we consider the terrible shock their commerce had antecedently sustained, and the great number of their mariners that were previously imprisoned in England, and who by this time amounted to little less than twenty thousand.

The present year, it must be owned, was not so fruitful in naval events as the former: nevertheless it was distinguished by some gallant exploits, which reflected great honour on our sea commanders. I have, in recording the transactions of the preceding year, mentioned a small armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who, in spite of all the vigilance of the British commander stationed in the Downs, found means to escape from the harbour in the month of October last, and arrived at Gottenburgh in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His instructions were to make occasional descents upon the coast of Ireland, and by dividing the troops, and distracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprize of M. de Conflans, the fate of which I have already narrated. The original armament of Thurot consisted of five ships, one of which, called the *Mareschal Belleisle*, was mounted with forty-four guns; the *Begon*, the *Blond*, the *Terpsichore*, had thirty guns each, and the *Marante* carried twenty-four. The number of soldiers put on board this little fleet did not exceed one thousand two hundred and seventy, exclusive of mariners, to the number of seven hundred; besides two hundred of the troops were sent sick on shore, before the armament sailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen they lost company of the *Begon*, during a violent storm. The severity of the weather detained them nineteen days at Bergen, at the expiration of which they set sail for the northern part of Ireland in the latter end of January.

The intention of Thurot was to make a descent about Derry; but before this design could be executed, the weather growing tempestuous, and the wind blowing off shore, they were driven out to sea, and in the night lost sight of the *Marante*, which never joined them in the sequel. After having been tempest beaten for some time, and exposed to a very scanty allowance of provision, the officers requested of Thurot that he would return to France, lest they should all perish by famine; but he lent a deaf ear to their proposal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having struck some stroke for the service of his country. Nevertheless, in hope of meeting with some refreshment, he steered to the island of *Isla*, where the troops were landed; and here they found black cattle and a small supply of oatmeal, for which they paid a reasonable price; and it must be owned Thurot himself behaved with great moderation and generosity.

While this gallant adventurer struggled with these numerous difficulties, his arrival in the British seas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were posted along the coasts of Ireland and Scotland; and besides the squadron of commodore Boys, who sailed to the northward on purpose to pursue the enemy, other ships of war were ordered to scour the Bristol Channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no sooner permitted Thurot to pursue his destination, than he sailed from *Isla* to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, and made all the necessary preparations for a descent, which was accordingly effected, with six hundred men, on the twenty-first day of February. Lieutenant-colonel

Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ships had anchored about two miles and a half from the castle, which was ruinous and defenceless, immediately detached a party to make observations, and ordered the French prisoners there confined to be removed to Belfast.

Mean while the enemy landing without opposition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place (which was entirely open) and the circumstances of the English commander would admit. A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made, until the ammunition of the English failed; then colonel Jennings retired in order to the castle, which however was in all respects untenable; for, besides a breach in the wall near fifty feet wide, they found themselves destitute of provision and ammunition. Nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in their first attack, even after the gate was burst open, and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length, the colonel and his troops were obliged to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed by sending thither an equal number of French prisoners from Great Britain or Ireland; that the castle should not be demolished, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation should furnish the French troops with necessary provisions.

The enemy, after this exploit, did not venture to advance farther into the country; a step which indeed they could not have taken with any regard to their own safety; for by this time a considerable body of regular troops was collected, and the people of the country manifested a laudable spirit of loyalty and resolution, crowding in great numbers to Belfast, to offer their service against the invaders. These circumstances, of which the enemy were fully apprized, and the defeat of Conflans, which they had also learned, obliged them to abandon their conquest, and reembark with some precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

The fate they escaped on shore they soon met with at sea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, and had, in the course of this war, already signalized himself by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a dispatch from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus, and thither he immediately steered his course in the ship *Æolus*, accompanied by the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, under the command of the captains Clements and Logie. On the twenty-eighth day of February they discovered the enemy, and gave chase, in sight of the Isle of Man; and about nine in the morning captain Elliot, in his own ship, attacked the *Belleisle*, commanded by Thurot, although considerably his superior in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his consorts were also engaged with the other two ships of the enemy. After a warm action maintained with great spirit on all sides for an hour and a half, captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the *Belleisle*, and, striking her colours with his own hand, the commander submitted. His example was immediately followed

by the other French captains; and the English commodore taking possession of his prizes, conveyed them to the Isle of Man that their damage might be repaired.

Though the *Belleisle* was very leaky, and had lost her bolt-sprit, mizen-mast, and main-yard, in all probability the victory would not have been so easily purchased, had not the gallant *Thurot* fallen during the action. The victor had not even the consolation to perform the last offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the sea by his own people in the hurry of the engagement. The loss on the side of the English did not exceed forty men killed and wounded; whereas three hundred of the enemy were slain or disabled.

The service performed on this occasion was deemed so essential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the house of commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of *Thurot*, as well as to lieutenant-colonel *Jennings*, for his spirited behaviour at *Carrickfergus*: and the freedom of the city of *Cork* was presented in silver boxes to the captains *Elliot*, *Clements*, and *Logie*. The name of *Thurot* was become terrible to all the trading sea-ports of Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as could have been produced by the most important victory.

In the beginning of April another engagement between four frigates, still more equally matched, had a different issue, though not less honourable to the British commanders. Captain *Skinner* of the *Biddeford*, and captain *Kennedy* of the *Flamborough*, both frigates, sailed on a cruise from *Lisbon*, and on the fourth day of April came up with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ships, which the English captains immediately resolved to attack. The enemy did not decline the engagement, which began about half an hour after six in the evening, and was continued with great fury till eleven. By this time the *Flamborough* had lost sight of the *Biddeford*, and the frigate with which captain *Kennedy* was engaged bore away with all the sail she could carry. He pursued her till noon the next day, when she had left him so far astern, that he lost sight of her, and returned to *Lisbon* with the loss of fifteen men killed and wounded, including the lieutenant of marines, and considerable damage in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the *Biddeford*, which had also compelled her antagonist to give way, and pursued her till she was out of sight. In about an hour after the action began, captain *Skinner* was killed by a cannon-ball; and the command devolved to lieutenant *Knollis*, son to the earl of *Banbury*†, who maintained the battle with great spirit, even after he was wounded, until he received a second shot in his body, which proved mortal. Then the master assuming the direction, continued the engagement with equal resolution, until the enemy made his escape, which he the more easily accomplished, as the *Biddeford* was disabled in her masts and rigging.

No action of importance was in the course of this year performed by the naval forces of Great Britain in the seas of Europe. A powerful squadron still remained in the bay of *Quiberon*, in order to amuse and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coast, interrupt the navigation of the enemy, and at the same time to watch the motions of those few French ships which had run into the river *Villaine*, after the defeat of *Conflans*. The fleet employed on this service was alternately commanded by admiral *Boscawen* and sir *Edward Hawke*; the former of whom took possession of a small island near the river *Vannes*, which he caused to be cultivated and planted with vegetables for the use of the men infected with scorbutic disorders, arising from salt provisions, sea air, and want of proper exercise. In the month of September sir *Edward Hawke*, who had by this time relieved Mr. *Boscawen*, detached the gallant lord *Howe* in the *Magnanime*, with the ships *Prince Frederick* and *Bedford*, to reduce the little island of *Dumet*, about three miles in length and two in breadth, abounding with fresh water. It was defended by a small fort mounted with nine cannon, and garrisoned by one company of the regiment of *Bourbon*, who surrendered in a very short time after the ships had begun the attack. By this small conquest a considerable expence was saved to the nation in the article of transports employed to carry water for the use of the squadron.

Admiral *Rodney* still maintained his former station off the harbour of *Havre de Grace*, in order to overawe the enemy on that part of the coast. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large flat-bottomed boats, loaded with cannon and shot, set sail from *Harfleur* in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance; for the walls of *Havre de Grace*, and even the adjacent hills, were lined with spectators, assembled to behold the issue of this adventure. Having reached the river of *Caen*, they stood backwards and forwards upon the shoals, intending to amuse Mr. *Rodney* till night, and then proceed under the cover of darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his small vessels to be ready, that as soon as day-light failed, they should make all the sail they could for the mouth of the river *Orne*, with a view to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself stood in with the larger ships to the steep coast of *Port Brassin*. The scheme succeeded to his wish. The enemy seeing their retreat cut off, ran ashore at *Port Brassin*, where the admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of the harbour. Each of those vessels was one hundred feet in length, capable of containing four hundred men for a short passage. What their destination was, we cannot pretend to determine: but the French had provided a great number of these transports; for ten escaped into the river *Orne* leading to *Caen*; and in consequence of this disaster, one hundred were unloaded and sent up again to *Rouen*.

† Five sons of this nobleman distinguished themselves remarkably in the course of this war. The fourth and fifth were dangerously wounded at the battle of *Minden*; the

second was hurt in the reduction of *Guadalupe*: lord *Wallingford*, the eldest, received a shot at *Carrickfergus*; and the third was slain in this engagement.

Nor was this the only damage which the enemy suffered on this part of their coast. In the month of November captain Ourry, of the *Acæton*, chased a large privateer, and drove her on shore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue, where she perished. The cutters belonging to Mr. Rodney's squadron scoured the coast towards Dieppe, where a considerable fishery was carried on, and where they took or destroyed near forty vessels of considerable burthen. Though the English navy suffered nothing from the French during this period, it sustained some damage from the weather. The *Conqueror*, a new ship of the line, was lost in the Channel on the island of St. Nicholas; but the crew and cannon were saved. The *Lyme*, of twenty guns, foundered in the Cattegat in Norway, and fifty of the men perished; and in the West Indies a tender belonging to the *Dublin*, commanded by commodore sir James Douglas, was lost in a gale of wind, with an hundred chosen mariners.

Of the domestic transactions relating to the war, the most important was the fitting out a powerful armament destined for some secret expedition. A numerous body of forces was assembled, and a great number of transports collected at Portsmouth. Generals were nominated to the command of this enterprize. The troops were actually embarked, with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a very considerable expence. Notwithstanding these preparations, no enterprize of importance was undertaken; and in the latter end of the year the expedition was wholly laid aside. The people did not fail to clamour against the inactivity of the summer; and it must be owned their complaints were not entirely without foundation: but in all probability the design of the armament was either to intimidate the French into proposals of peace, to make a diversion from the Rhine, by alarming the coast of Bretagne, or to throw over a body of troops into Flanders, to effect a junction with the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who, at the head of twenty thousand men, had made an irruption as far as the Lower Rhine, and even crossed that river.

The only considerable damage sustained by the navy of Great Britain since the commencement of this year, was the loss of the *Ramillies*, a magnificent ship of the second rate, belonging to the squadron which admiral Boscawen commanded on the coast of France, in order to watch the motions and distress the commerce of that restless enterprising enemy. In the beginning of February a series of stormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty; but the *Ramillies* overshot the entrance to the Sound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the Channel, was dashed in pieces among the rocks, after all her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to seven hundred, perished on this occasion, except one midshipman and twenty-five mariners, who had the good fortune to save themselves by leaping on the rocks, as the hull was thrown forwards, and raised up by the succeeding billows.

Having thus given a circumstantial account of the most remarkable events that happened in the British dominions and the European seas in the course of this summer, we must now turn our eyes to the continent of North America, which, as the theatre of war, still maintained its former importance. The French emissaries from the province of Louisiana had exercised their arts of insinuation with such success among the Cherokees, a numerous and powerful nation of the Indians, settled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, that they had infringed the peace with the English towards the latter end of the last year, and begun hostilities by plundering, massacring, and scalping several British subjects of the more southern provinces. Mr. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, having received information of these outrages, obtained the necessary aids from the assembly of his province, for maintaining a considerable body of forces, which was raised with great expedition. He marched in the beginning of October at the head of eight hundred provincials, reinforced with three hundred regular troops, and penetrated into the heart of the country possessed by the Cherokees, who were so much intimidated by his vigour and dispatch, that they sent a deputation of their chiefs to sue for peace, which was re-established by a new treaty, dictated by the English governor. They obliged themselves to renounce the French interest; to deliver up all the spies and emissaries of that nation, then resident among them; to surrender to justice those of their own people who had been concerned in murdering and scalping the British subjects; and for the performance of these articles two and twenty of their head men were put as hostages into the hands of the governor.

So entirely regardless, however, were these treacherous barbarians of this solemn accommodation, that Mr. Lyttleton had hardly returned from their country, when they attempted to surprize the English fort at Prince George, near the frontiers of Carolina, by going thither in a body, on pretence of delivering up some murderers. This attempt was conducted in the following manner, having doubtless been concerted with the two and twenty hostages who resided in the fort. On the sixteenth day of February two Indian women appearing at Keowee, on the other side of the river, Mr. Dogharty, one of the officers of the fort, went out to ask them what news. While he was engaged in conversation with these females, the great Indian warrior Ouconnostata joining them, desired he would call the commanding officer, to whom he said he had something to propose. Accordingly, lieutenant Cotymore appearing, accompanied by ensign Bell, Dogharty, and Forster the interpreter, Ouconnostata told him he had something of consequence to impart to the governor, whom he purposed to visit, and desired he might be attended by a white man as a safeguard. The lieutenant assuring him he should have a safeguard, the Indian declared he would then go and catch a horse for him; so saying, he swung a bridle thrice over his head as a signal, and immediately twenty-five or thirty muskets, from different ambuscades, were discharged at the English officers. Mr. Cotymore received a shot in his left breast, and

and in a few days expired; Mr. Bell was wounded in the calf of the leg, and the interpreter in the buttock.

Ensign Milne, who remained in the fort, was no sooner informed of this treachery than he ordered the soldiers to shackle the hostages; in the execution of which order one man was killed on the spot, and another wounded in the forehead with a tomahawk: circumstances which, added to the murder of the lieutenant, incensed the garrison to such a degree, that it was judged absolutely necessary to put the hostages to death without farther hesitation. In the evening a party of Indians approaching the fort, and firing two signal-pieces, cried aloud in the Cherokee language, "Fight manfully, and you shall be assisted." Then they began an attack, and continued firing all night upon the fort, without doing the least execution.

That a design was concerted between them and the hostages, appeared plainly from the nature of this assault; and this supposition was converted into a certainty next day, when some of the garrison searching the apartment in which the hostages lay, found a bottle of poison, probably designed to be emptied into the well, and several tomahawks buried in the earth; which weapons had been privately conveyed to them by their friends, who were permitted to visit them without interruption. On the third day of March the fort at Ninety-Six was attacked by two hundred Cherokee Indians, with musquetry, which had little or no effect; so that they were forced to retire with some loss, and revenged themselves on the open country, burning and ravaging all the houses and plantations belonging to the English settlers in this part of the country, and all along the frontiers of Virginia. Not contented with pillaging and destroying the habitations, they wantoned in the most horrible barbarities; and their motions were so secret and sudden, that it was impossible for the inhabitants to know where the storm would burst, or take proper precautions for their own defence, so that a great number of the back settlements were totally abandoned.

The Indians, disappointed in their design upon Fort Prince George, wreaked their vengeance upon the English subjects trading in their country, all of whom they butchered without mercy. Not contented with this barbarous sacrifice, they made incursions into the British settlements at the Long Lanes, and the forks of the Broad River, and massacred about forty defenceless colonists, who reposed themselves in full security on the peace so lately ratified. As views of interest could not have induced them to act in this manner, and their revenge had not been inflamed by any fresh provocation, these violences were naturally imputed to the instigation of French incendiaries; and too plainly evinced the necessity of crowning our American conquests with the reduction of Louisiana, from whence these emissaries were undoubtedly dispatched.

The horrible cruelties which the Cherokees committed upon their renewal of hostilities, alarmed all the southern colonies of the English; and application was made for assistance to Mr. Amherst, the commander in chief of the king's forces in America. He forthwith detached twelve hundred chosen men to South Carolina, under the command of colonel

Montgomery, brother to the earl of Eglinton, an officer of approved conduct and distinguished gallantry. Immediately after his arrival at Charles Town, he advanced to Ninety-Six, and proceeded to Twelve Mile River, which he passed in the beginning of June without opposition. He prosecuted his route by forced marches, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous situation. Having reason to believe the enemy were not yet apprised of his coming, he resolved to rush upon them in the night by surprise.

With this view, leaving his tents standing, with a sufficient guard for the camp and waggons, he marched through the woods towards the Cherokee town of Estatoe, at the distance of twenty-five miles, and in his route detached a company of light infantry to destroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a smart fire; but they rushed in with their bayonets, and all the men were put to the sword. The main body proceeded straight to Estatoe, which they reached in the morning; but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians who had not time to escape were slain; and the town, consisting of two hundred houses, well stored with provision, ammunition, and all the necessaries of life, was first plundered, and then reduced to ashes; some of the wretched inhabitants who concealed themselves perishing in the flames. It was necessary to strike a terror into those savages by some examples of severity; and the soldiers became deaf to all the suggestions of mercy, when they found in one of the Indian towns the body of an Englishman, whom they had put to the torture that very morning.

Colonel Montgomery followed his blow with surprising rapidity. In the space of a few hours he destroyed Sugar Town, which was as large as Estatoe, and every village and house in the lower nation. The Indian villages in this part of the world were agreeably situated, generally consisting of about one hundred houses, neatly and commodiously built, and well supplied with provision. They had in particular large magazines of corn, which were consumed in the flames. All the men that were taken suffered immediate death; but the greater part of the nation had escaped with the utmost precipitation. In many houses the beds were yet warm, and the tables spread with victuals. Many loaded guns went off while the houses were burning. The savages had not time to save their most valuable effects. The soldiers found some money, three or four watches, a good quantity of wampum, cloaths, and peltry.

Colonel Montgomery, having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious Cherokees, at the expence of five or six men killed or wounded, returned to fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children whom he had made prisoners. Two of their warriors were set at liberty, and desired to inform their nation, that though they were now in the power of the English, they might still, on their submission, enjoy the blessing of peace. As the chief, called Attakullakulla, alias the Little Carpenter, who had signed the last treaty, disapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had done many good offices to the English, since the renovation of the war, he was now given to under-

understand, that he might come down with some other chiefs to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted to the Cherokees on his account; but that the negociation must be begun in a few days, otherwise all the towns in the upper nation would be ravaged and reduced to ashes.

These intimations having produced little or no effect, colonel Montgomery determined to make a second irruption into the middle settlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the twenty-fourth day of June. On the twenty-seventh, captain Morison, of the advanced party, was killed by a shot from a thicket, and the firing became so troublesome that his men gave way. The grenadiers and light infantry detached to sustain them, continued to advance notwithstanding their fire from the woods, until from a rising ground they discovered a body of the enemy. These they immediately attacked, and obliged to retire into a swamp, which, when the rest of the troops came up, they were, after a short resistance, compelled to abandon: but as the country was difficult, and the path extremely narrow, the forces suffered on their march from the fire of scattered parties, who concealed themselves behind trees and bushes.

At length they arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forsaken, after having removed every thing of value. Here, while the army encamped on a small plain surrounded by hills, it was incommoded by volleys from the enemy, which wounded some men, and killed several horses. They were even so daring as to attack the piquet guard, which repulsed them with difficulty; but, generally speaking, their parties declined an open engagement. Colonel Montgomery sensible, that as many horses were killed or disabled, he could not proceed farther without leaving his provisions behind, or abandoning the wounded men to the brutal revenge of a savage enemy, resolved to return, and began his march in the night, that he might be the less disturbed by the Indians. Accordingly he pursued his route for two days without interruption; but afterwards sustained some straggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as often as they appeared. In the beginning of July he arrived at Fort Prince George; this expedition having cost him about seventy men killed and wounded, including five officers.

The Cherokees, rather provoked than intimidated by this severe chastisement, assembled to a considerable number, and formed the blockade of Fort Loudoun, a small fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconsiderable garrison, ill supplied with provision and necessities. After having sustained a long siege, and being reduced to the utmost distress, captain Demere, the commander, held a council of war with the other officers, to deliberate upon their present situation; when it appeared that their provisions were intirely exhausted: that they had subsisted a considerable time, without bread, upon horse-flesh, and such supplies of pork and beans as the Indian women could introduce by stealth: that the men were so weakened with famine and fatigue, that in a little time they would not be able to do duty: that for two nights past, considerable parties had deserted, and some thrown themselves upon the mercy of the enemy: that the garrison in general

threatened to abandon their officers, and betake themselves to the woods: and that there was no prospect of relief, their communication having been long cut off from all the British settlements. For these reasons they were unanimously of opinion, that it was impracticable to prolong their defence; that they should accept of an honourable capitulation; and that captain Stuart should be sent to treat with the warriors, and the head men of the Cherokees, about the conditions of their surrender. This officer, being accordingly dispatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation of the Indians, by which the garrison was permitted to retire. The Indians requested, that, when they arrived at Keowee, the Cherokee prisoners confined at that place should be released, all hostilities cease, a lasting accommodation be re-established, and a regular trade revived. In consequence of this treaty the garrison evacuated the fort, and had marched about fifteen miles on their return to Carolina, when they were surrounded and surprised by a large body of Indians, who massacred all the officers, except captain Stuart, and slew five-and-twenty of the soldiers: the rest were made prisoners, and distributed among the different towns and villages of the nation. Captain Stuart owed his life to the generous intercession of the Little Carpenter, who ransomed him at the price of all he could command, and conducted him safe to Holston River, where he found major Lewes advanced so far with a body of Virginians.

In the mean time the British interest and empire were firmly established on the banks of the Ohio, by the prudent conduct of major-general Stanwix, who had passed the winter at Pittsburgh, formerly Duquesne, and employed that time in the most effectual manner for the service of his country. He repaired the fortifications of the place, established posts of communication from the Ohio to the Monongahela, mounted the bastions that cover the isthmus with artillery, erected casemates, storehouses, and barracks for a numerous garrison, and cultivated with equal diligence and success the friendship and alliance of the Indians. The happy consequences of these measures were soon apparent in the production of a considerable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittsburgh, and in the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of the lands, from whence they had been driven by the enemy, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

The success of the British arms was still more remarkable in the northern parts of this great continent. I have already observed, that brigadier general Murray was left to command the garrison of Quebec, amounting to about six thousand men; that a strong squadron of ships was stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, under the direction of lord Colvil, an able and experienced officer, who had instructions to revisit Quebec in the beginning of summer, as soon as the river St. Laurence should be navigable; and that general Amherst, the commander in chief of the forces in America, wintered in New York, that he might be at hand to assemble his troops in the spring, and recommence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada.

General Murray neglected no step that could be taken by the most vigilant officer for maintaining the important conquest of Quebec, and subduing all the Lower Canada. He repaired, during the winter, about five hundred houses which had been damaged by the English cannon, built eight redoubts of wood, raised foot-banks along the ramparts, opened embrasures, mounted artillery, blocked up all the avenues of the suburbs with a stockade, removed eleven months provisions into the highest part of the city, and formed a magazine of four thousand fascines. Two hundred men were posted at St. Foix, and twice the number at Lorette. Several hundred men marched to St. Augustin, brought off the enemy's advanced guard, with a great number of cattle, and disarmed the inhabitants. By these precautions the motions of the French were observed, the avenues of Quebec were covered, and the British dominion secured over eleven parishes, which furnished them with some fresh provision and other necessaries for subsistence. Sixteen thousand cords of wood being wanted for the hospitals, guards, and quarters, and the method of transporting it from the isle of Orleans being found slow and difficult, on account of the floating ice in the river, a sufficient number of hand sledges was made, and two hundred wood-fellers set at work in the forest of St. Foix, where plenty of fuel was obtained, and brought into the several regiments by the men that were not upon duty. A detachment of two hundred men being sent to the other side of the river, disarmed the inhabitants, and compelled them to take the oath of allegiance. By this step the English became masters of the southern side of the river St. Lawrence, and were supplied with good quantities of fresh provision.

The advanced posts of the enemy were established at Point Au Tremble, St. Augustin, and Le Calvaire: the main body of their army quartered between Trois Rivières and Jaques Quartier. Their general having formed the design of attacking Quebec in the winter, began to provide snow shoes or rackets, scaling-ladders, and fascines, and make all the necessary preparations for that enterprise. He took possession of Point Levi, where he formed a magazine of provisions, great part of which, however, fell into the hands of the English; for as soon as the river was froze over, brigadier Murray dispatched thither two hundred men, at whose approach the enemy abandoned their magazine, and retreated with great precipitation. Here the detachment took post in a church, until they could build two wooden redoubts, and mount them with artillery. In the mean time, the enemy returning with a greater force to recover the post, some battalions, with the light infantry, marched over the ice, in order to cut off their communication: but they fled in great confusion, and afterwards took post at St. Michael, at a considerable distance farther down the river. They now resolved to postpone the siege of Quebec, that they might carry it on in a more regular manner. They began to rig their ships, repair their small craft, build galleys, cast bombs and bullets, and prepare fascines and gabions; while brigadier Murray employed his men in making preparations for a vigorous defence. He sent out a detachment, who surprised the enemy's posts at St. Augustin,

Maison Brulee, and Le Calvaire, where they took ninety prisoners. He afterwards ordered the light infantry to possess and fortify Cape Rouge, to prevent the enemy's landing at that place, as well as to be nearer at hand to observe their motions; but when the frost broke up, so that their ships could fall down the river, they landed at St. Augustin, and the English posts were abandoned one after another, the detachments retiring without loss into the city.

Mean while the garrison within the walls of Quebec suffered greatly from the excessive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provision, insomuch that, before the end of April, one thousand soldiers were dead of the scurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for service. Such was the situation of the garrison, when Mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence that the French commander, the chevalier de Levy, was employed in assembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; that from the inhabitants of the country he had completed his eight battalions, regimented forty companies of the colonists, and determined to undertake the siege of Quebec, whenever the river St. Lawrence should be so clear of ice that he could use his four frigates, and other vessels, by means of which he would be entirely master of the river.

The brigadier, perceiving that the city of Quebec was no other than a strong cantonment, had projected a plan of defence, by extending lines, and intrenching his troops on the Heights of Abraham, which, at the distance of eight hundred paces, entirely command the ramparts of the city, and might have been defended by a small force against a formidable army. Fascines, and every other necessary for this work, had been provided, and in the month of April the men were set at work upon the projected lines; but the earth was so hardened by the frost, that it was found impracticable to proceed. Being informed, on the night of the twenty-sixth, that the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of ten thousand men, with five hundred savages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Caprouge to be broke down, secured the landing-places at Syl-leri and the Foulon; and next day, marching in person with a strong detachment and two field-pieces, took possession of an advantageous situation, and thus defeated the scheme which the French commander had laid for cutting off the posts which the English had established. These being all withdrawn, the brigadier that same afternoon marched back to Quebec with little or no loss, although his rear was harassed by the enemy. Here he formed a resolution, which hath been censured by some critics in war as a measure that favoured more of youthful impatience and overboiling courage, than of that military discretion which ought to distinguish a commander in such a delicate situation: but it is more easy to blame with an appearance of reason than to act in such circumstances with any certainty of success.

Mr. Murray, in his letter to the secretary of state, declared, that although the enemy were greatly superior to him in number, yet, when he considered that the English forces were habituated to victory; that they were provided with a fine train of field artillery; that, in shutting them up at
once

once within the walls, he should have risked his whole stake on the single chance of defending a wretched fortification; a chance which could not be much lessened by an action in the field, though such an action would double the chance of success: for these reasons he had determined to hazard a battle: should the event prove unprosperous, he resolved to hold out the place to the last extremity; then to retreat to the isle of Orleans or Coudres with the remainder of the garrison, and there wait for a reinforcement.

In pursuance of these resolutions he gave the necessary orders over night, and on the twenty-eighth day of April, at half an hour after six in the morning, marched out with his little army of three thousand men, which he formed on the heights in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by colonel Burton, consisted of the regiments of Amherst, Anstruther, Webb, and the second battalion of royal Americans: the left, under colonel Fraser, was formed of the regiments of Kennedy, Lascelles, Townshend, and the Highlanders. Otway's regiment, and the third battalion of royal Americans, constituted the corps de reserve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank; the left was secured by captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of captain Macdonald; and each battalion was supplied with two field-pieces.

Brigadier Murray having reconnoitred the enemy, perceived their van had taken possession of the rising grounds about three quarters of a mile in his front; but that their army was on the march in one column. Thinking this was the critical moment to attack them before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. They were soon driven from the Heights, though not without a warm dispute; during which the body of their army advanced at a round pace, and formed in columns. Their van consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and four hundred savages: eight battalions, formed in four columns, with some bodies of Canadians in the intervals, constituted their main body: their rear was composed of two battalions and some Canadians in the flanks; and two thousand Canadians formed the reserve. Their whole army amounted to about thirteen thousand men.

Major Dalling, with great gallantry, dispossessed their grenadiers of a house and windmill, which they occupied, in order to cover the left flank; and in this attack the major and some of his officers were wounded: nevertheless, the light infantry pursued the fugitives to a corps which was formed to sustain them; then the pursuers halted, and dispersed along the front of the right: a circumstance, which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the first impression they had made on the left of the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion, furiously charged and thrown into disorder; then they retired to the rear in such a shattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was instantly ordered to advance from the body of reserve, and sustain the right wing, which the enemy twice in vain attempted to penetrate. Mean while the left bri-

gade of the British forces did not remain inactive: they had dispossessed the French of two redoubts, and sustained with undaunted resolution the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until they were fairly fought down, overpowered by numbers, and reduced to an handful, notwithstanding the assistance they received from the third battalion of Royal Americans, which had been stationed with the body of reserve, as well as from Kennedy's regiment posted in the center. The French attacked with great impetuosity; and, at length, a fresh column of the regiment de Roussillon, penetrating the left wing of the British army, it gave way: the disorder was soon communicated to the right, so that, after a very obstinate dispute, which lasted an hour and three quarters, brigadier Murray was obliged to abandon the field, with the loss of one thousand men killed or wounded, and the greater part of his artillery. The enemy lost twice the number of men, and reaped no essential advantage from their victory.

Mr. Murray, far from being dispirited by this defeat, was only thereby animated to a more vigorous defence of the place which had been intrusted to his care. He resolved to prosecute the fortifications of Quebec, which had been interrupted by the severity of the winter; and the soldiers exerted themselves with incredible activity, not only in labouring at the works, but also in the defence of the town, before which the enemy had opened trenches on the very evening of the battle. Three ships anchored at a small distance below their camp; and for several days they were employed in landing their cannon, mortars, and ammunition. Mean while they worked incessantly at their trenches before the town; and, on the eleventh day of May, opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon. Brigadier Murray made the necessary dispositions for holding out the place to the last extremity: he raised two cavaliers, contrived some outworks, and planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, dragged thither mostly by the soldiery. Though the enemy cannonaded the place with great vivacity the first day, their fire soon slackened, and their batteries were, in a manner, silenced by the superior fire of the garrison; nevertheless Quebec would, in all probability, have fallen into their hands, had a French fleet from Europe got the start of an English squadron in sailing up the river.

Lord Colville had departed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-second day of April; but was retarded in his passage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great shoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had sailed from England with a small reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May at the isle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence, where, with two ships, he purposed to wait for the rest of his squadron, which had separated from him in the passage: but one of these, the *Lowe-stoffe*, commanded by captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the ninth day of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the squadron was arrived in the river. Commodore Swanton no sooner received intimation that Quebec was besieged, than he sailed up the river with all possible expedition, and on the

fifteenth in the evening anchored above Point Levi. General Murray expressing an earnest desire, that the French squadron above the town might be removed, the commodore ordered captain Schomberg of the *Diana* and captain Deane of the *Lowe-stoffe*, to slip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a good number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in motion than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran ashore, and was burned at Point au Tremble about ten leagues above the town; and all the other vessels were taken or destroyed.

The enemy were so thunderstruck by this unexpected disaster, and the certain intelligence that a strong English fleet was already arrived in the river of St. Laurence, that in the following night they raised the siege of Quebec, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving their provisions, implements, and artillery, to governor Murray, who had intended to make a vigorous sally in the morning, and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the besiegers, which, from the information of prisoners and deserters, he conceived to be a very practicable scheme. For this purpose he had selected a body of troops, who were already under arms, when a lieutenant whom he had sent out with a detachment to amuse the enemy, came and assured him that their trenches were abandoned. He instantly marched out of Quebec at the head of his forces, in hope of overtaking, and making an impression on their rear, that he might have ample revenge for his late discomfiture; but they had passed the river Caprouge before he could come up with their army; however, he took some prisoners, and a great quantity of baggage, including their tents, stores, magazines of provision and ammunition, with thirty four pieces of battering cannon, ten field-pieces, six mortars, four petards, a great number of scaling ladders, intrenching tools, and every other implement of a siege. They retired to Jaques quartier, where their ammunition beginning to fail, and finding themselves deserted by great part of the Canadians, they resigned all hope of succeeding against Quebec, and began to take measures for the preservation of Montreal, against which the force under general Amherst was directed.

There Mr. de Vaudreuil had fixed his headquarters, and there he proposed to make his last stand against the efforts of the British general. He not only levied forces, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications in the island of Montreal, but he had even recourse to feigned intelligence, and other arts of delusion, to support the spirit of the Canadians and their Indian allies, which had begun to flag, in consequence of their being obliged to abandon the siege of Quebec. It must be owned he acted with all the spirit and vigilance of an experienced general, determined to exert himself for the preservation of the colony, even tho' he could entertain but very little hopes of success. These, however slender they were, depended upon the natural strength of the country, rendered almost inaccessible by woods, mountains, and morasses, which might have retarded the progress of the English, and protracted the war, until a general pacification could be effected.

In the mean time major general Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the execution of the plan he had concerted, in order to complete the conquest of Canada. He transmitted instructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water towards Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. He detached colonel Haviland with a body of troops from Crown-point to take possession of the *isle au Noix*, in Lake-Champlain, and from thence penetrate the shortest way to the bank of the river St. Laurence; while he himself, with the main body of the army, amounting to above ten thousand men, including Indians, should proceed from the frontiers of New York, by the rivers of the Mohawks and Oneidas, to the lake Ontario, and sail down the river St. Laurence to the island of Montreal. Thus, on the supposition that all these particulars could be executed, the enemy must have been at last hemmed in, and entirely surrounded. In pursuance of this plan, general Amherst had provided two armed sloops to cruise on the lake Ontario, under the command of captain Loring; as well as a great number of batteaus, or smaller vessels for the transportation of the troops, artillery, and ammunition, implements, and baggage. Several regiments were ordered to advance from Albany to Oswego; and the general, taking his departure from Schenectady, with the rest of the forces, in the latter end of June, arrived at the same place on the ninth day of July.

Having received advice, that two French vessels had appeared off Oswego, he dispatched some batteaus to Niagara with intelligence to captain Loring, who immediately set sail in quest of them; but they escaped his pursuit, though they had twice appeared in the neighbourhood of Oswego since the arrival of the general, who endeavoured to amuse them by detaching batteaus to different parts of the lake. The army being assembled, and reinforced by a considerable body of Indians under the command of Sir William Johnson, the general detached colonel Haldemand with the light infantry, the grenadiers, and one battalion of Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the lake, and to assist the armed vessels in finding a passage to La Galette. On the tenth day of August the army embarked on board the batteaus and whale boats, and proceeded on the lake towards the mouth of the river St. Laurence. Hearing that one of the enemy's vessels had run aground and was disabled, and that the other lay off La Galette, he determined to make the best of his way down the river to Swegatchie, and attack the French fort at *Isle Royale*, one of the most important posts on the river St. Laurence, the source of which it in a great measure commands. On the seventeenth the row-gallies fell in with the French sloop commanded by Mr. de la Broquerie, who surrendered after a warm engagement. Mr. Amherst having detached some engineers to reconnoitre the coasts and islands in the neighbourhood of *Isle Royale*, he made a disposition for the attack of that fortress, which was accordingly invested, after he had taken possession of the islands. Some of these the enemy had abandoned with such precipitation, as to leave behind a few scalps they had taken on the Mohawk river, a number of tools and utensils, two swivels, some barrels of pitch, and a large quantity

quantity of iron. The Indians were so incensed at sight of the scalps, that they burned a chapel, and all the houses of the enemy. Batteries being raised on the nearest islands, the fort was cannonaded not only by them, but likewise by the armed sloops; and a disposition was made for giving the assault, when Mr. Pouchaut thought proper to beat a parley, and surrender on capitulation. The general, having taken possession of the fort, found it so well situated for commanding the lake Ontario, and the Mohawk river, that he resolved to maintain it with a garrison, and employed some days in repairing the fortifications.

From this place his navigation down the river St. Laurence was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous, by a great number of violent riffes, or rapides, and falls; among which he lost above fourscore men, forty-six batteaus, seventeen whale-boats, one row-galley, with some artillery, stores, and ammunition. On the sixth day of September the troops were debarked on the island of Montreal without any opposition, except from some flying parties, which exchanged a few shot, and then fled with precipitation. That same day he repaired a bridge which they had broke down in their retreat, and, after a march of two leagues, drew up his army on a plain before Montreal, where they lay all night on their arms. Montreal is, in point of importance, the second place in Canada, situated in an island of the river St. Laurence, at an equal distance from Quebec and the lake Ontario. Its central situation rendered it the staple of the Indian trade; yet the fortifications of it were inconsiderable, not at all adequate to the value of the place.

General Amherst ordered some pieces of artillery to be brought up immediately from the landing-place at La Chine, where he had left some regiments for the security of the boats, and determined to undertake the siege in form; but in the morning of the seventh he received a letter from the marquis de Vaudreuil by two officers, demanding a capitulation: which, after some letters had passed between the two generals, was granted upon as favourable terms as the French had reason to expect, considering that general Murray, with the troops from Quebec, had, by this time, landed on the island; and colonel Haviland, with the body under his command, had just arrived on the south side of the river opposite to Montreal: circumstances equally favourable and surprising, if we reflect upon the different routes they pursued, thro' an enemy's country, where they had no intelligence of each other's motions. Had any accident retarded the progress of general Amherst, the reduction of Montreal would have been attempted by general Murray, who embarked with his troops at Quebec on board of a great number of small vessels, under the command of captain Deane in the *Diana*. This gentleman, with uncommon ability, surmounted the difficulties of an unknown, dangerous, and intricate navigation; and conducted the voyage with such success, that not a single vessel was lost in the expedition. Mr. de Levis, at the head of his forces, observed the motions of general Murray, who, in sailing up the river, distributed manifestoes among the Canadians, which produced all the effect he could desire. Almost all the parishes on the south-shore, as far as the river Sorel,

submitted and took an oath of neutrality; and lord Rollo disarmed the inhabitants of the north shore as far as Trois Rivières, which, though the capital of a district, being no other than an open village, was taken without resistance. In a word, general Amherst took possession of Montreal; and thus finished the conquest of all Canada: a conquest the most important that ever the British arms achieved, whether we consider the safety of the English colonies in North America, now secured from invasion and incroachment; the extent and fertility of the country subdued; or the whole Indian commerce thus transferred to the traders of Great Britain.

The French ministry had endeavoured to succour Montreal, by equipping a considerable number of storeships, and sending them out in the spring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers understood that the British squadron had sailed up the river St. Laurence before them, they took shelter in the bay of Chaleurs on the coast of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmolested. Captain Byron, who commanded the ships of war that were left at Louisbourg, having received information of their arrival from brigadier-general Whitmore, sailed thither with a squadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet consisted of one frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels, the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great Britain: all these were destroyed, together with two batteries which had been raised for their protection. The French town, consisting of two hundred houses, was demolished, and the settlement totally ruined.

All the French subjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Laurence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now subdued, and subjected to the English government. In the month of December, of the preceding year, the French colonists of Miramichi, Rickebuctou, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Laurence, made their submission by deputies to colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this submission, in the most solemn manner, by subscribing articles; by which they obliged themselves, and the people they represented, to repair in the spring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the direction of colonel Laurence, governor of Halifax in Nova Scotia. They were attended by two Indian chiefs of the nation of the Mickmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannic majesty. In a word, by the conquest of Canada, the Indian fur-trade, in its full extent, was transferred into the hands of the English. The French interest among the savage tribes inhabiting an immense tract of country, was totally annihilated; and their American possessions shrunk within the limits of Louisiana, an infant colony on the south of the Mississippi, which the British arms could at any time easily subdue.

The conquest of Canada being finished, nothing now remained to be done in North America, except the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg on the island of Cape Breton; for which purpose, some able engineers had been dispatched from England with the ships commanded by cap-

tain Byron. By means of mines artfully disposed and well constructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbish; the glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were transported to Halifax: but the barracks were repaired so as to accommodate three hundred men occasionally; and the hospital, with the private houses, were left standing.

The French still retained possession of the fertile country lying on each side of the great river Mississippi, which empties itself into the Gulph of Florida; but the colony was so thinly peopled and so ill provided, that, far from being able to endanger the English settlements, it scarce could have subsisted, unless the British traders had been base and treacherous enough to supply it from time to time with provisions and necessaries. The same infamous commerce was carried on with several French plantations in the West-Indies; insomuch that the governors of provinces, and commanders of squadrons stationed in those seas, made formal complaints of it to the ministry. In consequence of these representations, Mr. Pitt sent a letter to the several governors and councils in North America, importing, that the commanders of his majesty's forces and fleets in North America and the West-Indies, had transmitted certain and repeated intelligences, of an illegal and most pernicious trade carried on by the king's subjects in North-America, and the West Indies; as well to the French islands, as to the French settlements on the continent of America; and particularly to the rivers Mobile and Mississippi; by which the enemies, to the great reproach and detriment of government, were supplied with provisions and other necessaries; whereby they were principally, if not alone, enabled to sustain and protract this long and expensive war: and that it further appearing that large sums of bullion were sent by the king's subjects to the above places, in return whereof commodities were taken, which interfered with the product of the British colonies themselves, in open contempt of the authority of the mother-country, as well as the most manifest prejudice of the manufactures and trade of Great-Britain: in order to put the most speedy and effectual stop to such flagitious practices, so utterly subversive of all laws, and so highly repugnant to the well-being of this kingdom; it was his majesty's express will and pleasure, that they should forthwith make the strictest and most diligent enquiry into the state of this dangerous and ignominious trade: and that they should use every means in their power to detect and discover persons concerned either as principals or accessaries therein: that they should take every step, authorised by law, to bring such heinous offenders to the most exemplary and condign punishment: that as soon as may be, and from time to time, they should transmit to him, for the king's information, full and particular accounts of the progress they should have made in the execution of this his majesty's command; to the which the king expected they should pay the most exact obedience: and that they were further to use their utmost endeavours to trace out and investigate the various artifices and evasions, by which the dealers in this iniquitous intercourse found means to

cover their criminal proceedings, and elude the law; in order that from such lights due and timely considerations might be had, what farther provision might be necessary to restrain an evil of such extensive and pernicious consequences.

Notwithstanding this peremptory intimation, the temptation of extraordinary profit excited the merchants not only to assist the enemies of their country, but also to run all risques in eluding the vigilance of the legislature. The inhabitants of Martinique found a plentiful market of provision furnished by the British subjects at the Dutch islands of St. Eustatia and Curacoa; and those that were settled on the island of Hispaniola were supplied in the same manner at the Spanish settlement of Monte Christo.

While the British arms triumphed and prospered in almost every quarter of the universe, the colonists of Jamaica ran the most imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domestic enemy. The negro slaves of that island, grown insolent in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or by observing the supine indolence of their masters, or stimulated by that appetite for liberty, so natural to the mind of man, began, in the course of this year, to entertain thoughts of shaking off the yoke by means of a general insurrection. Assemblies were held, and plans projected for this purpose. At length they concerted a scheme for rising in arms all at once in different parts of the island, in order to massacre all the white men, and take possession of the government. They resolved, that this design should be put in execution immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe: but their plan was defeated by their own ignorance and impatience. Those of the conspirators, that belonged to captain Forrest's estate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell suddenly upon the overseer while he sat at supper with some friends, and butchered the whole company. Being immediately joined by some of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the same barbarities, and seizing all the arms and ammunition that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the colony.

The governor was no sooner informed of this disturbance, than he issued a proclamation, subjecting the colonists to martial law. All other business was interrupted, and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined by the militia and a considerable number of volunteers, marched from Spanish Town to St. Mary's, where the insurrection began, and skirmished with the insurgents; but as they declined standing any regular engagement, and trusted chiefly to bush-fighting, the governor employed against them the free blacks, commonly known by the name of the Wild Negroes, now peaceably settled under the protection of the government. These auxiliaries, in consideration of a price set upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, slew them by surprize, until their strength was broken, and numbers made away with themselves, in despair; so that the insurrection was supposed to be quelled about the beginning of May: but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were reinforced to a very considerable number. The regular troops and the militia,

tia, joined by a body of sailors, formed a camp under the command of colonel Spragge, who sent out detachments against the negroes, a good number of whom were killed and some taken; but the rest, instead of submitting, took shelter in the woods and mountains. The prisoners being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged; some beheaded; some burned; and some fixed alive upon gibets. One of these last lived eight days and eighteen hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without being refreshed by one drop of water, or receiving any manner of sustenance.

In order to prevent such insurrections for the future, the justices assembled at the sessions of the peace, ordained by a public decree, that no negro-slave should be allowed to quit his plantation without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave: that every negro playing at any sort of game should be scourged through the public streets: that every publican suffering such gaming in his house should forfeit forty shillings: that every proprietor suffering his negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any other noise in his plantation, should be fined in ten pounds; and every overseer allowing these irregularities, should pay half that sum, to be demanded, or distrained for, by any civil or military officer: that every free negro, or mulatto, should wear a blue cross on his right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment; that no mulatto, Indian, or negro, should hawk or sell any thing, except fresh fish and milk, on pain of being scourged: that rum and punch houses should be shut during divine service on Sundays, under the penalty of twenty shillings; and that those who had petit licences should shut up their houses on other nights at nine o' clock. Notwithstanding these examples and regulations, a body of rebellious negroes still subsisted in places that were deemed inaccessible to regular forces, and from these they made nocturnal irruptions into the nearest plantations, where they acted with all the wantonness of barbarity; so that the people of Jamaica were obliged to conduct themselves with the utmost vigilance and circumspection, while rear-admiral Holmes, who commanded at sea, took every precaution to secure the island from insult or invasion.

Nor did he confine his sole attention to the security of Jamaica: he likewise contrived and executed schemes for annoying the enemy at open sea. Having, in the month of October, received intimation that five French frigates were lying at Cape Francois on the island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant ships to Europe, he stationed the ships under his command, in such a manner as was most likely to intercept this fleet; and his disposition was attended with success. The enemy sailed from the Cape, to the number of eight sail, on the sixteenth, and next day they were chased by the king's ships the Hampshire, Lively, and Boreas, which however could not overtake them, as there was little wind, and that variable. In the evening the breeze freshened, and about midnight the Boreas came up with the Sirenne, commanded by commodore Mac Cartie. They engaged with great vivacity for about twenty-five minutes, when the Sirenne shot a-head, and made the best of her way. The Boreas was so damaged

in her rigging, that she could not close with the enemy again till next day at two in the afternoon, when the action was renewed off the east end of Cuba, and maintained till forty minutes past four, when Mr. Mac Cartie struck.

In the mean time, the Hampshire and Lively gave chase to the other four French frigates, which steered southward with all the sail they could carry, in order to reach the west end of Tortuga, and take refuge in Port au Prince. On the eighteenth the Lively, by the help of her oars, came up with the Valeur at half an hour past seven in the morning; and after a hot action that continued an hour and an half, compelled the enemy to submit. The Hampshire stood after the other three, and, about four in the afternoon, ran up between the duke de Choiseul and the Prince Edward. These he engaged at the same time; but the first, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix: the other ran ashore about two leagues to leeward, and struck her colours; but, at the approach of the Hampshire, the enemy set her on fire, and she blew up. This was also the fate of the Fleur de Lis, which had run into Fresh-water bay, a little farther to leeward of Port au Prince. Thus, by the prudent disposition of admiral Holmes, and the gallantry of his three captains, Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three destroyed.

The spirit of the captains was happily seconded by an extraordinary exertion of courage in the inferior officers and common men. Immediately after the capture of the French frigates, eight of the enemy's privateers were destroyed or brought into Jamaica. Two of these, namely the Vainqueur of ten guns, sixteen swivels, and ninety men, and the Mackau of six swivels, and fifteen men, had run into shoal-water in Cumberland harbour, on the island of Cuba. The boats of the Trent and Boreas were manned under the direction of the lieutenants Millar and Stuart, who being rowed up to the Vainqueur, boarded and took possession under a close fire, after having surmounted many other difficulties. The Mackau was taken, without any resistance; then the boats proceeded against the Guespe of eight guns and eighty-five men, which lay at anchor farther up in the Lagoon; but before they came up, the enemy had set her on fire, and she was destroyed.

The same activity and resolution distinguished the captains and officers of the Squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward islands. In the month of September, the captains Obrien and Taylor, of the ships Temple and Griffin, being on a joint cruise off the islands Grenadas, received intelligence that the Virgin, formerly a British sloop of war, which had been taken by the enemy, then lay at anchor, together with three privateers, under protection of three forts on the island. They accordingly sailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprize was happily crowned with success. After a warm engagement, that lasted several hours, the enemies batteries were silenced, and indeed demolished, and the English captains took possession of the four prizes. They afterwards entered another harbour of that island, having first demolished another fort; and there

there lay four days unmolested, at the expiration of which they carried off three other prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ships, bound to Martinique with provisions, and took them all without resistance. About the same time, eight or nine privateers were taken by the ships which commodore Sir James Douglas employed in cruising round the island of Guadaloupe; so that the British commerce in those seas flourished under his care and protection.

Having thus given a particular account of all the military transactions that distinguished this year in Europe, America, and the West Indies, we must now turn our eyes to the progress of the British arms in the East Indies, where they were no less successful than in the West Indies. After the reduction of Arcot, the garrisons of Permacoil and Allumparva surrendered themselves prisoners of war in the beginning of May. The Falmouth compelled the Haarlem, a French ship from Merguy, to run ashore to the northward of Pondicherry. The important settlement of Carical was reduced by the sea and land forces commanded by rear-admiral Cornish and major Monson, and the French garrison made prisoners of war.

Colonel Coote, after having defeated the French general Lally in the field, and subdued several of the enemy's settlements on the coast of Coromandel, at length shut them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal seat of the French East India company, large, populous, well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, under the immediate command of their general. In the month of October admiral Stevens departed from Trincamaley with all his squadron, in order to its being repaired, except five sail of the line, which he left under the command of captain Haldane to block up Pondicherry by sea, while Mr. Coote should carry on the siege by land. By this disposition, and the activity of the British officers, the place was so streightened for want of provisions as to be almost reduced to a starving condition, even before the siege could be undertaken in form; for the rainy season rendered all regular approaches impracticable. These rains being abated by the twenty-sixth day of November, colonel Coote directed the engineers to pitch upon proper places for erecting batteries, that should enfilade or flank the works of the fortress, without exposing their own men to any severe fire from the enemy. Accordingly four batteries were constructed in different places, so as to answer these purposes, and opened all at once on the eighth day of December at mid-night. Though placed at a considerable distance, they were plied with good effect, and the besieged returned the fire with great vivacity. This mutual cannonading continued until the twenty-ninth day of the month, when the engineers were employed in raising another battery near enough to effect a breach in the north-west counter-guard and curtain. Though the approaches were retarded some days by a violent storm, which almost ruined the works, the damage was soon repaired; a considerable post was taken from the enemy by assault, and afterwards regained by the French grenadiers, through the timidity of the Sipoys, by whom it was defended. By the fifteenth of January, a second battery being raised within point-blank, a breach was made in the curtain;

the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy intirely silenced.

The garrison and inhabitants of Pondicherry being now in danger of perishing with hunger, the principal of the Jesuits, accompanied by two civilians, came out, and offered terms of capitulation. The governor, preserving all his haughtiness, which neither his errors nor his misfortunes could abate, declined to offer any terms: he sent out a paper full of invectives against the English, for the breach of treaties relative to India. He alleged, that these breaches rendered him incapable of proposing any conditions; and, in consequence, he rather suffered the English troops to take possession of the place, than formally surrendered it. As the governor refused to capitulate, the proposals of the inhabitants were little regarded; and the city of Pondicherry, with a garrison of about fourteen hundred European soldiers, a vast quantity of military stores, and great riches, was given up at discretion to the victorious arms of the English.

Nothing can be said too highly of the conduct, courage, and perseverance of the officers and soldiers during a tedious siege and a blockade of eight months, in a climate so unfavourable to all military operations. Colonel Coote gave the final blow to the French power in India: he was now undisputed master of the rich coast of Coromandel; the French power was wholly annihilated; the neutral nations were contemptible; the princes of the country regarded us with awe and veneration; and nothing but a little French settlement on the coast of Malabar, called Mahie (and which was soon after reduced) hindered our commanding the whole trade of the vast peninsula of India, from the Ganges to the Indies, the most extensive and profitable sphere of commerce in the world.

It must be observed, likewise, for the honour of the service, that, during the whole expedition, the most perfect harmony prevailed between the land and sea officers, who vied with each other in contributing their efforts towards the success of the enterprize. On the twenty-fifth day of December rear-admiral Stevens arrived with four ships of the line, having parted with rear-admiral Cornish and his division in stormy weather: but he joined them at Pondicherry before the place was taken. On the first day of January a violent tempest obliged admiral Stevens to slip his cables and put to sea, where he was separated from the rest of his squadron; and when in three days he returned to the road of Pondicherry, he had the mortification to find that his division had suffered severely from the storm. The ships of war, called the Duke Aquitaine and the Sunderland, foundered in the storm, and their crews perished. The Newcastle, the Queenborough, and Protector fireship, were driven on shore and destroyed; but the men were saved, together with the cannon, stores, and provisions. Many other ships sustained considerable damage, which, however, was soon repaired. Mr. Stevens, having intercepted a letter from general Lally to Mr. Ramond, the French president at Pullicat, in which he informed him of the intire destruction of the English fleet, and solicited immediate assistance;

assistance; the British admiral dispatched letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements on that coast, intimating, that, notwithstanding the insinuations of general Lally, he had eleven sail of the line, with two frigates, under his command, all fit for service, in the road of Pondicherry, which was closely invested and blockaded both by sea and land. He therefore declared, that as in that case it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral power to relieve or succour the besieged, he was determined to seize any vessel that should attempt to throw provisions into the place.

While the arms of Great Britain were thus successful in almost every quarter of the globe, an event happened, which, for a moment, obscured the splendor of her triumphs, and damped the joy which these occasioned. On the twenty-fifth day of October, early in the morning, king George the second was, without any previous disorder, suddenly seized with the agony of death, at the palace at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, called his page, drank his chocolate, and inquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; then he opened a window of his apartment, and observing the weather was serene, signified his intention to walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this intimation, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor: the noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he desired in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be called; but, before she could reach the apartment, he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art; for, when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened, and inspected by the serjeant surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium; so that he must have died instantaneously in consequence of the effusion.

Such was the unexpected, though not premature death of George the second, king of Great Britain, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was in his person rather lower than the middle size, well-shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and fair complexion. In his temper he is said to have been sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his private behaviour, made no impression on his public conduct, which was always sufficiently deliberate and attentive to his own interest, and that of his subjects.

Sincere and honest in his intentions, he was never known to be guilty of deceit: true to his word, he was never seen to violate his promise: steady in his favour and protection to his servants, he never changed them willingly; and those who attended more immediately on his person, were scarce ever removed, but grew old along with him, or died in their places. But having been in a manner compelled, by a violent faction, to relinquish a minister, for whom he had a great affection, and in whom he reposed an unlimited confidence, it afterwards became a matter of more indifference to him by whom he was served in the affairs of his government.

His parts were not lively or brilliant; but the

whole of his conduct demonstrates, that he had a judgment both solid and comprehensive. He understood the interests of the several sovereigns of Europe; and was particularly skilled in all the intricacies of that political labyrinth, the system of Germany; of the liberties of which he was, through his whole life, a most zealous assertor. In the last war but one he took up arms, and even risked his own person, when, by the projected dismemberment of the house of Austria, they were in danger of falling a sacrifice to a French faction. In the war which succeeded, when the liberties of the empire were threatened by the Austrian family, he resisted with equal firmness, that very house which he had formerly exposed his life to defend.

He lived entirely to extinguish party and the spirit of party in his own dominions: it was not till the close of his reign, that his family might have been considered as firmly and immoveably seated on the throne; but he, having baffled all the private machinations of his enemies policy, subdued at length the utmost efforts of their force: and though, on that menacing occasion, he experienced, in the fullest measure, the affection of his people, yet the completion of this great service to his family he owed chiefly to the capacity and bravery of his own son.

Placed in the highest and most exalted station, he lived with his queen in that kind of harmony and confidence that is seen between the best suited couple in private life. He had a numerous issue, in which he had great cause of satisfaction, and very little of disquiet, except what was the almost necessary consequence of a life protracted to a late period. He survived several of his children. He had the satisfaction to see in his successor, what is very rare, the most dutiful obedience, the most perfect acquiescence in his will; and, what is no less rare, contrary to the fortune of most old kings, he never possessed more fully the love of his subjects than in the last year of his life. And he died at that very period, when the terror of his arms, the power of his kingdoms, and the wisdom of his government, were all raised to almost as high a pitch as they could possibly reach: they were indeed carried to such a height of glory and prosperity, as had never been exceeded, and hardly ever equalled in the reign of the most fortunate of his predecessors. Arriving in England at a riper age, and, of consequence, having never been able to attain a perfect knowledge of the force and beauties of the English language; he never shewed a sufficient regard to the British literature, which in his reign did not flourish; and this may be considered as the greatest, or rather the only blemish that lay upon his government. Though frequently censured, and perhaps not unjustly, as a little too attentive to money in some minute particulars, yet this disposition never discovered itself in one rapacious act, nor ever influenced his conduct on any important occasion; for it is now well known, that he shewed no improper parsimony, when the late war broke out. In fact, he expended so much in that interesting emergence, that, on his decease, his private wealth was found to be greatly inferior to what had been commonly imagined.

It has been often alleged, that during his whole life, he shewed a remarkable affection to his Hanoverian subjects: but the last act of it demonstrated that they were far from engrossing the whole of his regard; and that in reality his German possessions held no other place in his estimation than what their relative importance to the rest of his dominions naturally demanded: for when that truly severe trial came, in which the interests of England and Hanover were separated; when a war was begun for an object wholly foreign to this last country; a war, in which Hanover must suffer much, and could hope for nothing; even then his majesty did not hesitate a moment to expose his German dominions to almost inevitable ruin, rather than make, or even propose, the smallest abatement from the immensity of the English rights in America: a conduct that more than wipes off every suspicion of an improper partiality, and which surely ought never to be mentioned without the highest gratitude to the memory of that magnanimous prince.

Were we to ransack the whole stores of ancient and modern history, it would perhaps be impossible to exhibit a more pleasing or instructive picture, than what might be formed by taking a just view of his late majesty's conduct to these two so differently constituted parts of his dominions. His virtue was proved by two of the greatest trials to which the nature of man is subject; the trust of absolute and unlimited power, and the most exalted station, circumscribed by the strictest laws. For these two so very different situations, very different and almost opposite tempers and talents have been always thought necessary. But George II. had a mind perfectly adapted to both: for whilst in England, he kept the liberties of his people inviolate, and, like a wise magistrate, was pleased to make his authority co-operate with law, and his will freely subservient to the wisdom of ages; in Hanover, like an indulgent father, acting only from the sentiments of a paternal heart, his affection and his equity supplied the want of law and constitution. He left, indeed, to his illustrious successor, an admirable example, which he has hitherto not only followed, but in many respects exceeded: and his subjects take the greater interest in his virtues, as they look upon them as more peculiarly their own; and they now boast a prince who neither has, nor can have, any partiality but the best, and who is in birth as well as in inclination a Briton †.

I shall close my account of this reign with particularising the principal domestic occurrences that engrossed the attention of the public during the course of this year.

In the month of December, 1759, William Horne, a gentleman of some fortune in Derbyshire, was executed at Nottingham, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, for the murder of an infant born of his own sister, in the year 1724. On the third day after the birth, this brutal ruffian thrust the child into a linen bag, and, accompanied by his own brother on horseback, conveyed it to Annesley

in Nottinghamshire, where it was next day found dead under a hay-stack. Though this unnatural monster knew how much he lay at the mercy of his brother, whom he had made privy to this affair, far from endeavouring to engage his secrecy by offices of kindness and marks of affection, he treated him as an alien to his blood; not barely with indifference, but even with the most barbarous rigour. He not only defrauded him of his right, but exacted of him the lowest menial services; beheld him starving in a cottage, while he lived himself in affluence; and refused to relieve, with a morsel of bread, the children of his own brother begging at his gate.

It was the relentment of this pride and barbarity which, in all likelihood, first impelled the other to revenge. He pretended qualms of conscience, and disclosed the transaction of the child to several individuals. As the brother was universally hated for the insolence and brutality of his disposition, information was given against him, and a resolution formed to bring him to condign punishment. Being apprised of this design, he tampered with his brother, and desired that he would retract, upon the trial, the evidence he had given before the justice. Though the brother rejected this scheme of perjury, he offered to withdraw himself from the kingdom, if he might have five pounds to defray the expence of his voyage. So sordidly avaricious was the other, that he refused to advance this miserable pittance, though he knew his own life depended upon his compliance. He was accordingly apprehended, tried, and convicted on his brother's evidence; and then he confessed the particulars of exposing the infant. He denied, indeed that he had any thought the child would perish, and declared he intended it as a present to the late Mr. Chaworth of Annesley, at whose gate it was laid: but as he appeared to be a hardened wretch, devoid of humanity, stained with the complicated crimes of tyranny, fraud, rapine, incest, and murder, very little credit is due to his declaration.

But no subject so much engaged the attention of the public, as did the case of lord George Sackville, who had by this time resigned his command in Germany, and returned to England, where his character was represented in the most odious and detestable colours. With the first news of the battle of Minden, arrived the defamation of this officer. He was accused of having disobeyed orders, and of having been guilty of the most shameful cowardice. These were the suggestions of a vague report, which no person could trace to its origin; yet this report immediately gave birth to one of the most inflammatory pamphlets that ever was exhibited to the public. The first charge had alarmed the people of England, jealous in honour, sudden and rash in their resentments, and obstinately adhering to the prejudices they have espoused. The implied accusation in the orders of prince Ferdinand, and the combustible matter superadded by the pamphlet-writer, kindled up such a blaze of indignation in the minds of the people, as admitted of no temperament or con-

† George II. had, by his queen Caroline, two sons and five daughters, who attained the age of maturity; Frederic prince of Wales, father to his present majesty George III. William, late duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princess-royal, married to

the late prince of Orange, and mother to the present stadtholder; Mary, landgravine of Hesse-Cassel; Louisa, late queen of Denmark; Amelia, and Caroline, who never married.

troul. An abhorrence and detestation of lord George Sackville, as a coward and a traitor, became the universal passion, which acted by contagion, infecting all degrees of people from the highest to the lowest; and no individual, who had the least regard for his own character and quiet, would venture to preach up moderation, or even advise a suspension of belief, until more certain information could be procured. Fresh fuel was continually thrown in by obscure authors of pamphlets and news-papers, who stigmatized and insulted with such a spirit of virulence, that one would have imagined they were actuated by personal motives, not retained by mercenary book-sellers, against that unfortunate nobleman. Not satisfied with inventing circumstances to his dishonour, in his conduct on the last occasion, they pretended to take a retrospective view of his character, and produced a number of anecdotes to his prejudice, which had never before seen the light, and but for this occasion had probably never been known. Not that all the writings, which appeared on this subject, contained fresh matter of aggravation against lord George Sackville. Some writers, either encouraged by the hope of reward, or hired to betray the cause which they undertook to defend, entered the lists as professed champions of the accused, assumed the pen in his behalf, devoid of sense, unfurnished with materials, and produced performances, which could not fail to injure his character among all those, who believed, that he countenanced their endeavours, and supplied them with the facts and arguments of his defence.

Such precisely was the state of the dispute, when lord George Sackville arrived in London. He was now made acquainted with the particulars of this imputed guilt, which he had before indistinctly learned. He was accused of having disobeyed three successive orders he had received from the general, during the action at Minden, to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, which he commanded, and sustain the infantry that were engaged; and after the cavalry were put in motion, of having halted them unnecessarily, and marched so slow, that they could not reach the place of action in time to be of any service; by which conduct the opportunity was lost of attacking the enemy when they gave way, and rendering the victory more glorious and decisive.

The first step which lord George took towards the vindication of his own character, was in presenting to the public the following address: "The various reports, said he, that have been propagated to my disadvantage, and the many falsehoods which have been asserted to ruin my character, lay me under the necessity of remaining not entirely silent, though I am debarred at present from stating my case to the public, as I should have done, had I not assurances of obtaining a court-martial for my trial; the only legal and effectual method of convincing the world how little foundation there has been for the torrent of calumny and abuse, which has been so maliciously thrown out against me.

"I had rather, upon this occasion, submit myself to all the inconveniencies that may arise from

the want of stile, than borrow assistance from the pens of others, as I can have no hopes of establishing my character, but from the force of truth. I shall, therefore, as plainly and distinctly as possible, relate a few circumstances, which will at least shew that no body could be more desirous than I am to bring truth to light, and subject my conduct to the strictest scrutiny.

"The instant I found by the implied censure given out in orders the second of August, that my conduct had appeared in an unfavourable light to prince Ferdinand, on the day of action, I endeavoured to inform myself what particular I had either failed in or neglected my duty; I heard in general of disobedience of orders, but I could fix no certain period of time to my supposed crime, till colonel Fitzroy acquainted me with what had passed between his serene highness and him upon my subject, in regard to the orders delivered to me by him (colonel Fitzroy) that day. Whenever my trial comes, I shall endeavour to clear up that point to the satisfaction of the public: my own assertions may have little weight, but the oaths of witnesses, whose veracity cannot be called in question, will, I trust, prove my innocence beyond the possibility of doubt.

"Under these circumstances, I immediately applied for his majesty's permission to return to England, that I might answer any accusation that should be brought against me; for, as commander in chief of the British forces in Germany, no person there could order a court-martial for my trial, had there been an accusation laid; the power of summoning courts-martial and approving their sentences, was vested in me by my commission, and no British officer or soldier could be tried by any other authority.

"As soon as I arrived in London, on Friday-evening the seventh, I instantly wrote the following letter to the secretary of state.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour of acquainting your lordship with my arrival in England, in pursuance of his majesty's permission, sent to me, at my request, by your lordship.

"I thought myself much injured abroad, by an implied censure upon my conduct; I find I am still more unfortunate at home, by being publicly represented as having neglected my duty in the strongest manner, by disobeying the positive orders of his serene highness prince Ferdinand: as I am conscious of neither neglect, nor disobedience of orders; as I am certain I did my duty to the utmost of my abilities; and as I am persuaded that the prince himself would have found, that he had no just cause of complaint against me, had he condescended to have inquired into my conduct, before he had expressed his disapprobation of it, from the partial representation of others: I therefore most humbly request, that I may at last have a public opportunity given me of attempting to justify myself to his majesty, and to my country, by a court-martial being appointed; that if I am guilty, I may suffer such punishment as I may have deserved; and, if innocent, that I may stand acquitted in the opinion of the world: but it is really too severe to have been censured unheard; to have

have been condemned before I was tried; and to be informed neither of my crime, nor of my accusers.

I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

GEORGE SACKVILLE."

"I received an answer to this letter on Monday the tenth, in which I was assured that a court-martial, upon my application, would be granted, as soon as the officers, capable of giving evidence, could leave their posts; but previously to the receipt of that letter, I was dismissed from all my military employments; notwithstanding which dismissal, I still hope, and am informed, that I may have the advantage of a legal trial.

"In the mean time, the only indulgence I have to ask is, that the public will suspend its judgment till such facts can be produced, from which alone the truth can appear; but if plans of a battle are to be referred to, which can give no just idea of it; if dispositions of the cavalry and infantry are supposed, which never existed; if orders for attacks and pursuits are quoted, which never were delivered; and if disobedience to those imaginary orders are asserted as a crime, what can an injured officer, under such circumstances, have recourse to, but claiming that justice, which is due to every Englishman, of being heard before he is condemned: the sooner that happens, the happier I shall be, as I am conscious my innocence must appear, when real facts are truly stated and fully proved.

GEORGE SACKVILLE."

This address, however, though extremely well approved by every man of sense and reflection, was not able to stem the torrent of popular prejudice, which flowed against him with irresistible impetuosity. He might, therefore, have retired in quiet and safety, and left it to ebb at leisure. This would have been generally deemed a prudential step, by all those who considered the unfavourable medium through which every particular of his conduct must have been viewed at that juncture, even by men who cherished the most candid intentions; when they reflected upon the power, influence, and popularity of his accuser; the danger of aggravating the resentment of the people, already too conspicuous, and the risque of hazarding his life on the honour and integrity of witnesses, who might think their fortunes depended upon the nature of the evidence they should give. Notwithstanding those suggestions, lord George, seemingly impatient of the imputation under which his character laboured, insisted upon the privilege of a legal trial, which was granted accordingly, after the judges had given it as their opinion, that he might be tried by a court-martial, though he no longer retained any commission in the service. A court of general officers being appointed and assembled to enquire into his conduct, the judge-advocate informed the court, that lord George was charged with having disobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand, relative to the battle of Minden.

In order to give the reader a more distinct view of the charge, it is necessary to remind him that lord George Sackville commanded the cavalry of the right wing, consisting of Hanoverian and British horse, disposed in two lines, the British being at the extremity on the right, extending to the

village of Hartum; the Hanoverian cavalry forming the left, that reached almost to an open wood or grove, which divided the horse from the line of infantry, particularly from that part of the line of infantry consisting of two brigades of British foot, the Hanoverian guards, and Hardenberg's regiment. This was the body of troops which sustained the brunt of the battle with the most incredible courage and perseverance. They, of their own accord, advanced to attack the left of the enemy's cavalry, through a most dreadful fire of artillery and small-arms, to which they were exposed in front and flank; they withstood the repeated attacks of the whole French gendarmerie, whom, at length, they totally routed, together with a body of Saxon troops on their left; and to their valour the victory was chiefly owing. The ground from which these troops advanced was a kind of heath or plain which opened a considerable way to the left, where the rest of the army was formed in order of battle; but on the right it was bounded by the wood, on the other side of which the cavalry of the right wing was posted, having in front the village of Halen, from whence the French had been driven by the piquets in the army there posted, and in front of them a windmill, situated in the middle space between them and a battery placed on the left of the enemy.

Early in the morning captain Malhorti had, by order of prince Ferdinand, posted the cavalry of the right wing in the situation we have just described, the village of Hartum with inclosures on the right, a narrow wood on the left, the village of Halen in their front, and a windmill in the middle of an open plain, which led directly to the enemy. In this position lord George Sackville was directed to remain until he should receive further orders; and here it was those orders were given which he was said to have disobeyed. Indeed, he was previously charged with having neglected the orders of the preceding evening, which imported, that the horses should be saddled at one in the morning, though the tents were not to be struck, nor the troops under arms, until they should receive further orders. He was accused of having disobeyed these orders, and of having come late into the field, after the cavalry was formed.

Captain Winchgrode, aid-du-camp to prince Ferdinand, declared upon oath, that while the infantry of the right wing were advancing towards the enemy for the second time, he was sent with orders to lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, and sustain the infantry, which was going to engage, by forming the horse under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the regiments: that he delivered these orders to lord George Sackville, giving him to understand, that he should march the cavalry through the wood or trees on his left, to the heath where they were to be formed: that, on his return to the heath, he met colonel Fitzroy at full gallop towards lord George; and that he (Winchgrode) followed him back in order to hasten the march of the cavalry.

Colonel Ligonier, another of the prince's aids-du-camp, deposed, that he carried orders from the general to lord George to advance with the cavalry, in order to take advantage of the disorder which

which appeared in the enemy's cavalry: that lord George made no answer to these orders, but turning to the troops, commanded them to draw their swords and march: that the colonel seeing them advance a few paces on the right forwards, told his lordship that he should march to the left: that, in the mean time, colonel Fitzroy arriving with orders for the British cavalry only to advance, lord George said the orders were contradictory, and colonel Ligonier replied they differed only in numbers; but the destination of his march was the same, to the left.

Colonel Fitzroy, the third aid du camp to prince Ferdinand, gave evidence, that when he told lord George it was the prince's order for the British cavalry to advance towards the left, his lordship observed, that it was different from the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and he could not think the prince intended to break the line: that he asked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide: that when he (the aid du camp) offered to lead the column through the wood on the left, his lordship seemed still dissatisfied with the order, saying it did not agree with the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and desired to be conducted in person to the prince, that he might have an explanation from his own mouth; a resolution which was immediately executed. The next evidence, a colonel in the army, made oath, that, in his opinion, when the orders were delivered to lord George, his lordship was alarmed to a very great degree, and seemed to be in the utmost confusion.

A certain nobleman, of high rank and unblemished reputation, declared, that captain Winchingrode having told him it was absolutely necessary that the cavalry should march and form a line, to support the foot, he had given orders to the second line to march: that, as soon as they arrived at the place where the action began, he was met by colonel Fitzroy with an order for the cavalry to advance as fast as possible: that, in marching to this place, an order came to halt, until they could be joined by the first line of cavalry: that afterwards, in advancing, they were again halted by lord George Sackville: that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even come up in time enough to act against the enemy: some other officers, who were examined on this subject, agreed with the marquis in these sentiments.

Lord George in his defence proved, by undeniable evidence, that he never received the orders issued on the eve of the battle, nor any sort of intimation or plan of action, although he was certainly intitled to some such communication as commander in chief of the British forces; that, nevertheless, the orders concerning the horses were obeyed by those who received them: that lord George, instead of loitering or losing time while the troops were forming, prepared to put himself at the head of the cavalry on the first notice that they were in motion: that he was so eager to perform his duty, as to set out from his quarters without even waiting for an aid du camp to attend him, and was in the field before any general officer of his division: that, when captain Winchingrode delivered the order to form the cavalry in one line, making a third, to advance and sustain the infantry, he nei-

ther heard him say he was to march by the left, nor saw him point with his sword to the wood through which he was to pass: that neither of these directions were observed by the aids du camp or officers then present, except one gentleman, the person who bore witness to the confusion in the looks and deportment of his lordship: that the nearest and most practicable way of advancing against the enemy was by the way of the windmill, to the left of the village of Halen: that lord George imagined this was the only way by which he could be ordered to advance: that, in this persuasion, he had sent an officer to reconnoitre the village of Halen as an object of importance, as it would have been upon the flank of the cavalry in advancing forwards: that when he received the order from Winchingrode to form the line and advance, he still imagined this was his route, and on this supposition immediately detached an aid du camp to remove a regiment of Saxe Gotha which was in the front: that he sent a second to observe the place where the infantry were, and a third to reconnoitre the enemy: that, in a few minutes, colonel Ligonier coming up with an order from prince Ferdinand to advance the cavalry, his lordship immediately drew his sword, and ordered them to march forward by the windmill: that, with regard to what the colonel said, that, upon his delivering the order, he added, "by the left!" lord George heard no such directions; nor did it reach the ears of any other person then present except of that officer who witnessed to the same direction given by Winchingrode: that immediately after the troops were put in motion, colonel Fitzroy arrived with an order from prince Ferdinand, importing, that the British cavalry only should advance by the left: that lord George declared their orders were contradictory, and seemed the more puzzled, as he understood that both these gentlemen came off nearly at the same time from the prince, and were probably directed to communicate the same order: that it was therefore natural to suppose there was a mistake, as there might be great danger in breaking the line, as the route by the wood appeared more difficult and tedious than that by the windmill, which led directly through open ground to the enemy; and as he could not think that if a body of horse was immediately wanted, the general would send for the British that were at the farthest extremity of the wing, rather than for the Hanoverian cavalry, who formed the left of the line, and consequently were much nearer the scene of action: that lord George in this uncertainty resolved to apply for an explanation to the prince in person, who he understood was at a small distance: that, with this view, he set out with all possible expedition: that having entered the wood, and perceived that the country beyond it opened sooner to the left than he imagined, and captain Smith, his aid du camp, advising that the British cavalry should be put in motion, he sent back that gentleman with orders for them to advance by the left with all possible dispatch: that he rode up to the general, who received him without any marks of displeasure, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing in a line upon the heath; an order, the reader will perceive, quite different from that which was so warmly espoused by the aid du camp: that as the marquis of Granby had

already put the second line in motion, according to a separate order which he had received, and the head of his column was already in view coming out of the wood, lord George thought it necessary to halt the troops on the left until the right should come into the line, and afterwards send them orders to march slower, that two regiments which had been thrown out of the line might have an opportunity to replace themselves in their proper stations.

With regard to the confusion which one officer pretended to have perceived in the countenance and deportment of this commander, a considerable number of other officers then present, being interrogated by his lordship, unanimously declared that they saw no such marks of confusion, but that he delivered his orders with all the marks of coolness and deliberation. The candid reader will of himself determine, whether a man's heart is to be judged by any change of his complexion, granting such a change to have happened: whether the evidence of one witness, in such a case, will weigh against the concurrent testimony of all the officers, whose immediate business it was to attend and observe the commander: whether it was likely that an officer, who had been more than once in actual service, and behaved without reproach, so as to attain such an eminent rank in the army, should exhibit symptoms of fear and confusion, when there was in reality no appearance of danger; for none of these orders imported he should attack the enemy, but only advance to sustain the infantry.

The time which elapsed from the first order he received by captain Winchgrode, to the arrival of colonel Ligonier, did not exceed eight minutes, during which his aid du camp, captain Hugo, was employed in removing the Saxe Gotha regiment from the front, by which he proposed to advance. From that period till the cavalry actually marched, in consequence of an order from lord George, the length of time was differently estimated in the opinions of different witnesses, but, at a medium, computed by the judge-advocate at fifteen minutes, during which the following circumstances were transacted: the troops were first ordered to advance forwards, then halted; the contradictory orders arrived and were disputed; the commander desired the two aids du camp to agree about which was the precise order, and he would obey it immediately; each insisting upon that which he had delivered, lord George hastened to the general for an explanation; and as he passed the wood, sent back captain Smith to the right of the cavalry, which was at a considerable distance, to put the British horse in motion.

I shall not pretend to determine whether the commander of such an important body may be excusable for hesitating, when he receives contradictory orders at the same time, especially when both orders run counter to his own judgment; whether in that case it is allowable for him to suspend the operation for a few minutes, in order to consult in person the commander in chief about a step of such consequence to the preservation of the whole army. Neither will I venture to decide dogmatically on the merits of the march, after the cavalry were put in motion; whether they marched too slow, or were unnecessarily halted in their way to the heath.

It was proved indeed that lord George was always remarkably slow in his movements of cavalry, on the supposition that if horses are blown, they must be unfit for service, and that the least hurry is apt to disorder the line of horse to such a degree, as would rob them of their proper effect, and render all their efforts abortive. This being the system of lord George Sackville, it may deserve consideration, whether he could deviate from it on this delicate occasion, without renouncing the dictates of his own judgment and discretion; and whether he was at liberty to use his own judgment, after having received the order to advance.

After all, whether he was intentionally guilty, and what were the motives by which he was really actuated, are questions which his own conscience alone can solve. Even granting him to have hesitated from perplexity; to have lingered from vexation; to have failed through error of judgment; he will probably find favour with the candid and humane part of his fellow-subjects, when they reflect upon the nature of his situation, placed at the head of such a body of cavalry, uninstructed and uninformed of plan or circumstance, divided from the rest of the army, unacquainted with the operations of the day, chagrined with doubt and disappointment, and perplexed by contradictory orders, neither of which he could execute without offering violence to his own judgment; when they consider the endeavours he used to manifest his obedience; the last distinct order, which he in person received and executed; that mankind are liable to mistakes; that the cavalry were not originally intended to act, as appears in the account of the battle published at the Hague by the authority of prince Ferdinand, expressly declaring that the cavalry on the right did not act, because it was destined to sustain the infantry in a third line; that if it had really been designed for action, it ought either to have been posted in another place, or permitted to advance strait forwards by the windmill, according to the idea of its commander: finally, when they recal to view the general confusion that seems to have prevailed through the manoeuvres of that morning, and remember some particulars of the action; that the brigades of British artillery had no orders until they applied to lord George Sackville, who directed them to the spot where they acquitted themselves with so much honour and effect, in contributing to the success of the day; that the glory and advantage acquired by the few brigades of infantry, who may be said to have defeated the whole French army, was in no respect owing to any general or particular orders or instructions, but entirely flowing from the native valour of the troops, and the spirited conduct of their immediate commanders; and that a great number of officers in the allied army, even of those who remained on the open heath, never saw the face of the enemy, or saw them at such a distance that they could not distinguish more than the hats and the arms of the British regiments with which they were engaged. With respect to the imputation of cowardice levelled at lord George by the unthinking multitude, and circulated with such industry and clamour, we ought to consider it as a mob-accusation, which the bravest of men, even the great duke of Marlborough, could not escape: we ought to receive it as a dangerous suspicion, which strikes at the root of character, and may
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blast that honour in a moment, which the soldier has acquired in a long course of painful service, at the continual hazard of his life: we ought to distrust it as a malignant charge, altogether inconsistent with the former conduct of the person accused, as well as with his subsequent impatience and perseverance in demanding a trial, to which he never would have been called; a trial which, tho' his life was at stake, and his cause out of countenance, he sustained with such courage, fortitude, and presence of mind, as even his enemies themselves could not help admiring. It ought likewise to be observed in his favour, that the only person who witnessed to the confusion in his countenance, and of consequence may be supposed to have been the author of this malicious report, was himself guilty of the very same disobedience to orders of which he accused his superior; and the intelligent reader will, from this circumstance, judge what credit is due to the evidence of such a witness, especially when contradicted by the concurrent testimony of so many other gentlemen.

The court-martial, however, having examined the evidence, and heard the defence, gave judgment in these words: "The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatsoever." This sentence was confirmed by the king, who moreover signified his pleasure, that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any English troops happened to be, that officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature; and that seeing they are subject to censures, much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders. To complete the disgrace of this unfortunate general, his majesty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy-counsellors.

This trial was succeeded by another of a still more important nature. Laurence Shirley, earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent spirit, who had committed many outrages, and, in the opinion of all who knew him, given manifold proofs of insanity, at length perpetrated a murder which subjected him to the cognizance of the law. His deportment to his lady was so brutal, that application had been made to the house of peers, and a separation effected by act of parliament. Trustees were nominated; and one Mr. Johnson, who had, during the best part of his life, been employed in the family, was now appointed receiver of the estates, at the earl's own request. The conduct of this man in the course of his stewardship gave umbrage to lord Ferrers, whose disposition was equally jealous and vindictive. He imagined all his own family had conspired against his interest, and that Johnson was one of their accomplices; that he had been instrumental in obtaining the act

of parliament, which his lordship considered as a grievous hardship; that he had disappointed him in regard to a certain contract about coal-mines: in a word, that there was a collusion between Johnson and the earl's adversaries. Inflamed with these suppositions, he first expressed his resentment by giving Johnson notice to quit the farm which he possessed on the estate; but finding the trustees had confirmed the lease, he determined to gratify his revenge by assassination, and laid his plan accordingly.

On Sunday the thirteenth of January he appointed this unhappy man to come to his house on the Friday following, in order to peruse papers, or settle accompts; and Johnson went thither without the least suspicion of what was prepared for his reception: for although he was no stranger to his lordship's dangerous disposition, and knew he had some time before incurred his displeasure, yet he imagined his resentment had entirely subsided, as the earl had of late behaved to him with remarkable complacency. He therefore at the time appointed repaired to his lordship's house of Stanton in Leicestershire, at the distance of a short mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a maid servant. The earl had dismissed every person in the house, upon various pretences, except three women who were left in the kitchen. Johnson advancing to the door of the apartment, was received by his lordship, who desired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inside. After a great deal of warm expostulation, the earl insisted upon his subscribing a paper, confessing himself a villain; and on his refusing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonstrated against this cruel resolution, and deprecated the indignation of this furious nobleman. He remained deaf to all his intreaties, drew forth a pistol which he had loaded for the purpose, and commanding him to implore heaven's mercy on his knees, shot him through the body while he remained in that supplicating posture. The consequence of this violence was not immediate death; but his lordship seeing the wretched victim still alive and sensible, though agonized with pain, felt a momentary emotion of pity. He ordered his servants to convey Mr. Johnson up stairs to a bed, to send for a surgeon, and give immediate notice of the accident to the wounded man's family. When Mr. Johnson's daughter came to the house, she was met by the earl, who told her he had shot her father on purpose, and with deliberation.

The same declaration he made to the surgeon at his arrival. He stood by him while he examined the wound, described the direction of the ball, and seemed surprised that it had not penetrated through the body. When he demanded the surgeon's opinion of the wound, the operator thought proper to temporize, for his own safety as well as for the sake of the public, lest the earl should take some other desperate step, or endeavour to escape. He therefore amused him with hopes of Johnson's recovery, about which he now seemed extremely anxious. He supported his spirits by immoderate drinking, after having retired to another apartment with the surgeon, whom he desired to take all possible care of his patient. He declared, however,

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that he did not repent of what he had done; that Johnson was a villain, who deserved to die; that in case of his death he (the earl) would surrender himself to the house of peers, and take his trial. He said he could justify the action to his own conscience; and owned his intention was to have killed Johnson outright; but as he still survived, and was in pain, he desired that all possible means might be used for his recovery.

Nor did he seem altogether neglectful of his own safety: he endeavoured to tamper with the surgeon, and enquired what evidence he would give when called before a court of justice. He continued to drink himself into a state of intoxication, and all the cruelty of his hate seemed to return. He would not allow the wounded man to be removed to his own house, saying, he would keep him under his own roof that he might plague the villain. He returned to the chamber where Johnson lay, insulted him with the most opprobrious language, threatened to shoot him through the head, and could hardly be restrained from committing further acts of violence on the poor man, who was already in extremity. After he retired to bed, the surgeon procured a sufficient number of assistants, who conveyed Mr. Johnson in an easy chair to his own house, where he expired about nine in the morning. The same surgeon assembled a number of armed men to seize the murderer, who at first threatened resistance, but was soon apprehended, endeavouring to make his escape, and committed to the county prison. From thence he was conveyed to London by the gaoler of Leicester, and conducted by the usher of the black rod and his deputy into the house of lords, where the coroner's inquest, and the affidavits touching the murder being read, the gaoler delivered up his prisoner to the care of the black rod, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. He appeared very calm, composed, and unconcerned, from the time of his being apprehended; conversed coolly on the subject of his imprisonment; made very pertinent remarks upon the nature of the habeas corpus act of parliament, of which he hoped to avail himself; and when they withdrew from the house of peers, desired he might not be visited by any of his relations or acquaintances. His understanding, which was naturally good, had been well cultivated; his arguments were rational, but his conduct was frantic.

The circumstances of this assassination appeared so cruel and deliberate, that the people cried aloud for justice; and the government gave up the offender to the laws of his country. The lord-keeper Henley was appointed lord high steward for the trial of earl Ferrers, and sat in state with all the peers and judges in Westminster-hall, which was for this purpose converted into a very august tribunal. On the sixteenth day of April the delinquent was brought from the Tower in a coach, attended by the major of the Tower, the gentleman-gaoler, the wardours, and a detachment of the footguards. He was brought into court about ten; and the lord steward with the peers taking their places, he was arraigned aloud, in the midst of an infinite multitude of people, including many foreigners, who seemed wonderfully struck with the grandeur and magnificence of the scene. The murder was fully proved by unquestionable evidence:

but the earl pleaded insanity of mind; and, in order to make good this plea, called many witnesses to attest his lunacy in a variety of instances, which seemed too plainly to indicate a disordered imagination: unfounded jealousy of plots and conspiracies, unconnected ravings, fits of musing, incoherent ejaculations, sudden starts of fury, denunciations of unprovoked revenge, frantic gesticulations, and a strange caprice of temper, were proved to have distinguished his conduct and deportment.

It appeared that lunacy had been a family taint, and affected several of his lordship's relations; that one of them in particular, a solicitor of reputation, had renounced his business, on the full persuasion of his being disordered in his brain; that, long before this unhappy event, his nearest relations had deliberated upon the expediency of taking out a commission of lunacy against him, and were prevented by no other consideration than the fear of being sued for *scandalum magnatum*, should the jury find his lordship *compos mentis*; a circumstance which in all probability would have happened, inasmuch as the earl's madness did not appear in his conversation, but in his conduct. A physician of eminence, whose practice was confined to persons labouring under this infirmity, declared that the particulars of the earl's deportment, and personal behaviour, seemed to indicate lunacy. Indeed, all his neighbours and acquaintance had long considered him as a madman; and a certain noble lord is said to have declared in the house of peers, when the bill of separation was on the carpet, that he looked upon him in the light of a maniac; and that, if some effectual step was not taken to deprive him of the power of doing mischief, he did not doubt but that they would one day have occasion to try him for murder.

The lawyers for the crown endeavoured to invalidate the proofs of his lunacy, by observing, that his lordship was never so much deprived of his reason but that he could distinguish between good and evil: that the murder he had committed was the effect of revenge, for a conceived injury of some standing: that the malice was deliberate, and the plan artfully conducted: that immediately after the deed was perpetrated, the earl's conversation and reasoning was cool and consistent, until he drank himself into a state of intoxication: that, in the opinion of the greatest lawyers, no criminal can avail himself of the plea of lunacy, provided the crime was committed during a lucid interval; but his lordship, far from exhibiting any marks of insanity, had, in the course of his trial, displayed uncommon understanding and sagacity in examining the witnesses, and making many shrewd and pertinent observations on the evidence which was given.

These sentiments coincided with the opinion of the peers, who unanimously declared him guilty. The trial lasted two days; and on the third the lord-steward, after having made a short speech concerning the heinous nature of the offence, pronounced the same sentence of death upon the earl which malefactors of the lowest class undergo; namely, that from the Tower, in which he was imprisoned, he should, on the Monday following, be led to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, and his body be afterwards dissected and anatomized. This last part

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of the sentence seemed to shock the criminal extremely; he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in great agitation; but during the remaining part of his life he behaved with surprising composure, and even unconcern. After he had received sentence, the lords his judges, by a power vested in them, respited his execution for one month, that he might have time to settle his temporal and spiritual concerns.

Before sentence was passed, the earl read a paper, in which he begged pardon of their lordships for the trouble he had given, as well as for having, against his own inclination, pleaded lunacy at the request of his friends. He thanked them for the candid trial with which he had been indulged, and intreated their lordships to recommend him to the king for mercy. He afterwards sent a letter to his majesty, remonstrating, that he was the representative of a very ancient and honourable family, which had been allied to the crown; and requesting that, if he could not be favoured with the species of death which in cases of treason distinguishes the nobleman from the plebeian, he might at least, out of consideration of his family, be allowed to suffer in the Tower, rather than at the common place of execution: but this indulgence was refused. From his return to the Tower, to the day of his execution, he betrayed no mark of apprehension or impatience; but regulated his affairs with precision, and conversed without concern or restraint.

On the fifth day of May, his body being demanded by the sheriffs at the Tower-gate, in consequence of a writ under the great seal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, his lordship desired permission to go in his own landau, and appeared gaily dressed in a light-coloured suit of cloaths, embroidered with silver. He was attended in the landau by Mr. sheriff Vaillant and the chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the sheriffs, a mourning coach and six filled with his friends, and a hearse for the conveyance of his body. He was guarded by a posse of constables, a party of horse grenadiers, and a detachment of infantry; and in this manner the procession moved from the Tower, through an infinite concourse of people, to Tyburn, where the gallows, and a scaffold erected under it, appeared covered with black bays. The earl behaved with great composure to Mr. sheriff Vaillant: he observed, that the gaiety of his apparel might seem odd on such an occasion; but that he had particular reasons for wearing that suit of cloaths: he took notice of the vast multitude which crowded around him, brought thither, he supposed, by curiosity to see a nobleman hanged: he told the sheriff he had applied to the king by letter, that he might be permitted to die in the Tower, where the earl of Essex, one of his ancestors, had been beheaded in the reign of queen Elizabeth; an indulgence which, he said, he had the greater reason to hope would be granted, as he had the honour to quarter part of his majesty's arms. He expressed some displeasure at being executed as a common felon, exposed to the eyes of such a multitude.

The chaplain, who had never been admitted to him before, observing that some account of his lordship's sentiments on religion would be expected by the public, he made answer, that he did not

think himself accountable to the public for his private sentiments: that he had always adored one God, the creator of the universe; and, with respect to any particular opinions of his own, he had never propagated them, or endeavoured to make proselytes; because he thought it was criminal to disturb the established religion of his country, as lord Bolingbroke had done by the publication of his writings. He added, that the great number of sects, and the multiplication of religious disputes, had almost banished morality. With regard to the crime for which he suffered, he declared that he had no malice against Mr. Johnson; and that the murder was owing to a perturbation of mind, occasioned by a variety of crosses and vexations. When he approached the place of execution, he expressed an earnest desire to see and take leave of a certain person who waited in a coach; a person, he said, for whom he had the most sincere regard and affection; but the sheriff prudently suggesting that such an interview might unman him, at a time when he had occasion for all his fortitude and resolution, he acquiesced in the justness of the remark, and delivered to him a pocket-book, a ring, and a purse, desiring they might be given to that person, whom he now declined seeing.

On his arrival at Tyburn he came out of the landau, and ascended the scaffold with a firm step and undaunted countenance. He refused to join the chaplain in his devotions; but, kneeling with him on black cushions, he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he said he had always admired; and added with great energy, "O Lord, forgive me all my errors, pardon all my sins." After this exercise, he presented his watch to Mr. sheriff Vaillant, thanked him and the other gentlemen for all their civilities; and signified his desire of being buried at Breden, or Stanton, in Leicestershire. Finally, he gratified the executioner with a purse of money; then the halter being adjusted to his neck, he stepped upon a little stage, erected upon springs, on the middle of the scaffold; and, the cap being pulled over his eyes, the sheriff made a signal, at which the stage fell from under his feet, and left him suspended in the air. His body having hung an hour and five minutes, was cut down, placed in the hearse, and conveyed to the public theatre for dissection, where being opened, and lying for some days as the subject of a public lecture, at length it was carried off and privately interred.

In the month of August a remarkable act of desperate revenge was perpetrated by one Stirn, a native of Hesse Cassel, inflamed and exasperated by a false punctilio of honour. This unhappy young man was descended of a good family, and possessed many accomplishments both of body and mind; but his character was distinguished by such a jealous sensibility, as rendered him unhappy in himself, and disagreeable to his companions. After having lived for some years as usher in a boarding-school, he was admitted into the house of one Mr. Matthews, a surgeon, in order to teach him the classics, and instruct his children in music, which he perfectly understood. He had not long resided in this family, when the surgeon took umbrage at some part of his conduct, taxed him roughly with fraud and ingratitude, and insisted upon his removing to another lodging. Whether he reject-

ed this intimation, or found difficulty in procuring another apartment, the surgeon resolved to expel him by violence, called in the assistance of a peace officer, and turned him out into the street in the night, after having loaded him with the most provoking reproaches.

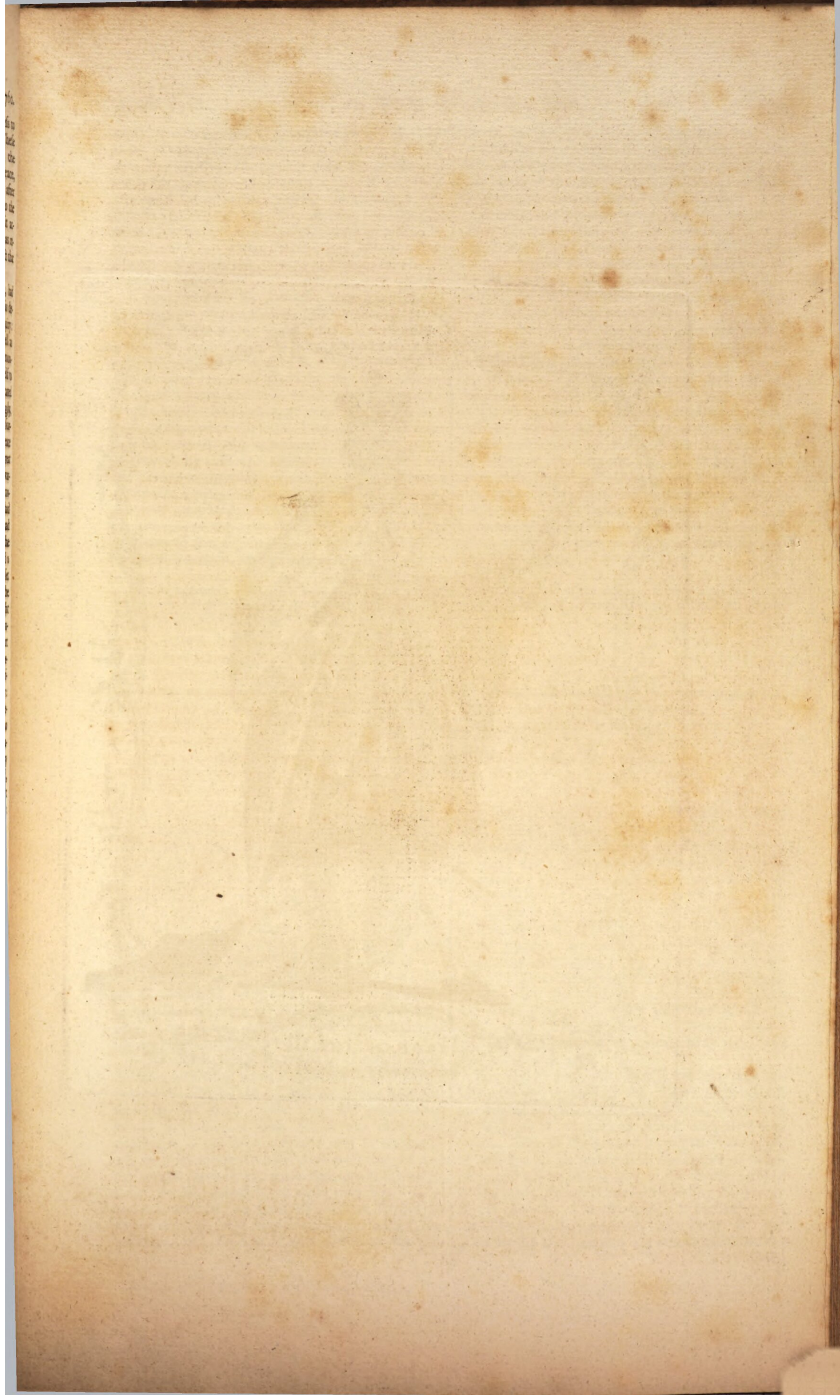
These injuries and disgraces operating upon a mind jealous by nature, and galled by adversity, produced a kind of phrenzy of resentment; and he took the desperate resolution of sacrificing Matthews to his revenge. Next day, having procured a case of pistols, and charged them for the occasion, he reinforced his rage by drinking an unusual quantity of wine, and repaired in the evening to a public house which Mr. Matthews frequented, in the neighbourhood of Hatton Garden. There he accordingly found the unhappy victim sitting with some of his friends; and the surgeon, instead of palliating his former conduct, began to insult him afresh, saying he was a dirty fellow, and that he ought to be sent back to his own lousy country. Stirn, exasperated by this additional indignity, pulled his pistols from his bosom, shot the surgeon, who immediately expired, and discharged the other at his own breast, though his confusion was such that he missed of his aim. He was apprehended on the spot, and conveyed to prison, where for some days he refused all kind of sustenance, but afterwards became more composed. At his trial he pleaded insanity of mind; but being found guilty, he resolved to anticipate the execution of the sentence. That same evening he drank poison; and notwithstanding all the remedies that could be administered, died in strong convulsions. His body was publicly dissected, according to the sentence of the law, and afterwards interred with those marks of indignity which are reserved for the perpetrators of suicide. It does not appear what reason Matthews had for accusing Stirn of the crimes which he laid to his charge; but Stirn solemnly declared in his last moments that there was none. He expressed many obligations to one Mr. Crawford, with whom he had lived as usher, and who often visited him in prison with great kindness and humanity. He was possessed of good natural parts, improved by an excellent education; and perhaps, had he been in a condition more suitable not only to his hopes, but to his birth and merit, he would have been less jealous of affronts; and, conscious of undisputed dignity, would have treated rudeness and slander with contempt, instead of pursuing them with revenge.

In the month of October the attention of the public was strongly engaged by a private, but interesting event, namely, the death of one Miss Bell, an unfortunate young creature of a good family, who had renounced her father's house, and embraced the wretched life of a common prostitute. She died at a lodging-house in Marybone, having declared on her death-bed to an officer of her acquaintance, who visited her from a motive of humanity, that she had received her death's wound at a bagnio from a certain young gentleman, who seemed to have mangled her out of meer wantonness of brutality. She not only persisted in repeating this declaration before divers persons, but conjured the officer to see justice done upon the villain who had treated her so inhumanly. Her complaint was corroborated by the asseveration of

her own maid and attendant, who bore witness to her being wounded in two different places. These circumstances made such an impression upon the gentleman, that he applied to a justice of the peace, and obtained an order for taking up her body after she was buried, that it might be subjected to the cognizance of the coroner and his inquest; it accordingly underwent an examination, and was re-interred, after the jury had given their verdict that she died a natural death.

The officer, who, though in attendance, had not been examined, was not satisfied with this decision, and resolved to promote a further enquiry: he wrote to the young woman's father, as well as to the person accused, who had retired to the country, and declared that he would submit himself to a fair trial, that his character might be vindicated to the satisfaction of the public. Accordingly, when the father commenced a prosecution, he surrendered himself before five justices of the peace in Westminster, who having examined a great number of witnesses, were of opinion that the warrant should be discharged. As a pamphlet, containing an account of the death of Miss Bell, had been published, and without doubt given a bad impression of this gentleman, he prosecuted the officer in the King's Bench for having published a libel against him; but the information was set aside, and the judge ordered the prosecutor to be tried at the Old Bailey for murder. He was brought to the bar of that tribunal in the month of February, and, after a long hearing, acquitted. By part of the evidence it appeared there was reason to believe the unfortunate deceased was actually delirious when she made the complaint to the officer: the nurse contradicted the evidence of that gentleman: the servants of the bagnio declared that no wounds had been given at the time when the tragedy was said to have been acted: the apothecary who attended her in her last moments affirmed, that the wounds could not be the cause of her death, but actually preserved her from dying of a mortification; and the physician gave it as his opinion, that the supposed wounds were no other than abscesses, formed by an effort of nature to relieve itself. Had they really been wounds, there would be little reason to suppose they were the immediate cause of her death, as no considerable vessel had been hurt, nor any of the bowels injured; but, that the infliction of such wounds, co-operating with other acts of barbarity, blows, stripes, and bruises, might in a body incensed with rage, and inflamed with intoxication, produce a fever that would terminate in death, is a possibility to which every judicious physician must subscribe; and in that case, he who inflicted the wounds and bruises, who aroused the resentment, and promoted the intoxication of the deceased, cannot justly be pronounced innocent of her death. The person, however, accused of the murder, was finally acquitted, though by no means to the satisfaction of the public.

The royal society having made application to the king, representing that there would be a transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, on the sixth day of June; and that there was reason to hope the parallax of that planet might be more accurately determined by making proper observations of this phenomenon at the island of St. Helena, near the coast



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GEORGE THE III.

coast of Africa, and at Bencoolen in the East Indies; his majesty granted a sum of money to defray the expence of sending able astronomers to these two places, and ordered a ship of war to be equipped for their conveyance. Accordingly, Mr. Nevil Maskelyne and Mr. Robert Waddington were appointed to make the observations at St. Helena; and Mr. Charles Mason and Mr. Jeremiah Dixon undertook the voyage to Bencoolen on the island of Sumatra †.

I shall conclude the domestic occurrences of this year with an account of two incidents, which, tho' of a very different nature in respect of each other, concurred nevertheless in demonstrating that the internal wealth and vigour of the nation were neither drained nor diminished by the enormous expence and inconveniencies of the war. The committee appointed to manage the undertaking for a new bridge over the river Thames at Blackfriars having received and examined a variety of plans, presented by different artists, at length gave the preference to the design of one Mr. Mylne, a young architect, a native of North Britain, just returned from the prosecution of his studies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in the Capitol, which the academy of that city bestows on him who produces the most beautiful and useful plan on a given sub-

ject of architecture. This young man being at London, in his return to his own country, was advised to declare himself a candidate for the superintendency of the new bridge; and the plan which he presented was approved and adopted. The place being already ascertained, the lord-mayor of London, accompanied by the committee and a great concourse of people, repaired to Blackfriars, and laid the first stone of the bridge, placing upon it a plate with an inscription, which does more honour to the public spirit of the undertakers than to the classical taste of the author.

The other instance that denoted the wealth and spirit of the nation, was the indifference and unconcern with which they bore the loss of a vast magazine of naval stores, belonging to the dock-yard at Portsmouth, which in the month of July was set on fire by lightning, and being composed of combustibles, burned with such fury, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the workmen in the yard, the sailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that before a stop was put to the conflagration, it had destroyed a variety of stores, to an immense value. The damage, however, was so immediately repaired, that it had no sort of effect in disconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparation.

† In the beginning of April the king granted to his grandson, prince Edward-Augustus, and to the heirs-male of his royal highness, the dignities of duke of the kingdom of Great

Britain, and of earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the names, styles, and titles, of duke of York and Albany, and of earl of Ulster.

G E O R G E

III.

A. D. 1760.

THE decease of his late majesty was no sooner known than Mr. Pitt, one of the principal secretaries of state, repaired to Kew, and communicated the tidings to his new sovereign, George the Third, who thus ascended the throne in the twenty-third year of his age. The lords of the privy-council were immediately assembled; and next day his majesty was proclaimed before Saville-house in Leicester-fields, in presence of the great officers of state, the nobility, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and a great number of persons of distinction. The same ceremony was performed, with the usual solemnities, in different parts of the capital, which resounded with joy and acclamation.

The council being assembled at Charlton-house, the king addressed himself to them in the following terms: "The loss that I and the nation have suffered by the death of the king my grandfather, would have been severely felt at any time; but coming at so critical a juncture, and so unexpected, it is by many circumstances augmented; and the weight now falling upon me, much increased, I feel my own insufficiency to support it as I wish: but animated by the tenderest affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, the sup-

port and assistance of every honest man, I enter with chearfulness into this arduous situation, and shall make it the business of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happiness of these kingdoms; to preserve and strengthen the constitution, both in church and state; and as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in the manner the most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." This declaration implying a resolution to prosecute the same measures which had been planned under the late king, was published at the request of the lords assembled in council, and effectually quelled the apprehensions of all those who dreaded an alteration.

His majesty now took and signed the oath relating to the security of the church of Scotland, and subscribed two instruments thereof, in presence of the lords of council, by whom they were witnessed. One of those was transmitted to the court of sessions, to be recorded in the books of Sederunt, and afterwards lodged in the public register of Scotland; the other remained among the records of the council. The two houses of parliament being assembled, the members were sworn in; the peers by the lord-keeper; the commons before the duke

duke of Rutland, lord-steward: after which both houses were adjourned.

The first specimen which his majesty gave of his excellent disposition, was a proclamation which he issued for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality. It was expressed in the following terms: "We most seriously and religiously considering, that it is an indispensable duty on us to be careful, above all other things, to preserve and advance the honour and service of Almighty God, and to discourage all vice, profaneness, debauchery, and immorality, which are so highly displeasing to God, so great a reproach to our religion and government, and, by means of the frequent ill examples of the practices thereof, have so fatal a tendency to the corruption of many of our loving subjects, otherwise religiously and virtuously disposed; and which, if not timely remedied, may justly draw down the Divine vengeance on us and our kingdoms. We also humbly acknowledging, that we cannot expect the blessing and goodness of Almighty God (by whom kings reign, and on which we entirely rely) to make our reign happy and prosperous to ourselves and to our people, without a religious observance of God's holy laws: to the intent therefore, that religion, piety, and good manners, may, according to our most hearty desire, flourish and increase under our administration and government, we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy-council, to issue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby declare our royal purpose and resolution to discountenance and punish all manner of vice, profaneness, and immorality, in all persons, of whatsoever degree or quality, within this our realm, and particularly in such as are employed near our royal person; and that, for the encouragement of religion and morality, we will upon all occasions distinguish persons of piety and virtue, by marks of our royal favour. And we do expect and require, that all persons of honour, or in place of authority, will give good example by their virtue and piety, and to their utmost contribute to the discountenancing persons of dissolute and debauched lives, that they, being reduced by that means to shame and contempt, for their loose and evil actions and behaviour, may be thereby also enforced the sooner to reform their ill habits and practices, and that the visible displeasure of good men towards them may, as far as it is possible, supply what the laws probably cannot altogether prevent. And we do hereby strictly enjoin and prohibit all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, from playing on the Lord's day at dice, cards, or any other game whatever, either in public or private houses, or any other places whatsoever; and we do hereby require and command them, and every of them, decently and reverently to attend the worship of God on every Lord's day, on pain of our highest displeasure, and of being proceeded against with the utmost rigour that may be by law. And for the more effectual reforming all such persons who, by reason of their dissolute lives and conversations, are a scandal to our kingdom; our further pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and command all our judges, mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all other our officers and ministers, both ecclesiastical and civil, and all other our subjects whom

it may concern, to be very vigilant and strict in the discovery, and the effectual prosecution and punishment of all persons who shall be guilty of excessive drinking, blasphemy, profane swearing and cursing, lewdness, profanation of the Lord's day, or other dissolute, immoral, or disorderly practices; and that they take care also effectually to suppress all public gaming-houses and places, and other lewd and disorderly houses, and to put in execution the statute made in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of the late king Charles II. entitled, An act for the better observation of the Lord's day commonly called Sunday: and also an act of parliament made in the ninth year of the reign of the late king William III. intitled, An act for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness; and all other laws now in force for the punishing and suppressing any of the vices aforesaid; and also to suppress and prevent all gaming whatsoever, in public or private houses, on the Lord's day; and likewise that they take effectual care to prevent all persons keeping taverns, chocolate-houses, coffee-houses, or other public houses whatsoever, from selling wine, chocolate, coffee, ale, beer, or other liquors, or receiving or permitting guests to be or remain in such their houses in the time of divine service on the Lord's day, as they will answer it to Almighty God, and upon pain of our highest displeasure. And for the more effectual proceeding herein, we also hereby direct and command all our judges of assizes, and justices of the peace, to give strict charges at their respective assizes and sessions, for the due prosecution and punishment of all persons that shall presume to offend in any of the kinds aforesaid; and also of all persons that, contrary to their duty, shall be remiss or negligent in putting the laws in execution; and that they do at their respective assizes and quarter-sessions of the peace, cause this our royal proclamation to be publicly read in open court, immediately before the charge is given. And we do hereby further charge and command every minister in his respective parish-church or chapel, to read, or cause to be read, this our proclamation, at least four times in every year, immediately after divine service, and to incite and stir up their respective auditors to the practice of piety and virtue, and the avoiding of all immorality and profaneness. And to the end that all vice and debauchery may be prevented, and religion and virtue practised by all officers, private soldiers, mariners, and others, who are employed in our service by sea and land, we do hereby strictly charge and command all our commanders and officers whatsoever, that they do take care to avoid all profaneness, debauchery, and other immoralities; and that, by their own good and virtuous lives and conversations, they do set good examples to all such as are under their care and authority; and likewise take care of and inspect the behaviour of all such as are under them, and punish all those who shall be guilty of any offences aforesaid, as they will be answerable for the ill consequences of their neglect herein. Given, &c."

This proclamation was immediately succeeded by another, requiring all persons who were in offices of authority or government, at the decease of the late king, to proceed in the execution of their respective offices. The tide of affection towards the

the young monarch began to run so high, that addresses, couched in the warmest professions of love and attachment, flowed in from every part of the kingdom. The magistrates of London led the way; and their example was followed by the merchants and traders of that city, amounting to such a number as had never before appeared on the like occasion. The clergy of London and Westminster, headed by the archbishop of Canterbury, payed their compliments to his majesty on his accession to the throne; and the two universities were not slow in presenting their addresses of congratulation. In a word, all the bodies politic and corporate, in all the cities and counties of the three kingdoms seemed to vie with each other in expressions of loyalty and affection to their new sovereign, who received them with such affability and marks of regard as could not but be extremely pleasing to a people remarkable for sensibility and sentiment.

On the tenth day of November, in the evening, the body of the late king was removed from Kensington to the apartment called the Prince's Chamber, near the house of peers, where it lay in state until next night, when it was interred with great funeral pomp, in the royal vault in the chapel of Henry the Seventh, adjoining to Westminster-abbey, the duke of Cumberland appearing in the character of chief mourner. These last duties to the deceased monarch being piously discharged, the eyes of the people were turned upon their youthful sovereign, who, some hoped, and many apprehended, would soon embrace a new system of politics. Nor did the different parties which had been so long silenced, and now began to revive in the nation, fail to recommend their favourite plans by every kind of argument and topic.

The grand contest which divided the two factions was, whether it was useful or expedient to adhere to our German connections. The enemies of these measures alleged, that by persisting in such a conduct, we evidently pursued a system by which we must lose all the advantages we acquired during the short time we followed one that was more rational and suitable to our circumstances; a system of all others the most absurd; a system, in which defeats were attended with their usual fatal effects, and in which even victory itself could not save us from ruin: that, not to enter into that long and vainly agitated question, whether we ought to take any part in the differences which may arise between the powers on the continent? this disquisition being foreign to the present purpose, and besides, being of too vague and general a nature to admit of any precise determination; this much might be asserted, that we could never engage in a continental war against France, without a concurrence in our favour of all the other powers on the continent: that this was the continental scheme of the great king William; and this principle the foundation of the grand alliance, which he projected, and at the head of which, in defence of the liberties of Europe, he made the most august appearance to which any monarch had ever been raised: that it was on this principle, in conjunction with half Europe, that we carried on the war with so much honour and success against France, under the great duke of Marlborough; but to engage in a continental war with that power, not only unassisted, but opposed by the greatest part of those

states with whom we were then combined, was an attempt never to be justified by any comparative calculation of the populousness, the revenues, or the general strength of the two nations; it was a desperate struggle, which must finally end in our ruin. What, they asked, was the scene which we had chosen for this struggle? We have chosen Germany, they said; the very spot which, of all others, the French, if they had their choice, would have pointed out to us. That, by making Germany the theatre of war, they saw that country wasted and destroyed, the strength of which had always proved the greatest bulwark against their insatiable ambition: that they saw the swords of the Germans, through the whole extent of that vast and populous country, turned against each other; and they beheld with joy the English, whose interest it was to save them as much as possible, co-operating with their blood and treasures to complete the disunion, and consequently the desolation of Germany. That, in a war in that country, France has many advantages: she supports her armies, in a great degree, by pillaging those whom, in every respect, it is her interest to weaken: she is not very remote from her own frontiers, from whence she is easily provided, easily recruited; and by means of which a great part of the public money is expended in the country where it is raised. Is she unsuccessful? she is brought thereby but the nearer to her frontier, supports her troops with still the greater facility, and exhausts still less the natural wealth of her people: that even supposing the French army driven into France, these very advantages are considerably increased; and many obvious circumstances render it impossible for the allied army to push their success against France, on the side of Germany, to any decisive consequence. That to the English, on the contrary, every thing is unfavourable in such a war; their greatest successes will only carry them to a greater distance from their resources, and every step of their progress must make the transport of provision, artillery, ammunition, and the numerous and almost infinite necessities of a large army more difficult, and in the end altogether impracticable: that this was not vain speculation, the events which followed the battle of Crevelt, had sufficiently proved; prince Ferdinand, victorious in that action, was obliged, rather from the difficulty of subsisting than the superiority of the enemy, to repass the Rhine, and to bring back to Germany that war with which he had threatened France: that hence appeared the truth of that maxim, that victory itself could not save us, and that all our successes served only to accumulate new distresses, new difficulties, new charges; whilst France, who had only contracted her expences by the loss of her navy, encouraged us to enter deeper and deeper into the inextricable toils of a German war, in which we wasted our strength only to entangle ourselves further: that she held the strings, and could never be tired out at this sort of game; from whence arose an expence unknown, even in thought, to our forefathers, and which the single revenue of England was by no means able to bear: that our allies, if they deserved the name, supplied not the least part of this money; and the Hanoverians and Hessians contributed to our assistance only by enabling us to protract

tract still longer our efforts in a system, in which nothing could so effectually serve us as the being defeated as early as possible: that, with regard to the king of Prussia, what we paid to that monarch might rather be considered as a tribute than a subsidy, since we received nothing in return; and that, far from being able to afford any relief to our armies, he was scarcely in a condition to support himself: that this alliance was still worse than the former, as it was an heavy charge, compensated not only with no real, but even with no shewy advantage: that indeed he was an ally the last in the world we ought to have chosen, on account of his long connection with our worst enemies, the mean and the hostile sentiments he has always entertained towards us, the injuries he has done us, and the general lightness of his faith with respect to his former allies: that we regard him, it is true, as the protector of the protestant religion; but how lightly he thinks of all religion, his writings testify; and what mischiefs he has done the protestant cause in particular, this war will be a lasting memorial: that when he entered Saxony, a protestant country, he found that religion no ways molested in those places, where it had been established or tolerated by the treaty of Westphalia; and even in the popish dominions, the persecution began to lose something of its edge, when he, under the name of its protector, brought upon it as great a calamity as its most inveterate enemies could have wished; by dividing the protestant states of the empire, and setting protestants to cut the throats of protestants, whilst all the papists were, at the same time, forced into a strict confederacy: that, had we kept ourselves clear of this ruinous system, and, instead of engaging France on her strong side, had attacked and vanquished her colonies, one after another, we might, without exhausting our own strength, have gradually taken away the principal resources of her trade; and whilst we continued this method, have had as little reason to grow tired of a war, the whole funds of which would be spent at home, as France had to grow weary of the present manner of waging it: that if the powers on the continent were allowed, without our interposition, to do their own business, they would probably better understand and better defend their own rights: that, at worst, let France enter, let her conquer, let her possess Hanover; there was no mischief she could do that country greater than it suffered by the present war; and we, not exhausting ourselves by a fruitless defence, should, in the end, by the entire possession of the French colonies, be able, besides the security of our just claims, to restore the Hanoverian dominions to their lawful sovereign, and even to procure some indemnification for the losses they might have sustained in our quarrel.

The friends of the German war, on the other hand, asserted, that the best reasons against our continental connections were more specious than solid; and that the chief writings on that side of the question, were rather declamations than arguments: that the complaint of the expence was, in some measure, just; but if the advantage was in any degree equivalent, the expence was incurred to good purpose: that France, by engaging so heartily as she had done in the German war, had

diverted so much of her attention and her revenue from the navy, that it enabled us to give such a blow to her maritime strength, as possibly she might never be able to recover: that her engagement in the German war had likewise drawn her from the defence of her colonies, by which means we had conquered some of the most considerable she possessed: that it had withdrawn her from the protection of her trade, by which it was entirely destroyed, whilst that of England had never, in the profoundest peace, been in so flourishing a condition; so that, by embarking in this German war, France had suffered herself to be undone, so far as regarded her particular and immediate quarrel with England: but had she, they asked, obtained in Germany such successes as would counterbalance this loss? Far, very far from it: at that very moment she was infinitely less advanced than she was the year she entered Germany, after having spent such immense sums of money, and lost, by the sword, by disease, and by desertion, an hundred thousand of her people: that, on the other hand, the account stood not thus with regard to England; deeply embarked as she had been in this German war, in her particular quarrel with France, she had been carried along with an almost uninterrupted tide of success; she had taken many of the French colonies; she had destroyed their navy and their trade; and having insulted the enemy's coast, had ruined a harbour which might one day prove very alarming to England: that affairs in Germany were likewise in a very promising and agreeable situation; the French had been there frequently defeated; Hanover had been secured and protected; the king of Prussia had been preserved, so far at least, from the rage of his enemies; and, in general, the liberties of Germany had been hitherto secured: that thus, if we had incurred a great expence, we had done by it infinitely more than France had done at an expence infinitely greater than ours: that the advocates who declaimed against German connections, seemed to have forgot that the charge of the French army must exceed that of the English, in the same proportion as the number of their troops exceeded the difference between the French and the English pay: that those on the English establishment in Germany had, at no time, exceeded twenty-four thousand, and the rest of the confederates served very nearly on the same terms with the French; not to mention the subsidies, so greatly superior to ours, which that power paid to states from whom she had not a single regiment to augment her armies. Thus, although by our victories France was relieved from the charge of her navy, and that of defending some of her most considerable colonies, the German war alone had brought her forces to a distress of which the whole world had been witness; nor indeed could any less have happened; the expence, however, contracted, was still enormous; and trade, the resource of every war, was almost destroyed: that in England the expence was also undoubtedly great; but then, the old trade still remained to supply it, and new channels were opened: that, had we lain by and tamely beheld part of Germany possessed, and the rest compelled to receive laws from France, the war then would soon have been brought to an end; and that

that people, strengthened by victory, by conquest, and alliance, would have been able to employ against us the whole force and whole revenue of their mighty monarchy: that it ought likewise to be considered, that common faith obliged us to adhere to our engagements both with Prussia and Hanover; and that the pleaded incapacity to assist them, arising from the greatness of the expence, could not excuse us, because the incapacity was not real; and if the expence was inconvenient, we ought to have attended to that circumstance, when we contracted our engagement: that it cannot be true that we received no advantage from our alliance with the king of Prussia; because, if it be once admitted that we entered with any reason into the German war, which they supposed undeniable, then the king of Prussia had been of very considerable service to us, inasmuch as it was his victory at Rosbach, and the reinforcement from his troops, which had enabled us to do all that we had since achieved: besides, if the support of the protestant religion were any part of our care, that religion must suffer severely by the ruin of the king of Prussia; for though the writings attributed to his Prussian majesty were such, as, if really his, reflected, on account of their impiety, great disgrace on his character as a man, yet as a king, in his public and political capacity, he is the natural protector of the protestant religion, and it will always be his interest to defend it.

Such were the sentiments of the two parties with regard to the nature of our German connections, when the parliament assembling in the month of November, the king repaired to the house of lords, and the commons assembling as usual, he declared from the throne the following speech to both houses:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The just concern which I have felt in my own breast, on the sudden death of the late king my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you must all have been deeply affected with so severe a loss. The present critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loss the more sensible, as he was the great support of that system, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms can be preserved, and give life to measures conducive to those important ends.

“ I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at such a time, and under such circumstances. My consolation is in the uprightness of my own intentions, your faithful and united assistance, and the blessing of heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

“ Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolutions to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and the religious rights of my loving sub-

jects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and, as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

“ I reflect with pleasure on the successes with which the British arms have been prospered this last summer. The total reduction of the vast province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the most interesting consequence, and must be as heavy a blow to my enemies, as it is a conquest glorious to us; the more glorious, because effected without effusion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.

“ Our advantages gained in the East Indies have been signal, and must greatly diminish the strength and trade of France in those parts, as well as procure the most solid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my subjects.

“ In Germany, where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army, under the wise and able conduct of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, has not only stopt their progress, but has gained advantages over them, notwithstanding their boasted superiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

“ My good brother and ally the king of Prussia, although surrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perseverance almost beyond example, not only withstood their various attacks, but has obtained very considerable victories over them.

“ Of these events I shall say no more at this time, because the nature of the war in those parts has kept the campaign there still depending.

“ As my navy is the principal article of our naval strength, it gives me much satisfaction to receive it in such good condition; whilst the fleet of France is weakened to such a degree, that the small remains of it have continued blocked up by my ships in their own ports: at the same time, the French trade is reduced to the lowest ebb; and with joy of heart I see the commerce of my kingdoms, that great source of our riches, and fixed object of my never-failing care and protection, flourishing to an extent unknown in any former war.

“ The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at sea and land, have been distinguished so much to the glory of this nation, that I should be wanting in justice to them if I did not acknowledge it. This is a merit which I shall constantly encourage and reward; and I take this occasion to declare, that the zealous and useful service of the militia, in the present arduous conjuncture, is very acceptable to me.

“ In this state I have found things at my accession to the throne of my ancestors: happy in viewing the prosperous part of it; happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture made last winter towards a congress for a pacification, has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful

powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation."

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" The greatest uneasiness which I feel at this time, is in considering the uncommon burthens necessarily brought upon my faithful subjects. I desire only such supplies as shall be requisite to prosecute the war with advantage; be adequate to the necessary services; and that they may be provided for in the most sure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what shall be granted. I have ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and also an account of the extraordinary expences which, from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred.

" It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged to mention any thing which personally regards myself. But as the grant of the greatest part of the civil list revenues is now determined, I trust in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper provision for supporting my civil government with honour and dignity. On my part, you may be assured of a regular and becoming œconomy.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The eyes of all Europe upon you. From your resolutions the protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views. Let these hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour and dispatch of our proceedings.

" In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign: that happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospect. The natural disposition and wish of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promise myself that nothing will arise on your part to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people."

In answer to this sensible speech, the two houses presented addressees, filled with expressions of the strongest veneration and attachment. As the substance of both was similar, or rather the same, it will be sufficient to insert that of the commons, which was conceived in the following strain:

" Most gracious sovereign,

" We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, approach your royal presence, to express the deepest sense of the great and severe loss

which your majesty and these kingdoms have sustained by the death of your majesty's royal grandfather, our late most excellent sovereign; the memory of whose just and prosperous reign will be held in reverence by latest posterity.

" We beg leave to congratulate your majesty on your happy accession to the throne, the only consideration that can alleviate our grief for such a loss. The knowledge of your majesty's royal virtues, wisdom, and firmness, opens to your faithful subjects the fairest prospect for their future happiness at home, and for the continuance of that weight and influence of your majesty's crown abroad, so essentially necessary, in this arduous and critical conjuncture, for the preservation of that system upon which the liberties of Europe depend.

" We return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and acknowledge, with the liveliest sentiments of duty, gratitude, and exultation of mind, those most affecting and animating words of our sovereign, That, born and educated in this country, he glories in the name of Briton. And we offer to your majesty the full tribute of our hearts, for the warm and tender expressions of your truly royal and tender affection towards your people. We venerate and confide in those sacred assurances of your majesty's firm and invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state; to maintain the toleration inviolate; and to protect your faithful subjects in that greatest of human blessings, the secure enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties.

" Permit us to congratulate your majesty on the various successes which, under the protection of God, have attended the British arms during the last summer, particularly in the reduction of Montreal, and the entire province of Canada; a conquest equally important and glorious, achieved with intrepidity and closed with humanity, the genuine attributes of that British spirit, which, under the benign auspices of your majesty, will, we trust, continue, by the Divine assistance, to give additional lustre to the arms of Great Britain.

" This valuable and extensive acquisition, joined to the signal advantages gained in the East Indies; the flourishing state of our commerce; the respectable condition of your majesty's navy, by which the remains of the enemy's fleet continue blocked up in their harbours, whilst their trade is almost annihilated; are considerations which fill our hearts with the most pleasing hopes, that your majesty will be thereby enabled to prosecute this just and necessary war, to that great and desirable object of establishing, in conjunction with your allies, a safe, honourable, and lasting peace.

" We see, with the greatest pleasure, that the progress of the French arms in Germany, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, has been stopped, and, to the honour of your majesty's arms, their attempts hitherto baffled, by the wise and able conduct of his serene highness prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

" When we consider the stupendous efforts made in every campaign by your majesty's great ally the king of Prussia, the defeat of the Austrians in Silesia, and that recent and glorious victory obtained over the army commanded by marshal Daun, we cannot sufficiently admire the invincible constancy

constancy of mind, and inexhaustible resources of genius, displayed by that magnanimous monarch, to whom the most dangerous, and difficult situations have only administered fresh occasions for glory.

“ Our most dutiful acknowledgements are due to your majesty for the mention you have so graciously made of the distinguished valour and intrepidity of your officers and forces at sea and land, and for the declaration of your majesty’s constant resolution to encourage and reward such merit; and we return our most humble thanks to your majesty for your favourable acceptance of the zealous and useful service of the militia, in the present arduous conjuncture.

“ We assure your majesty, that your faithful commons, thoroughly sensible of this important crisis, and desirous, with the divine assistance, to render your majesty’s reign successful and glorious in war, happy and honourable in peace (the natural return of a grateful people to a gracious and affectionate sovereign) will concur in such measures as shall be requisite for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war; and that we will cheerfully and speedily grant such supplies as shall be found necessary for that purpose, and for the support of the king of Prussia, and the rest of your majesty’s allies: firmly relying on your majesty’s wisdom, goodness, and justice, that they will be applied in such a manner as will most effectually answer the ends for which they are granted, and with the utmost œconomy that the nature of such great and extensive operations will allow; and that we will make such an adequate provision for your majesty’s civil government as may be sufficient to maintain the honour and dignity of your crown with all proper and becoming lustre.

“ Your majesty’s faithful commons approach your royal person with hearts penetrated by the warmest and liveliest sense of your unbounded tenderness and concern for the welfare of your people; and rejoicing at the high satisfaction your majesty takes in the union which so universally prevails throughout your kingdoms: a deep sense of that national strength and prosperity visibly derived from this salutary source, and above all, your majesty’s approbation of that happy union, and the natural disposition and wish of your royal heart, to cement and promote it; are the strongest incentives to concord, and the surest pledge of its duration. The fixed resolution, which your majesty has declared, to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue, will, we doubt not, prove the best means of drawing down the favour of God upon a dutiful and united nation: and we shall never cease devoutly to offer up our ardent vows to the Divine Providence, that, as a recompence for these royal virtues, your majesty may reign in the hearts of a free and happy people; and that they, excited by your majesty’s benevolent care to discharge your royal function, and animated by gratitude for the enjoyment of so many blessings, may make the due return, by a constant obedience to your laws, and by the most steady attachment and loyalty to your person and government.”

The commons, not satisfied with these assurances of their loyalty and affection, agreed to a second address of thanks for the gracious manner

in which the first had been received by his majesty. Even before they had established the orders and resolutions renewed at the beginning of every session, they proceeded to take this speech into consideration. A motion being made that a supply should be granted to his majesty, the house resolved itself into a committee, agreed to the motion, and immediately appointed the committee of supply, which was continued to the sixth day of March. It was in pursuance of these resolutions, that the house of commons granted for the support of his majesty’s household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, during his life, such a revenue as, together with the annuities payable by virtue of any acts of parliament made in the reign of the late king, out of the hereditary civil list revenues, should amount to the clear yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to commence from the demise of his late majesty; to be charged upon, and made payable out of the aggregate fund. At the same time they resolved, that the several revenues payable to his late majesty, during his life, which continued to the time of his demise (other than such payments as were charged upon, and issuing out of the aggregate fund) should be granted and continued from the time of the said demise, to his present majesty during his life; and the produce of the said revenues, together with the produce of the hereditary revenues, which were settled, or appointed, towards the support of the late king’s household, should be, during the said term, added to, and consolidated with the aggregate fund.

The commons next proceeded to grant the supplies for the service of the ensuing year; the sum total of which amounted to nineteen millions six hundred sixteen thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds nineteen shillings ninepence three farthings: a sum, which, however, large, and even seemingly enormous, yet whoever considers the extensive nature of our military operations in almost every quarter, will allow, perhaps, to be no more than was absolutely necessary.

This great supply was raised by a continuation of the land and malt taxes, which constituted the standing revenue of the nation, and by borrowing the sum of twelve millions, the interest to be paid by an additional duty on beer and ale: by a continuation of the duties of ten shillings per ton upon all wines, vinegar, cyder, and beer, imported into Great-Britain, formerly granted by act of parliament for defraying the charges of the mint: by loans or exchequer-bills for one million five hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament: by a sum remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer, being part of ninety thousand pounds granted to the late king in the year 1759, upon account, towards defraying the charge of the militia: by issuing one million seven hundred sixty-two thousand four hundred pounds from the sinking fund. The whole of the provisions made in this session fell very little short of twenty millions sterling; the surplus being intended to supply the deficiencies that might happen in any of the funds that had been established.

In the beginning of the session, before the committee had taken the civil list into consideration, the king sent a message by the chancellor of the

Exchequer, informing the house of commons, that, being ever ready and desirous to give the most substantial proofs of his tender regard to the welfare of his people, he was willing, that, whenever the house should make provision for the support of his household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, such disposition might be made of his majesty's interest in the hereditary revenues of the crown, as might best conduce to the utility and satisfaction of the public. In consequence of this intimation, the house deliberated on the matter, and the king willingly accepted a certain provision of eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, settled by act of parliament, in lieu of the former funds appropriated for the civil list revenue; and this consent was undoubtedly a royal instance of moderation, considering that this annuity was charged with fifty thousand pounds a year to his mother the princess dowager of Wales, fifteen thousand pounds per annum to the duke of Cumberland, and twelve thousand to the princess Amelia. After these deductions, his majesty received no more than seven hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds annually, for the support of his public state, the subsistence of all his brothers and sisters, and the maintenance of his royal and increasing family.

The bills founded on the resolutions of the committee of ways and means were regularly introduced, and passed into laws, according to the usual form, without any opposition or debate: for the whole house seemed to be actuated by the same spirit of loyalty and affection. The navy bill and the mutiny bill underwent the annual discussion, as usual; and the provisions in this last, relating to the trial and punishment for mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the East-India company, were by a new bill extended to the company's settlement of Fort Marlborough, and to such other principal settlements, wherein the company might be hereafter empowered to hold courts of judicature.

As the accession of a new king to the throne of Great-Britain has been generally distinguished by acts of grace in favour of debtors and delinquents, petitions were now presented to the house of commons by persons confined for debt in the different gaols of London, the borough of Southwark, and other parts of the kingdom, describing their situation, and imploring relief from the legislature.

To the cries of these captives, the legislature lent a favourable ear; and a bill in their behalf was brought into the house of commons, which afterwards passed into an act for the relief of prisoners. It contained a very remarkable clause, importing, that as many persons too often choose rather to continue in prison, and spend their substance there, than discover and deliver up to their creditors their estates or effects, towards satisfying their just debts; the creditors may compel any prisoner committed, or who shall hereafter be committed, and charged in execution, to appear at the quarter-sessions, with the copy of his detainer, and deliver, upon oath, a just schedule of his estate: that a prisoner, subscribing the schedule, and making a discovery of his estate, shall be discharged at the general or quarter sessions, under this act: and that on his refusal so to do, or concealing to the amount of twenty pounds, he shall suffer as a felon.

This compulsive clause was attended with a consequence, which, in all probability, the legislature did not foresee. Great numbers of tradesmen, and people in the lower classes of life, and even many who had moved in a higher sphere, were said to have laid hold on this opportunity of disencumbering themselves from their debts, which might have been honestly paid by a proper exertion of industry and temperance. Every person desirous of reaping the benefit of the act, prevailed upon some relation or friend to perform the part of compelling creditor. The public complained that the gaols about London were crowded with a succession of these voluntary captives; and that a great number of honest men were ruined by this indulgence shewn to their debtors by the clemency of parliament.

Certain it is, the common council of the city of London, in their instructions to the representatives in the new parliament, recommended to them to exert their utmost endeavours to procure the repeal of this compulsive clause, as a manifest grievance to the public.

In the month of January the king sent a message to the commons, importing, that his majesty being sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves, in defence of his just rights and possessions, recommended it to the house to take their services into consideration, and enable his majesty to give them a proper recompence for the expence incurred by the respective provinces in levying, cloathing, and maintaining the troops they had raised, according as the active vigour, and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces should appear to merit. This intimation was referred to the committee of supply, and that resolution taken in favour of the American provinces which we have mentioned before among the grants of the year. The royal message was likewise procured in favour of the East-India company, for enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in India; and they were accordingly gratified with the sum already specified under that article.

In the beginning of March the king made a proposal for securing the independency of the judges, which could not fail to inspire the subject with the most favourable opinion of his royal candour and moderation. In a speech from the throne he informed both houses of parliament, that, upon granting new commissions to the judges, the present state of their offices fell naturally under consideration: that, notwithstanding the act passed in the reign of king William III. for settling the succession to the crown, by which act the commissions of the judges were continued in force during their good behaviour, yet their offices had determined at the demise of the crown, or in six months after that event, as often as it had happened: that as he looked upon the independency and uprightness of the judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice, one of the best securities to the rights and liberties of his subjects, as well as conducive to the honour of the crown, he recommended this interesting object to the consideration of parliament, in order that such further provision might be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any such demise, as should be

be most expedient: that he hoped the commons would enable him to grant, and establish upon the judges, such salaries as he should think proper, so as to be absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions: and that he could not let slip the present opportunity of thanking both houses for the great unanimity and application with which they had hitherto carried on the public business; exhorting them to proceed with the same good disposition, and with such dispatch, that this session might be brought to a happy conclusion.

This speech was received with that universal applause, which it so well deserved. The commons unanimously resolved to display their gratitude in an address to the throne. They acknowledged the most lively sense of his majesty's attention to an object so interesting to his people. They assured him, that his faithful commons saw, with joy and veneration, the warm regard and concern which animated his royal breast for the security of the religion, laws, liberties, and properties of his subjects: that the house would immediately proceed upon the important work recommended by his majesty with such tender care of his people; and would enable him to establish the salaries of the judges in such a permanent manner, that they might be enjoyed during the continuance of their commissions. They forthwith began to deliberate upon this subject; and their resolutions terminated in a law, enacting, among other particulars, That such part of the salaries of the judges as was before payable out of the yearly sums granted for the support of the king's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, should, after the demise of his present majesty, be charged upon, and payable out of all or any such duties or revenues, granted for the use of the civil government, as should subsist after the demise of his majesty, or of any of his heirs and successors. Thus the individuals, intrusted with the administration of the laws, were effectually emancipated from the power of the prerogative, and of all undue influence.

It was likewise in the beginning of March that the chancellor of the Exchequer communicated a message from the king to the commons, desiring the house would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year 1761. This message was immediately referred to the consideration of the committee of supply; and his majesty was indulged with one million, upon account, as we have already mentioned.

Mr. Onslow, who had so long filled the speaker's chair with equal candour and capacity, having signified his intention to retire from business, in consequence of age, infirmities, and other motives of a private nature, the commons determined to bestow upon him some signal marks of their esteem and regard. They accordingly resolved, that the thanks of the house should be given to Mr. Speaker, for his constant and unwearied attendance in the chair, during the course of above thirty-three years, in five successive parliaments; for the unshaken integrity and steady impartiality of his conduct there; and for the indefatigable pains he had, with uncommon abilities, constantly taken to promote the honour and dignity of parliament,

and to preserve inviolable, the rights and privileges of the commons of Great-Britain.

The house also resolved to present an address to the king, humbly to beseech his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of his royal favour upon the right honourable Arthur Onslow, esq; for his great and eminent services performed to his country, for the space of thirty-three years and upwards. This application was very agreeable to the king's own generous disposition. He expressed a proper sense of the speaker's great services, and unblemished character; and that gentleman was gratified with an annual pension of three thousand pounds, payable out of his majesty's treasure at the Exchequer, for his own life and that of his son. All the public business being dispatched, and all the bills having received the royal sanction, the king repaired to the house of lords on the nineteenth day of March, and closed the session with a speech from the throne.

Before I proceed to relate the operations of war during this year in the different climates of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, I think it necessary to observe, that the accession of his present majesty produced no alteration in the system of public affairs, and was attended with no revolution of any consequence, either in the church, the state, or the army. The metropolitan see of Canterbury was still possessed by Secker, alike distinguished for his piety and learning. The office of lord high chancellor was conferred upon lord Henly, baron Grange, who had given manifold proofs of his independent spirit, knowledge, and integrity. Lord Mansfield maintained his seat on the King's Bench, and judge Willes in the Common Pleas. The ministry and cabinet council underwent no material alteration, except in the accession of the earl of Bute, who succeeded the earl of Holderness as secretary of state for the northern department, and was supposed to stand with Mr. Pitt, the other secretary, as joint pilot at the helm of administration. The duke of Newcastle still directed the treasury; earl Granville presided at the council; and lord Anson at the board of Admiralty. Earl Temple kept the privy seal; and Mr. Legge acted as chancellor of the Exchequer, though in a little time he was dismissed from that employment. Mr. Charles Townshend being appointed secretary at war, soon proved by his conduct the fallacy of that maxim which holds genius inconsistent with industry; and performed every part of this office with such accuracy and expedition, as had never before appeared in that scene of transaction. The lucrative post of paymaster remained with Mr. Henry Fox, who, though not very acceptable to either party, had, by mere superiority of parts, been able to maintain his footing with both.

The management of the king's household devolved upon noblemen of unblemished characters. The chamberlain's wand was delivered to the duke of Devonshire, universally beloved for his generosity, and sweetness of disposition. The duke of Rutland, so distinguished for his benevolence, was created master of the horse; and the office of lord steward was bestowed upon earl Talbot, who, with equal spirit and perseverance, reformed many enormous abuses in the œconomy of the king's household. The earl

of Halifax was nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland. Divers young noblemen were appointed lords of the king's bed-chamber†; and a very few alterations made in places of trust and profit; but, in general, all the members of the great offices, and all the commissioners of the revenue throughout the three kingdoms, were continued in their respective employments.

The chief command of the army in Great Britain was enjoyed by the lord viscount Ligonier. The German army in Westphalia, paid by England, remained under the auspices of prince Ferdinand of Brunswic; the marquis of Granby commanded the British forces on that service; and the direction of the troops in America was still intrusted to Sir Jeffery Amherst. Neither was any material change produced in the disposition of the different squadrons which composed the navy of Great Britain. Admiral Holborn's flag continued flying at Spithead. Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy were stationed in the bay of Quiberon. Sir Charles Saunders kept the sea in the Mediterranean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Cornish commanded one squadron in the East-Indies; rear-admiral Holmes another at Jamaica; Sir James Douglas a third at the Leeward Islands; lord Colvil a fourth at Halifax in Nova Scotia. These were stationary; but other squadrons were equipped occasionally, under different commanders; besides the single ships that cruized in and about the Channel, and those that were stationed to protect the trade of Great-Britain in different parts of the world.

But let us now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe. The events of the last campaign had produced no material alteration in the political system of its different princes and states. Those that professed a neutrality, still kept aloof, and enjoyed the fruits of their forbearance. The Dutch continued to trade, and grumble at the interruption which their navigation sustained from the English cruisers: nay, the states of Holland and West Friesland resolved, in consequence of the proceedings of the English, that twelve ships of the line should be equipped with all expedition, and employed in cruising in the Mediterranean for the protection of their commerce. The Danes extended their trade in silence. The Spaniards at last began to feel the benefit of an active traffic. The Portuguese monarch was wholly engaged in the trial and expulsion of jesuits and conspirators. The court of Vienna seemed more and more determined upon prosecuting the war with vigour. The empress of Russia promised to act in perfect concert with her allies: the Swedes appeared still irresolute. As for the French monarch, whatever ambition or interest he might have to achieve conquests, or to retrieve what he had lost in the course of the war, his finances were so encumbered, that he could no longer

furnish the subsidies which he had promised to the allies of his crown; and therefore professed an earnest desire to put an end to the troubles which had so long desolated the best part of Europe.

In the month of February his ambassador at the court of Stockholm delivered a declaration to the Swedish monarch, importing, that the most Christian king, moved by the calamities of war, so widely diffused, and so severely felt in different parts of the world, thought it his indispensable duty to declare, that his humanity in general, and his regard to his own subjects in particular, prompted him to express his desire that his allies would concur with him in restoring the peace of Europe: that in adjusting the differences between France and England, he would abundantly display his moderation, whenever Great Britain should be inclined to acquiesce in reasonable terms: that common humanity required his allies to concert with him a plan of pacification, and he hoped every member of the alliance would labour to strengthen, if possible, the bands of amity with which they were connected: that, in the mean time, an accumulation of distress among his unhappy subjects, an additional depopulation of countries, a disorder in the finances of several powers, and the greatest doubt whether an advantageous peace could be made in Germany, induced him to declare, that as the war had considerably diminished his resources, he was constrained to lessen his subsidies, and even to give notice, that, should the war continue, he could no longer promise an exact compliance with the letter of his engagements.

France was not only exhausted by external wars, but likewise embroiled with internal dissensions. The disputes between the clergy, and the civil administration of justice, far from being quieted by the royal authority, seemed to acquire fresh rancour from some late complaints exhibited against the Jesuits; a society which at this juncture incurred universal odium, from the intrigues and conspiracy which some of their members had conducted in the kingdom of Portugal. They were extremely unpopular in France, not only on account of the doctrines which they taught and promulgated in their seminaries and writings, but also for their officious interfering in temporal concerns; and particularly for some frauds in commerce, of which they were loudly and universally accused. They had prosecuted a considerable traffic with the island of Martinique; and some of their vessels being taken by the English cruisers, seized this pretence for stopping payment, in order to defraud their creditors: but they were cited before the tribunals of the kingdom, and compelled to do justice to those whom they had intended to injure. The issue of this prosecution was attended with new disgrace to the whole order, and the people in general wished for their expulsion from France. The parliament of Paris

† The earl of Kildare was created a marquis of the kingdom of Ireland. Lord Delawar was promoted to the rank of earl of Cantalupe. The honourable John Spencer, first cousin to the duke of Marlborough, was ennobled by the title of baron Spencer of Althorp in the county of Northampton, and viscount Spencer. George Doddington was made lord Melcomb, baron of Melcomb-Regis in the county of Dorset. Sir Thomas Robinson was created baron Grantham in Lincolnshire; Sir Nathaniel Curzon, baron Scarsdale in the county of Derby, and Sir William Irby, lord Boston, baron

of Boston in the county of Lincoln. Mary countess of Bute was vested with the title of baroness Mountstuart, of Wortley in the county of York; the title of baron to devolve to her lawful issue male by John earl of Bute.

Archibald duke of Argyle dying in April, the title and estate devolved on his cousin lieutenant general John Campbell. The marquis of Tweedale was constituted justice general of Scotland, in the room of the deceased duke; whose post of keeper of the seal for Scotland was given to Charles duke of Queensberry.

took cognizance of their books, some of which they condemned to the flames, as containing doctrines subversive of all government and morality. They moreover issued some severe edicts against the society; but the king interposing in their behalf, published an arret, suspending all proceedings against them for a twelvemonth. This the parliament consented to register, on condition that it should continue in force no longer than the first of April; at the same time they directed the first president to represent in the strongest terms to his majesty, the ill consequences of protecting such a pernicious order; the more dangerous from their great number, which in France alone was computed to amount to above twenty thousand.

The war still continued to rage with unabated fury in Germany. In the beginning of January, while both armies remained in winter-quarters, the head-quarters of prince Ferdinand being at Uslar, and those of the French general in Hesse Cassel, divers hot skirmishes happened in different parts of Westphalia. General Luckner, with four thousand men of the allied army, had in December been driven from Heligenstadt by a more numerous body of French under the command of the count de Broglie. In the beginning of January the same count, reinforced by Mr. de Stainville, constrained general Mansberg to abandon the town of Duderstadt, where he was posted; but a reinforcement arriving under Kilmansegge and Luckner, the French were expelled in their turn, and pursued with considerable loss as far as Witzenhausen.

Prince Ferdinand having assembled his army in the beginning of February, began his march towards Cassel on the eleventh day of the month, in four columns, by the way of Warbourg, Liebenau, Sielen, and Dringelbourg, the command of the vanguard being assigned to the marquis of Granby, who advanced to Kerchberg and Metze. In the mean time, the hereditary prince having received intelligence that the French garrison of Fritzlar was not prepared for a defence, he marched thither with a few battalions, in hope of carrying the place by a sudden assault with musquetry only: but he met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to wait for the arrival of cannon and mortars, which were plied with great vivacity; and the garrison being destitute of artillery, colonel de Narbonnes, their commander, capitulated on honourable terms, after having made a very gallant resistance. During these transactions, lieutenant-general Briedenbach took possession of a large magazine at Rosenthal, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Marburg, in which he lost his life; but this place was afterwards relinquished by the French at the approach of the marquis of Granby, who took possession of it without opposition. Gundersberg likewise surrendered to the same general.

General Sporcken, with the united corps of Kilmansegge and Wangenheim, had advanced by the way of Dargelstadt to Thomas-spruck, upon the Unstrut. There being reinforced by a body of Prussians, he fell upon the Saxon troops, cantoned between Mulhausen and Eysenach, with such vigour and success, that a great number were killed, and five entire battalions made prisoners of war. On the other hand, the enemy attacked the post of Gentzungen, near Filtzberg, from whence they were repulsed with considerable loss. The

design of prince Ferdinand was to reduce Ziegenhayn and Cassel, before the Duc de Broglie should receive his reinforcements; and these two places were accordingly invested.

The allied army was cantoned in two lines, with the right extending to the Lahne, and the left stretched towards Fulda; while prince Ferdinand fixed his quarters at Schwienberg. Lord Granby, having left a garrison in Marburg, marched into the neighbourhood of Lohr. Another body, under general Hardenberg, advanced to Kircham; while the detachment employed at the siege of Cassel proceeded very slowly in their operations, and received some mortifying checks from vigorous sallies that were made by the garrison. At length the Duc de Broglie, being joined by all the detachments he expected from the Lower Rhine, advanced towards the army of the allies, which at this time was in no condition to cope with him in the field. On the twenty-first day of March the detachment under the hereditary prince was, in its retreat from Heimbach, encountered by a numerous body of the enemy, near the village of Stangerode, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg. Baron Clofen, who commanded the French troops on this occasion, attacked nine regiments of Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers, at the head of his dragoons, with such impetuosity, just as they were entering a defile, that they were totally defeated with the loss of two thousand men, either killed or taken, eighteen pair of colours, and twelve pieces of artillery. Major-general de Rhede fell in the action, and the rest of the detachment retired in tolerable order.

After this disaster, the allies continued to retreat as the enemy advanced. They relinquished the siege of Ziegenhayn, from which they did not retire without considerable loss. All the places they had lately conquered were now deserted. The siege of Cassel was raised; the army took post behind the Dymel, and prince Ferdinand established his head quarters at Neuhas near Paderborn. In consequence of these motions, the French were again in possession of the whole landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, masters of Gottingen and Munden in Hanover, and at liberty to penetrate into the heart of that electorate. The situation of the allies appeared the more dangerous, as the prince de Soubise was at the head of a second French army, encamped on the Lower Rhine; and if he had heartily co-operated with the marechal de Broglie, it is generally thought they might have terminated the war before the close of the summer.

Their progress, however, was retarded by the loss of a large magazine of hay, collected at Wesel on the Rhine, which was consumed by fire, not without suspicion that it was wilfully destroyed. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, at the head of a separate body, advanced to Nettelen, in the neighbourhood of Munster, about the middle of May, to watch the motions of the army under Soubise, who caused three different camps to be formed at Dusseldorf, Burich, and Rees, though part of his forces still continued in cantonment. The war was in the mean time prosecuted by detached parties, and skirmishes were fought with various success. The army of the duke de Broglie, having crossed the Dymel about the latter end of June, dislodged general Sporcken from his post on the

left of that river, with the loss of eighteen hundred men taken prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horses, and two hundred waggons. After this exploit, the French took possession of Warburg, Paderborn, and Dringebroen, and compelled prince Ferdinand to repass the Lippe on the second day of July. These successes, however, were over balanced by the achievements of small parties, which he detached from time to time to harass them in their motions, and cut off their convoys of provision. On the thirteenth day of July, in the morning, general Luckner, with his detachment, advanced to Salme, where the count de Chabot was posted with a strong body of horse and foot; which he attacked with such impetuosity, that they were constrained to repass the Lippe with precipitation, and lost about two hundred men, and as many horses, in their retreat. Other parties intercepted the French convoys in the neighbourhood of Cassel, and did such considerable damage to the enemy, that they resolved to unite their armies, and give battle to prince Ferdinand.

The allies were encamped at Hohenover: the right wing, at the extremity of which the hereditary prince was posted, extended as far as the village of Buderch, and this was guarded by a detachment. The body of the army occupied the heights of Wambeln; and the prince of Anhalt possessed the ground between Illingen and Hohenover. The marquis of Granby maintained his position on the heights of Kirch-Denckern: lieutenant-general Wutgenau, advancing from the heath of Untrup, marched by his right, in order to reach the village of Kirch-Denckern: the avenues and posts on the little rivers Aast and Sultzbah were defended by the piquets of the army. On the fifteenth day of July, in the evening, the army of Soubise, having struck their tents, advanced on the left of the allies, and dislodged the advanced posts of lord Granby, against whose corps their chief effort was directed. Prince Ferdinand now thought proper to make a new disposition. The marquis was commanded to maintain his ground to the last extremity. Wutgenau was ordered to make a motion to the left, to block up the high road from Lipstadt to Ham, and to act in concert with the marquis, whose right was moreover sustained by the left of the body commanded by the prince of Anhalt, and this general's own right extended to the Aast, above Kirch-Denkern. Lieutenant-general Conway replaced the prince of Anhalt, between Illingen and Hohenover. The hereditary prince ordered lieutenant-general Bose to secure the heights of Wambeln, leaving count Kilmansegge on the side of Buderich. The greatest part of the artillery was planted by count Schaumbourg Lippe on the front of the left. General Sporcken, who encamped with a separate body at Hortzfeld, was ordered to detach six squadrons, and as many battalions over the Lippe, to support M. de Wutgenau, and to co-operate with the rest as he should judge most effectual for the advantage of the whole. Lord Granby being furiously attacked by the enemy, sustained a prodigious fire of artillery and small arms, and with unshaken resolution, withstood all their efforts until the arrival of Wutgenau; who, advancing on his left, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire into

the woods with precipitation: then he extended his right to Haus-Vilinghausen, and turned his left towards the high road of Ham, the defence of which place was his chief object.

Prince Ferdinand having learned from the prisoners, that mareschal Broglie had decamped from Erwitte at break of day, in order to join Soubise, and give battle to the allies, concluded that the strongest efforts would be made upon his left, and took his precautions accordingly. He ordered general Howard to bring up the brigade of infantry commanded by lord Frederick Cavendish, and the cavalry of lord Pembroke. Colonel Grevendorff was detached with two battalions to barricade and fortify the village of Kirch-Denckern, and to be there supported, in case of necessity, by general Howard. Mean while, the enemy kept possession of some posts opposite to the picquets of the allied army, and the patrols skirmished all night. At three in the morning the whole French army advanced again to the attack on the side where Wutgenau was posted, and a dreadful fire of cannon and musquetry was maintained on both sides for five hours, during which the enemy was not able to gain one inch of ground. About nine, prince Ferdinand receiving information that their design was to cannonade the camp of lord Granby from an opposite eminence, immediately ordered a body of troops to anticipate this operation, by a vigorous charge. This movement proved decisive. The troops advanced with amazing intrepidity, and attacked with such vigour as in a little time obliged the enemy to give way, and abandon the field to the allies. Their left, which still maintained a severe cannonade on that side where the hereditary prince commanded, no sooner heard of the miscarriage on their right, than they desisted from the attack, and retreated in order. The left of the enemy was pursued as far as Hilstrup, about a league from the field of battle; but as the nature of the ground did not permit the cavalry to act, they sustained the less damage in their retreat. In this unsuccessful attack, they lost about five thousand men, killed or taken, with a few colours, and pieces of cannon; whereas the loss of the allies, in killed and prisoners, did not amount to above five hundred.

This action was the climax of the campaign of 1761 in Westphalia. It did the greatest honour to the wisdom of the accomplished commander in the disposition, and to the bravery of the troops in the combat; but it was far from being decisive: for, notwithstanding the loss of the French, they were still superior in their numbers. On this disaster the old misunderstanding between Soubise and Broglie broke out with fresh animosity. Narratives, memorials, and replies, conceived with great bitterness, were mutually remitted from both marshals to their court. Broglie alledged, that his misfortune was owing to the prince de Soubise's delay, who did not begin his attack till it was too late for him to continue it. The prince de Soubise, on the other hand, affirmed, that Broglie began his attack earlier than the time that had been fixed, in hopes of forcing the allies without Soubise's assistance; and when he found that point lost, obliged Soubise to retreat, that he might not have the honour of retrieving it.

Immediately

Immediately after the action, the two French armies separated, Broglie marched back towards Cassel; and Soubise, retreating to Dortmund, passed the Roer; as if they had laid aside for that campaign all thoughts of acting further on the offensive. But his passage of the Roer was designed to secure a great number of barges coming down the Rhine, loaded with forage for his army; and before he took this step, he sent off two large detachments to reinforce Broglie. Having received his forage, he repassed both the Roer and the Lippe, and advanced as far as Dulmen; while Broglie, penetrating further into the electorate of Hanover, took possession of Kester, which he fortified, and seemed determined to lay siege to the town of Hameln. Prince Ferdinand, being greatly inferior in number, retired to Dumolt, and called in most of his detachments. The French general encamped in his neighbourhood, on the heights of Neim, and many skirmishes happened; in one of which prince Henry, brother to the hereditary prince of Brunswick, was mortally wounded. About the middle of August an advantage was gained at Cassel by general Luckner, who attacked and routed a body of the enemy, from whom he took a considerable number of men and horses.

Mareschal Broglie having crossed the Weser with his whole army, as if he had intended to fall upon the city of Hanover, prince Ferdinand made a forced march, passed the Dymel, and advanced to Cassel. This movement obliged the French general to retire with the greater part of his army: then prince Ferdinand, proceeding to Paderborn, established his head-quarters at Buhne, from whence he extended his forces towards Hameln. Broglie once more passed the Weser, encamped near Eimbeck, and laid the whole country under contribution. In the mean time, Soubise having erected his ovens at Dorsten, and garrisoned the place with one battalion, the hereditary prince found means to attack and reduce the town, to make prisoners of the garrison, to destroy the ovens, and burn the magazines there provided: an exploit, in consequence of which the prince de Soubise retreated to the other side of the Lippe; but he soon repassed that river, and advanced again towards Caesfeld, from whence his detachments over-ran all the northern parts of Westphalia.

While prince Ferdinand lay encamped at Wilhelmstall in the neighbourhood of Hameln, and the hereditary prince, at the head of a detachment, scoured the open country of Hesse-Cassel, the mareschal Broglie made reprisals in the Hartz, where he reduced and dismantled the strong castle of Schutzfels, and made the garrison prisoners of war. A detachment, commanded by his brother the count de Broglie, and prince Xavier of Saxony, having made a forced march, took possession of Wolfenbuttel, and then laid siege to Brunswick; but before they could reduce the city, the hereditary prince being joined by general Luckner, flew to the relief of his father's capital. At his approach they relinquished their enterprise, and retired out of Wolfenbuttel with such precipitation as to leave some of their cannon behind, and about five hundred men, who were taken.

Towards the end of September, a detachment from the army of Soubise, commanded by the marquis de Conflans, advanced to the gates of

Embsen, which was garrisoned by two companies of English invalids, who obtained an honourable capitulation, and embarked from Bremen: then the French troops laid the town under contribution, and evacuated the place; but the boors of the country rising in arms, and sinking the pontoons on which the enemy had passed the river, the French general sent a second detachment, which brought off the first, after having dispersed and hanged some of the peasants in terror. Another party from the army of Soubise entered the city of Osnabrug, which the soldiers were permitted to pillage, as the inhabitants could not pay the exorbitant contribution which was demanded. A third made an attempt upon Bremen; but the inhabitants joining the garrison, obliged the French to retreat with precipitation; and they were afterwards reinforced by two battalions of the British legion, the better to secure the magazines deposited in that place for the use of the allied army.

In the mean time Broglie lay inactive at Eimbeck, without attempting any thing of importance; nor was he at all disturbed in his position, until the beginning of November, when prince Ferdinand had concerted a plan for attacking him suddenly, before he could call in his detachments; or, at least, to intercept and cut off a large body of fifteen battalions posted at Eschershausen, under the command of Mons. de Chabot. For this purpose he ordered the hereditary prince and general Luckner, reinforced by the garrison of Wolfenbuttel, to advance from their respective posts, so as to be in the neighbourhood of Eimbeck, at a certain hour on the fifth of November. He commanded the marquis of Granby to force the French post at Cappelnhagen on the fourth; to proceed next day to Wickenfen, and block up a defile in that neighbourhood, on the road from Eschershausen to Eimbeck. He sent general Hardenberg with a detachment to pass the Weser at Badenwerder, that he might at the appointed time take possession of a defile at Amelunxhorn, on the other road from Eschershausen to Eimbeck.

Having taken the necessary precautions, he himself, with the main body of his army, crossed the Weser on the fourth near Hastenbeck, and advanced towards Eimbeck; but, when he approached Wickenfen, he found the road occupied by a strong body of British grenadiers and Highlanders: for the marquis of Granby had gallantly forced the enemy's post at Cappelnhagen, and blocked up the defile by the hour appointed. Chabot, perceiving himself intercepted, retreated immediately towards Eschershausen, and struck into the other road to Eimbeck, which general Hardenberg had been ordered to secure: but in his march to Badenwerder, some of his pontoons were overturned, and this accident retarded him so long, that he did not arrive at the place appointed until seven in the morning; and by that time Chabot had passed the defile in his way to Eimbeck, which he reached at noon, without further interruption. Thus the plan miscarried; and this must frequently be the fate of such schemes as depend upon a variety of incidents.

Prince Ferdinand, notwithstanding the disappointment, advanced toward the French camp, which he found too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success. Then he resolved to turn their

their flanks, as if he designed to cut off their communication with Gottingen; a motion which, he knew, would either bring Broglie to an engagement on equal terms, or oblige him to retreat. The last part of the alternative he chose to embrace, and on the ninth retired with his whole army. This was the last transaction of any consequence that happened between the opposite armies in Westphalia. Broglie quartered his forces in Cassel, and that neighbourhood. The troops of Soubise were distributed at Dusseldorf, and along the Lower Rhine. The allies fixed their quarters at Hildersham, Munster, Hamelen, and Eimbeck. The British cavalry wintered in East Friesland, and the infantry in the bishopric of Osnabrug.

We have already observed, that the last campaign had ended more to the advantage of his Prussian majesty than the preceding one had done; for those two great victories of Lignitz and Torgau, with which he then closed his operations, had not only rescued his affairs in Silesia and Saxony from impending destruction, but had enlarged his field for recruiting, and prepared him, in all appearance, for more early and vigorous action, than could have been expected in any of the foregoing campaigns. But every one was surprised to observe, that this year he had altered the system of his conduct. An inactivity and languor was diffused over all his operations. He seemed to have adopted the caution and slowness, which had been so long opposed to his vivacity by M. Daun. The summer was almost wholly spent, and the king of Prussia had scarcely been mentioned. Whatever was the cause of this inactivity, whether it proceeded from the difficulty of providing forage, or from an opinion entertained by his Prussian majesty, that it was most for his interest to remain on the defensive, we shall not pretend to determine. Certain it is, he himself, with one part of his forces, continued quietly in a very strong camp in Upper Silesia, while his brother prince Henry, with the other, was no less securely posted under the walls of Leipzig, in the neighbourhood of count Daun the Austrian general.

While the main armies were thus disposed, their partizans exerted themselves, as usual, in bold and sudden incursions. In the beginning of April the Prussian majors-general Schenkendorff and Sybourg, advancing with a body of troops from Gera towards Neustadt on the Orla, continued their march to Saalfeld, where they attacked an Austrian detachment commanded by general Kleist, who was routed with considerable loss. They likewise dislodged a body of the army of the Empire from the village of Schwartz, which they had secured with two battalions, as a post of importance. In this expedition the Prussians took several pieces of cannon, colours, waggons loaded with baggage and ammunition, and above eleven hundred men, including two and thirty officers. After this exploit, the Prussian generals sent a detachment to attack the corps under general Guasco near Plaune in Voightland, who, after a sharp dispute, was forced to retire with the loss of four pieces of cannon, and all his baggage. Other petty advantages of the same kind were obtained in the beginning of summer by the Prussian detachments; but the king in person undertook nothing of consequence in the field.

In Pomerania the Swedes were not in motion till the month of August, when prince Henry, having received information that they had begun to advance towards the Prussian territories, detached general Stutterheim to join colonel Belling in that country with a few battalions, at whose approach the enemy retreated. It was in the beginning of the same month, that the army of the empire advancing in Saxony as if they designed to attack Leipzig, prince Henry sent general Seydlitz with a detachment of seven thousand men, who fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they were obliged to give way, and retreated with great precipitation to a considerable distance from the Prussian cantonments, which they never afterwards presumed to approach.

The Russian ministry, having been long sensible of the inconveniencies to which their operations were subject from their great distance from the scene of action, determined, if possible, to reduce Colberg, which would serve as a magazine and a key to Pomerania. With this view general Romanzoff was detached, in the month of July, with a considerable body of forces to invest that fortress by land, while it should be blocked up by sea by a strong squadron, in which an additional number of troops with the artillery and warlike stores were transported. This was joined by the Swedish fleet in August, and Romanzoff began to cannonade the place; but, as he did not open the trenches in a regular manner, as the town was strongly fortified and defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of an accomplished officer; as the Russians were little accustomed to sieges, and the season was very far advanced, the Prussian monarch hoped it would hold out until the frost should set in, and render the approaches of the enemy impracticable. The Swedes, at the same time, seemed to second the operations of their allies. Their army in western Pomerania, having received a reinforcement, began to advance again toward the Prussian territories, and skirmished with Stutterheim; but no enterprize of importance was undertaken on either side.

The main Russian army, commanded by Buterlin, could not take the field till the season was far advanced. In May, however, a detachment marched towards Silesia without artillery, and formed a camp at Bojanovo: another body established a considerable magazine at Posen; a third, under count Tottleben, entered Pomerania in the beginning of June, and made a furious attack upon Belgarde, from whence he was repulsed with considerable loss. After this miscarriage, he sent out detachments as far as the frontiers of the New Marche, where they took possession of Landsberg upon the Wartha. In the month of August, while the head-quarters of the Prussian monarch were at Strehlen, the Russian general Czernicheff advanced, with the vanguard of that army to Wohlau; and the Cossacks, with other light troops, passing the Oder, ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Jauer. Another detachment, more powerful, penetrated into Silesia as far as Breslau, and began to cannonade that capital: but lieutenant-general Tawsein, who commanded the garrison, being reinforced by a body of troops under major-general Knoblock, marched out of the place, and attacked the enemy with such resolution, that they abandoned their batteries and de-

camped,

camped, after having suffered considerable damage.

At length general Butturlin advanced with the grand army of the Russians: and, notwithstanding all the vigilance and activity of the Prussian king, whose motions and measures for some time prevented their junction with the Austrian army under Laudohn, this was in the end effected; and now his affairs seemed altogether desperate. Yet, far from being abandoned by his wonted fortitude, he had recourse to expedients, which seem to have disappointed the designs of his enemies. He detached a considerable body of forces into Poland under the command of general Platen, whose motions were conducted with such secrecy and expedition, that he burned three Russian magazines in that kingdom, before the object of his march was known; and the great magazine at Posen narrowly escaped the same fate. Immediately after this achievement, general Butturlin separated the main body of his army from the Austrians, and retreated towards Poland: yet he left general Czernicheff with a considerable body of forces to act in concert with Laudohn, who, about this juncture, distinguished himself by an extraordinary exploit, which proved very detrimental to the Prussian monarch's affairs.

Schweidnitz, which had changed masters more than once in the course of this war, he considered as the most valuable place that remained to him in Silesia. It was central in its situation, strongly fortified, and contained a great magazine of military stores and artillery. Laudohn laid a plan for reducing it by surprise, and it was soon crowned with unexpected success. On the first day of October, at three in the morning, the troops allotted for this service advanced to the attack in four different places, and, under the favour of a thick fog, not only approached, but even fixed their scaling ladders, before they were discovered by the garrison, who scarce had time to fire a few cannon at the assailants. The contest, however, was maintained for some time with small arms, until a powder magazine in one of the outworks blew up, and about three hundred men on each side were destroyed by the explosion. The Austrians, taking advantage of the confusion produced by this accident, advanced to the body of the place, and bursting open the gates, entered the town without much opposition. At day-break they found themselves masters of the place; and the governor, lieutenant-general Zastrow, with all his garrison, amounting to three thousand men, were made prisoners. Thus Laudohn, at the expence of about six hundred men who fell in the attack, took above five times that number; and made himself master of a strong important fortress, in which he found a vast magazine of meal, and a numerous train of artillery. The king of Prussia could not but severely feel this stroke, which was equal to a defeat in the open field: but he bore his loss with fortitude, contenting himself with declaring, he would suspend his opinion of Zastrow's conduct, until he should be better informed of the particulars. In the mean time, this event obliged him to alter his position, and draw nearer to Breslau.

In the beginning of December he there cantoned his army, and the Austrian forces were quartered in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz. Immedi-

ately before the king repaired to Breslau, he had the good fortune to discover a conspiracy, which was formed against his person by the baron de Warkotch, a man of considerable rank and fortune in Silesia, and one Francis Schmedt, a priest. Their intention was to seize the king when he should come forth unattended, and conduct him to the Austrian camp; a scheme, in which it is confidently affirmed, they were both encouraged and assisted by the court of Vienna. The discovery was made by one of the baron's domestics, who, being intrusted with a letter from the baron to the ecclesiastic, and suspecting the contents, delivered it to the Prussian monarch. Thus the mystery was unravelled: a detachment was immediately sent to apprehend the baron, and seize all his papers. Both were accordingly secured; but he afterwards found means to escape through a window. His lady was, however, detained in custody. Schmedt having likewise consulted his safety by flight, the king caused them to be cited to appear by the twenty-first day of January, to answer the charge brought against them, on pain of forfeiting their lives and estates.

In the month of November the mareschal count Daun, having received a large reinforcement from the army of Laudohn, formed a plan for attacking the strong camp of prince Henry of Prussia, in the neighbourhood of Meissen. An attempt was accordingly made, and some of the Prussian advanced posts were carried; but the enemy soon met with such a vigorous resistance, that their general thought proper to abandon the enterprize, and return to his camp. He then cantoned his forces, in the neighbourhood of Dresden, while the Imperial army was put into quarters at Naumburg and Zwickaw. These motions induced prince Henry to distribute his troops also in quarters of cantonment, extending on the right, to Meissen, and on the left, to Katzenhausen.

The great Russian army retreated beyond the Vistula; but the corps under Romanzoff still continued before Colberg, notwithstanding all the efforts of the prince of Wurtemberg, whom the king of Prussia had sent to head his forces in Pomerania. The blockade had for some time been turned into a regular siege; and colonel Heyde who commanded the garrison, made a very obstinate defence. In the beginning of October, the boisterous weather obliged the Swedish squadron to retire. A Russian ship of the line was wrecked, and all the crew perished: their hospital ship was accidentally set on fire and destroyed: in a word, the Russian fleet likewise withdrew, and returned to Cronstadt; and then the garrison of Colberg received a large supply of provision from Stetin. These circumstances concurring with the severity of the season, it was thought would compel even the Russians to quit the field, and at any rate render the prosecution of the siege impracticable; but Romanzoff seemed to set the winter at defiance, and carried on his operations with unremitting vigour, until he made himself master of a small fort that commanded the harbour. By means of this acquisition he cut off the garrison of Colberg from all communication by sea; so that they were in danger of perishing by famine, when colonel Heyde surrendered, on the seventeenth day of December. This important conquest enabled the

the Russian ministry to supply and reinforce their armies in Germany by sea. It likewise secured to them all the eastern part of Pomerania, where accordingly Romanzoff's forces were distributed for the winter; his own head-quarters being established at Stargat, about twenty miles from Stetin.

Before we conclude the foreign transactions of this year, it may not be improper to take notice of an accident, that fully demonstrates the extreme regard, which the Christian powers pay to the Ottoman Porte. In the course of the preceding year, a large Turkish ship of the line, called the Ottoman Crown, was seized by the Christian slaves on board, who rose upon the Turks, and, having overpowered them, brought the ship into Malta; where, according to custom, the prize was divided among the captors. The Porte demanded the restitution of the ship in the most insolent terms; and the knights of Malta, who are at perpetual war with the infidels, treated this demand with contempt. The grand signior, incensed at the refusal, sent a public manifesto to Naples by the capuchins of Tunis, in which he bitterly complained of the Maltese knights, and threatened their total extirpation; at the same time he began to equip a formidable fleet of ships and galleys: but as he caused large quantities of warlike stores to be transported by the Black Sea to the mouth of the Danube, and a rumour prevailed that he had lately concluded a treaty of alliance with the Prussian monarch, certain powers suspected that he harboured some other design, under the pretext of an armament against Malta. The empress queen of Hungary, to avoid any occasion of giving umbrage to the grand signior, forbade all the knights of Malta residing in her dominions, to repair to the defence of that island, in case it should be attacked: a circumstance that plainly evinces the extreme awe, in which the court of Vienna stood of the Ottoman Porte. The French king acted with no less caution and still more delicacy and prudence. He purchased the Turkish ship which had been taken, and sent it to Constantinople as a present to the sultan. It was protected in the voyage by the British cruisers; and the grand signior was pleased to signify that he was fully satisfied.

Let us return now to the prosecution of the war at home.

Even from the beginning of winter, the single ships that cruised in the Channel were conducted with such prudence and circumspection, that they made prize of a great number of French privateers; a circumstance that demonstrated their own vigilance and the enemy's activity. In the month of January captain Elphinston, commander of the Richmond, mounted with thirty two guns, fell in with the *Felicité*, a French frigate, of the same force, off the coast of Holland; and a severe engagement began about ten in the morning, near S' Gravesande, about eight miles from the Hague, to which place the prince of Orange, general York the British envoy, and the count d'Affry the French ambassador, repaired with a great multitude of people, to behold the progress and issue of the battle. About noon both ships ran ashore: nevertheless the action was still maintained, until the enemy deserted their quarters: they afterwards abandoned the ship, which was entirely destroyed, after having lost their captain and about

one hundred men, who fell in the dispute. The Richmond soon floated, without any damage; and the victory cost her but three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French court loudly exclaimed against this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded signal satisfaction for the insult and damage they had sustained. Accordingly the States-General made some remonstrances to the court of London, which found means to remove all misunderstanding on this subject. The *Felicité* was bound for Martinique, with a cargo valued at thirty thousand pounds, in company with the *Hermione*, another frigate of the same force and value, which suffered shipwreck on the coast of Dunkirk.

In the course of the same month, captain Hood, commander of the *Minerva* frigate, cruising in the chops of the Channel, descried a great ship of two decks steering to the westward; and found it was the *Warwick*, an English ship, which had carried sixty cannon, and been taken by the enemy. She was now mounted with thirty-five guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger da Belair, with a commission from the French king. Her crew amounted to about three hundred men, including a detachment of soldiers; and she was bound to Pondicherry in the East Indies. Captain Hood, notwithstanding her superior size, attacked her without hesitation, and was very warmly received. Several masts in both ships were shot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the sea ran very high; so that the crews on both sides were greatly encumbered by their broken masts and shattered rigging. At length the waves separated them, and the *Warwick* fell to leeward. Captain Hood, having cleared ship, bore directly down upon the enemy: then the engagement was renewed, and lasted about an hour; at the expiration of which the captain of the *Warwick* struck his colours, having lost about fourteen men killed outright, besides thirty wounded. The loss in number of men was equal on board the *Minerva*, and all her masts went by the board: nevertheless the prize was brought in triumph to Spithead. In the progress of the same cruise captain Hood had also taken the *Ecurneil* privateer from Bayonne, of fourteen guns, and one hundred and twenty-two men.

On the thirteenth day of March, another French ship, called the *Entreprenant*, pierced for forty-four guns, but mounted with twenty-six only, having two hundred and three men on board, and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the *Vengeance* frigate of twenty-six guns, commanded by captain Nightingale. The action was maintained on both sides with uncommon fury, until the *Vengeance* being set on fire by the enemy's wadding, the French resolved to take advantage of the confusion produced by this accident, and running their bowsprit upon the taffrail of the English frigate attempted to board her. In this design, however, they miscarried, through the activity of captain Nightingale, who found means to disengage himself, and sheered off to repair his rigging, which had greatly suffered in the engagement. The ship was no sooner in proper condition than he ranged up again close to the enemy, and renewed the contest, which lasted a full hour: then

then the *Entreprenant* bore away. Captain *Nightingale*, though a second time disabled in his masts and rigging, wore ship, ran within pistol-shot, and began a third vigorous attack, which lasted an hour and a half before the enemy called for quarter. Fifteen of their men were killed, and about twice that number wounded. The victors lost about half as many.

In April another French frigate, called the *Comete* of two and thirty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, just sailed from Brest, was taken to the westward of Ushant by the *Bedford*, an English ship of the line, commanded by captain *Deane*, who conveyed her in safety to Plymouth. About the same period, and near the same place, a fourth frigate of the enemy, called the *Pheasant*, manned with one hundred and twenty-five mariners, was engaged, taken, and brought to Spithead, by captain *Brograve* commander of the *Albany* sloop, whose victory was the cheaper, as the crew of the *Pheasant* had thrown fourteen of their guns over board during the chase. In the course of the same month a large East-India ship fitted out from France with twenty-eight guns, and three hundred and fifty men, fell in with the *Hero* and the *Venus*, commanded by the captains *Fortescue* and *Harrison*, and, being taken without opposition, were carried into Plymouth.

The cruisers belonging to the squadron commanded by vice admiral *Saunders* in the Mediterranean, exerted themselves with no less spirit and activity. In the beginning of this very month, the *Oriflame*, a French ship of forty guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was discovered by the *Isis*, under the command of captain *Wheeler*, who overtook her at six in the evening, and a running fight was maintained until half an hour after ten. Captain *Wheeler* being unfortunately slain in the beginning of the action, the command devolved upon lieutenant *Cunningham*, who observing at length that the enemy's design was to reach the Spanish shore, boarded her without hesitation; and in a little time, her commander submitting, she was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to forty-five, out of a complement of three hundred and seventy: the loss of the *Isis* did not exceed four killed and nine wounded.

In July another exploit was achieved by a small detachment from the squadron commanded by the same admiral. Captain *Proby*, in the *Thunderer*, together with the *Modeste*, *Thetis*, and *Favourite* sloop, being ordered to cruise upon the coast of Spain, with a view to intercept the *Achilles* and *Bouffon*, two French ships of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz: they at length ventured to come forth, and on the sixteenth day of the month were discovered by the British cruisers. About midnight the *Thunderer* came up with the *Achilles*, which struck after a warm engagement of half an hour: yet, in this short action, captain *Proby* had near forty men killed, and above one hundred wounded, he himself having sustained a slight hurt in the right arm. About seven in the same morning the *Thetis* attacked the *Bouffon*, and the fire was maintained on both sides with great resolution for half an hour, when the *Modeste* ranging up, and firing a few guns, the French captain submitted. His ship and her consort suffered consider-

ably, both in their crews and rigging; nevertheless, the victors carried them safely into the bay of Gibraltar.

One of the most remarkable and gallant actions that distinguished this war, and fully proved the vast superiority which the English had over the French in point of naval discipline; was an incident with which I shall now entertain the reader. On Monday the 10th of August, captain *Faulkner* of the *Bellona*, a ship of the line, and captain *Logie* of the *Brilliant*, a frigate of thirty guns, sailed from the river Tagus for England, having on board a considerable sum of money for the merchants of London. On Thursday in the afternoon, being then off Vigo, they descried three sail of ships standing in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. They no sooner observed captain *Faulkner*, than they bore down upon him, until within the distance of seven miles, when seeing the *Bellona* and the frigate through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmosphere, they mistook them both for two-decked ships, and dreading the issue of an engagement, resolved to decline the encounter. For this purpose they suddenly wore round, filled all their sails, and crowded away.

Captain *Faulkner* being by this time convinced of their size, and conjecturing, from the intelligence he had received, that the large ship was the *Courageux*, which was actually the case, he hoisted all the canvas he could carry, and gave chase until sun-set, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he displayed a signal to the *Brilliant* to pursue in that direction; and his order was immediately obeyed. They kept sight of the enemy during the whole night, and at sun-rise, had gained but about two miles upon them in a chase of fourteen hours; so that the French commodore might have still shunned an engagement for the whole day, and enjoyed the chance of escaping in the darkness of the succeeding night; but he no longer declined the action. The air being perfectly serene, he now perceived that one of the English ships was a frigate; and the *Bellona* herself, which was one of the best constituted ships in the English navy, appeared to him, at a distance, to be considerably smaller than she really was. The French commander therefore, being a man of spirit, hoisted a red ensign on the mizen shrouds, as a signal for his two frigates to close with, and engage the *Brilliant*. At the same time he hauled down his studing-sails, wore round, and stood for the *Bellona* under his top-sails; while captain *Faulkner* advanced towards her with an easy sail, and ordered his quarters to be manned.

The sea was undulated by a gentle breeze, which facilitated the working of the ships, and at the same time permitted the full use of their heavy artillery. The two ships were equal in burthen, in number of guns, and in weight of metal. The crew on board of the *Courageux*, amounted to seven hundred men, able to stand to their quarters; and they were commanded by M. du Guy Lambert, an officer of approved valour and ability. The *Bellona's* complement consisted of five hundred and fifty chosen men, accustomed to discipline, and inured to service. All the officers were gentlemen of known merit, and the commander had on many occasions distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both

sides

sides was suspended until they were within musket-shot of each other, and then the engagement began with a dreadful discharge of fire-arms and artillery. In less than nine minutes, all the Bellona's braces, bowlings, shrouds, and rigging were cut and shattered by the shot, and the mizen-mast fell over the stern, with all the men on the round top, who, nevertheless saved their lives, by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room.

Capt. Faulkner, apprehensive that the enemy might seize this opportunity of escaping, gave orders to board them immediately; an attempt which the position of the two ships soon rendered altogether impracticable. The Courageux was now falling athwart the fore-foot, or bows of the Bellona, in which case the English ship must have been raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul yards, and most of the other ropes by which the Bellona could be worked, were already shot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the assistance of his master, made use of the studding sails with such dexterity, as to wear the ship quite round, and fall upon the opposite quarter of the Courageux. His presence of mind and activity in this delicate situation, were not more admirable than the discipline and dispatch of his officers and men, who observing this change in their position, flew to the guns on the other side, now opposed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a most terrible discharge, and maintained it without intermission or abatement. Every shot took place, and bore destruction along with it. The sides of the Courageux were shattered and torn by every successive broadside, and her decks were strewed with carnage. About twenty minutes did the enemy sustain the havock made by this battery, so incessantly plied, and so fatally directed. At length it became so intolerable, that the French ensign was hauled down: the rage of battle ceased: the English mariners had left their quarters, and the officers congratulated each other on the success of the day. At this juncture a shot being unexpectedly fired from the lower tier of the Courageux, the British seamen ran to their quarters, and, without orders, poured in two broadsides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, and an end was put to the engagement.

The damage done to the rigging of the Bellona was considerable, but she suffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The case was very different with the Courageux, which now appeared like a wreck upon the water. Nothing was seen standing but her foremast, and bowsprit; large breaches were made in her sides: her decks were torn up in several parts; many of her guns were dismounted; and her quarters were filled with the mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above two hundred and twenty were killed outright, and half that number was brought ashore wounded to Lisbon, to which place the prize was conducted. Captain Faulkner was not more commendable for his gallantry in the action, than for the humanity and politeness with which he treated his prisoners, whose grateful acknowledgment, and unsolicited applause, constitute the fairest testimony that a man of honour can receive. Nor ought we to withhold our praise from captain Logie, of the Brilliant, to whose valour and dexterity the suc-

cess of the commodore was, in a great measure owing. Finding it would be impossible for him to acquire any thing but laurels from two frigates, the least of which was equal in strength to the ship he commanded; he resolved to amuse them both, so as to prevent either from assisting the Courageux. He accordingly began the action by engaging one of them, called la Malicieuse. The other coming up, he withstood their joint efforts, so as to employ their whole fire, while the great ships were engaged, and even above half an hour after the Courageux had struck her colours. Finally, he obliged them both to sheer off, and to consult their safety in flight, after they had suffered considerably in their masts and rigging.

Captain Faulkner returned to Lisbon with this prize, which had well nigh perished by accident, before he reached the Tagus. A cask of spirituous liquor catching fire near one of the magazines, the ship must have blown up, had not she been saved by the presence of mind and resolution of Mr. Male, the first lieutenant. Perceiving the flames already communicated to some combustibles that happened to be in the way, he leaped down the hatch-way into the midst of them, and by his personal endeavours, they were happily extinguished. The centinel who had kindled the fire by admitting a candle too near the spirits, was burned to death; and twenty French prisoners hearing the alarm, leaped into the sea, where they perished. When the French arrived at Lisbon, they applied to their own consul for relief, but without any effect: the gentlemen, therefore, of the English factory, moved with compassion for their sufferings, and their destitute situation, generously raised a subscription of two hundred and thirty pounds sterling, for their support.

No other advantage of importance, was obtained over the enemy in this part of the world; but some successful exploits were performed in the East and West-Indies. After the reduction of Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, an armament was equipped against the French settlement of Mahie, situated on the coast of Malabar, about thirty miles to the northward of Tillycherry. A body of forces was embarked at Bombay for this expedition, under the command of major Hector Monro, who took his measures so well, in concert with Mr. Hodges, commander for the English at Tillycherry, and acted with so much spirit in the execution of the scheme, that in the beginning of February, Mr. Louer, commander in chief of the French garrison at Mahie, surrendered the place with all its dependencies. Though this acquisition was of no great consequence to the English, merely as a trading port, the loss of it was severely felt by the enemy, who had fortified it at a considerable expence, and mounted the fortifications with above two hundred pieces of cannon.

The French officers in the East-Indies, notwithstanding the loss of Pondicherry, exerted themselves with so much industry, as to interest in their cause a prince of the Mogul empire, called the Shah Zadda, who took the field at the head of fourscore thousand men, against the forces of the English East-India company, commanded by major John Carnack, and reinforced by the suba of Bengal. This whole army consisted of five hundred Europeans, two thousand five hundred sepoy, and twenty thousand

thousand black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. Both armies advanced to the neighbourhood of Guya, and on the fifteenth day of January the Mogul troops were routed in a pitched battle. All their artillery was taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers, including Mr. Law, their principal commander. The shah made an effort to join two rajas, who had taken up arms against the suba; but, receiving intelligence, that they were already defeated by the English troops, he surrendered at discretion to the suba, who treated him with great respect, and promised, with the assistance of the English company, to support him in his pretensions to the Mogul empire.

This series of prosperity could hardly be said to be interrupted by the successful attempts of the count d'Estaing, who, with a small squadron, had, in the year 1759, made himself master of the English fort of Bender-Abassi, in the gulph of Persia, and taken two frigates, with three other vessels belonging to the company. In the succeeding year the fort of Natal surrendered to him at discretion, and he found two ships in the road. After these exploits, he sailed to Sumatra, where he reduced Bencouli, Tapanopoli, and Marlborough fort; which last, though in a good state of defence, was, after a very weak resistance, given up by the garrison. This bold adventurer, however, could not derive so much honour from the success of his expedition, as disgrace from having made it contrary to the most sacred laws of arms; for, at this period, it is well known he was no other than a prisoner on parole. Neither did the English interest suffer any thing from a revolution, which was, at this time, effected, in favour of Mir Cossim Ali Kawn, who was placed on the throne of Bengal in the room of his father-in-law Jaffier Ali Cawn, who had been raised to that dignity by the celebrated lord Clive, and who was now deposed for his cruelty and mal-administration. On the contrary, the privileges and immunities of the English company were confirmed and enlarged by the new nabob.

In the course of the preceding month a severe blow was given to the Dutch company settled at the island of Ceylon, lying off Cape Comorin, the extremity of the peninsula of Indus. This company, having discontinued the payment of certain duties demanded by the king of Candia, and being suspected of a design to render that kingdom tributary to their power; the prince marched with a considerable army against their settlements; surprised Point de Galle, and having taken Colombo, their principal establishment, massacred all that were found in it, without distinction of sex or age. Then he ordered his troops to hew down all the cinnamon and other spice trees that grew in that part of the country to which the European traders had access, and threatened to extirpate every Dutch family from the island.

During this campaign the English arms were no less successful in America than in Asia. In the beginning of July, colonel Grant, at the head of two thousand six hundred men, began his march from Fort Prince George, on the frontiers of Carolina, for the country of the Cherokees, which he determined to ravage with fire and sword. On the

tenth day of the month, he was attacked on his march by a body of Indians, who fired for some time with great vivacity, but little effect; and then disappeared. After this attempt he met with no opposition in traversing their country. He reduced fifteen towns to ashes, besides little villages and farm-houses; destroyed about fourteen hundred acres of corn, drove the inhabitants to starve in the mountains, and filled their whole nation with dismay.

This terror produced the desired effect, and compelled them to sue for peace. A deputation of their chiefs waited on the colonel, to explain their distresses, and signify their sentiments on the subject, and he forwarded them to the lieutenant-governor at Charles-Town, where a new treaty was actually concluded. Sir William Johnson made a tour round the other Indian nations, in order to quiet their fears, aroused at the conquests of Great-Britain; which fears the French emissaries had fomented with their usual industry and success. A conference was held between the Six Nations and some of the American governors, in order to ratify the treaties subsisting with those tribes; but a warm dispute arose from a demand of certain lands, made by a Delaware chief, who complained that the English settlers had taken possession of them in consequence of a fraudulent purchase; and tho' the rising animosity was stifled for the present, it soon gave occasion to those barbarous massacres, which were afterwards committed by these savages. The more northern Indians, settled on the frontiers of Nova Scotia, seemed extremely well-pleased with their new protectors and allies. Their chiefs in great numbers visited the governor of Halifax, owned their dependance on the king of Great-Britain, and, in token of perpetual friendship and alliance, buried the hatchet with the usual solemnity.

In the West-Indies, rear admiral Holmes, commander of the squadron at Jamaica, conducted his cruisers with equal judgment and success. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that several ships of war belonging to the enemy had sailed from Port Louis, and in particular, that the St. Anne had just quitted Port au Prince, he forthwith made such a disposition of his squadron as was most likely to intercept them; and on the thirteenth day of the month he himself in the Hampshire fell in with the St. Anne, and chased her to leeward down upon the Centaur. Her captain discovering this last ship, hauled up between them, ran close in shore, until he was becalmed, about a league to the northward of Donna Maria bay. Then he began to fire his stern-chase; but when the Centaur came along-side, he struck his colours, and surrendered. The St. Anne was a beautiful new ship, pierced for sixty-four cannon, but mounting only forty, manned with near four hundred mariners and soldiers, under the command of Mr. Aiguillon, and loaded with a rich cargo of coffee, indigo, and sugar. Nor was the squadron stationed off the Leeward Islands, under the conduct of Sir James Douglas, less alert and successful in protecting the British traders, and clearing those seas of the Martinico privateers, of which he took a great number.

In the month of June, the Island of Dominique, which the French had settled and fortified, was attacked and reduced by a small body of troops commanded by lord Rollo, and conducted thither from Guadaloupe by Sir James Douglas, with four ships of the line, and some frigates. Two officers being sent on shore at Roseau, with a manifesto addressed to the inhabitants, two deputies came off in order to treat of a surrender; but the first transports of their fear subsiding, and monsieur Longprie, their governor, encouraging them to stand upon their defence, they afterwards refused to submit, and manned their intrenchments with a face of resolution. The ships immediately anchored close to the shore, and a disposition was made for disembarking. The troops landed in the evening, and formed on the beach-side, under the fire of the squadron. Lord Rollo, seeing the forces galled by an irregular fire from trees and bushes; considering that the entrenchments commanded the town, which he had already occupied; that the country was naturally strong, and the enemy might be reinforced before morning, determined wisely to attack their entrenchments without delay; and this service was performed by himself and colonel Melville at the head of the grenadiers, with such vigour and success, that the enemy were driven successively from all their batteries and intrenchments: Mr. Longprie, their commandant, and some other officers, were taken at their head quarters. Next day the inhabitants submitted, delivered up their arms, and took the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty. Thus the whole island was conquered at a very small expence, and a defensible post established at Roseau by the British commander.

Very little of consequence happened in the British settlements on the coast of Africa, except the destruction of the town of Goree, which was accidentally set on fire; and an attempt on James fort, in the mouth of the river Gambia, by two French snows, one of which perished by running on shore, and the other sailed away, after having suffered considerable damage.

With regard to the transactions in the British channel, a powerful squadron had been stationed all the winter in the bay of Quiberon, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. In the month of January, they took two small French frigates bound to the coast of Guiney, and a few merchant-ships of little value; and in the month of March the two admirals returned to Spithead: but another squadron was afterwards sent to occupy the same station. In the month of July, while the English were employed in demolishing the fortifications on the isle of Aix, the great ships that protected this service were attacked by a French armament from the Charente, consisting of six prames[†], a few row-gallies, and a great number of launches crowded with men. They dropped down with the ebb, and placing themselves between the isle d'Enet and fort Fouras, played upon the English ships in Aix road, with twelve mortars, and seventy large cannon;

but they met with such a warm reception from the British squadron, that in a few hours they retreated to their former station, where the water was too shallow for the English ships to pursue them.

These were part of that armament which had been formerly equipped for the reduction of Belleisle, and which the British ministry were now determined, at all events, to subdue. Belleisle lies four leagues from the point of Quiberon, about half way between Port Louis and the mouth of the Loire. It extends about six leagues in length, and little more than two in breadth; contains a pretty large town called Palais, fortified with a citadel, besides a good number of villages, and the whole number of inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison, may amount to six thousand, chiefly maintained by the fishery of pilchards. It was supposed the reduction of this island would be easily achieved, and the conquest attended with manifold advantages: that it would alarm the French nation, and oblige them to maintain a numerous body of forces on the opposite continent; consequently make a considerable diversion in favour of the British army in the north of Germany: that its central situation would render it an effectual check upon Port l'Orient, and disable the enemy from equipping any naval armament at Brest; as all the materials for building and fitting out ships in time of war, were brought thither from Port Louis, Nantz, and Rochfort, through the channel between Belleisle and the main land, which conveyance, they could not pretend to use, if the English were masters of Belleisle: finally, that as all the French ships homeward bound from the East and West Indies, as well as from other parts of the world, ran in with the land, so as first to make Belleisle, the English, by keeping a small squadron between the island and the main, and a good look-out in the offing, would be able to make prize of all those vessels.

The troops destined for this expedition, amounted to ten battalions under the command of major-general Hodgson, assisted by major-general Crauford, with proper engineers, some troops of light-horse, and a detachment of artillery. The squadron, besides transports, consisted of ten ships of the line, several frigates, two fire-ships, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, a gallant officer, who had signalized himself on several occasions, in the course of this and the last war. The whole armament sailed from Spithead on the twenty-ninth day of March; and on the seventh of April came to anchor in the great road of Belleisle, where a disposition was made for landing the forces. The commanders having agreed that the descent should be made on the sandy beach, near the point of Lomaria, towards the south-east end of the island, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ships convoyed the troops to the landing-place, and silenced a battery which the enemy had there erected. This service being performed, the flat-bottomed boats advanced to the shore, and a small

[†] A prame is a long broad vessel of two decks, mounted with six and twenty large cannon below, and three mortars above. They are rigged like ketches, and draw very little water.

body of troops landed under the command of major Purcel and captain Osborn; but the enemy, who had intrenched themselves on the heights, appeared suddenly above them, and poured down such a severe fire, as threw them into confusion, and intimidated the rest of the troops from landing.

Captain Osborne, at the head of sixty grenadiers, advanced with great intrepidity so near as to exchange several thrusts with the French officer, until having received three shots in the body, he fell dead on the spot. Major Purcel shared the same fate, which was extended to several other officers. In a word, this handful of men being over-powered with numbers, were totally routed, and either killed or taken prisoners; so that this attempt was attended with the loss of near five hundred men, including two sea-officers, and about fifty mariners belonging to the ships that endeavoured to cover the landing. This discouraging check was succeeded by tempestuous weather, which damaged some of the transports. When the storm abated, the Prince of Orange ship of war sailed round the island, in order to survey the coast, and discover, if possible, some other place for disembarkation; but the whole seemed to be secured by rocks and batteries in such a manner, as precluded all access.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable prospect, another scheme was laid, and the execution of it crowned with success. On the twenty-second day of the month, in the morning, the troops were disposed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the island, as if they intended to land in different places; by which means the attention of the enemy was distracted in such a manner, that they knew not where to expect the descent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. Mean while brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterfon, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with surprising intrepidity, and sustained the fire of a strong body of the enemy, until they were supported by the rest of the English troops, who now landed in great numbers. Then the French abandoned their batteries, and retired with precipitation: but this advantage was not gained without bloodshed. About forty men were killed, and a considerable number wounded, including colonel Mackenzie and captain Murray, of the marines, who seemed to vie with the marching regiments in valour and activity, and captain Paterfon of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who lost his arm in the dispute. Monsieur de St. Croix, the governor, perceiving that all the English troops were disembarked, to the number of eight thousand men, recalled all his detachments to Palais, and prepared for a vigorous defence, his forces, now joined by the militia of the island, amounting to four thousand men fit for service.

On the twenty-third of April, the English troops were formed into columns, and began their march towards the capital of the island. Next day general Hodgson ordered a detachment of light horse to take post at Sauzon; and on the twenty-fifth, a corps of infantry took possession of a village called Bordilla, where they began to throw up an entrench-

ment; but they were dislodged by a party of the enemy's grenadiers: the whole army, however, entrenched itself in the neighbourhood. The artillery and implements of siege for breaking ground, being still on board the fleet, and the tempestuous weather rendering it impossible to send them ashore, the French governor took this opportunity to erect six redoubts, to defend the avenues of Palais; and these were finished with admirable skill and activity, before general Hodgson had it in his power to begin his operations. All that he could do, in the mean time, was to publish a manifesto, directed to the inhabitants, importing, that, if they would put themselves under the protection of the British government, they should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, and retain all the rights and privileges, which they had ever enjoyed. This promise had a considerable influence upon the natives, a good number of whom immediately accepted the proposal.

The next step the general took was to summon the commandant, who continued encamped under the walls of the citadel, and declared he would defend the place to the last extremity; and indeed it must be owned, for the honour of this gentleman, that, in the course of the siege, he performed every thing that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer. About the latter end of April, some mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, within the walls of which the enemy now took shelter; and at this time Sir William Peere Williams, a young gentleman of great merit and expectations, and captain in Burgoyne's light horse, was shot by a French sentinel, in reconnoitring their works.

The besiegers broke ground on the second of May; but next night the trenches were attacked by the enemy with such vigour, that the piquets on the left were put in disorder. Major-general Crawford, who commanded in the trenches, rallied the troops, and endeavoured to animate them by his own example; but on this occasion they did not act with their usual spirit; some hundreds were killed, and the major-general with his two aids du camp fell into the hands of the enemy, who retreated without having made any attempt upon the right, where the piquets stood their ground, determined to give them a warm reception. The damage they had done was next day repaired: a redoubt was begun near the right of their works; and from this period the operations of the siege were prosecuted with unremitting vigour, notwithstanding a severe fire maintained without interruption, and a succession of well-concerted sallies, which were not executed without a considerable effusion of blood.

The engineers giving it as their opinion that the works could not be properly advanced, until the French redoubts should be taken, the general made the disposition for the attack, which began on the thirteenth at day-break. A terrible fire from four pieces of cannon, and above thirty co-horns, was poured into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank: then a detachment of marines supported by part of Loudon's regiment, advanced to the parapet, drove the French from the works, and, after a very obstinate dispute with their bayonets fixed, took possession of the place. All the other five were reduced, one after another,

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by the same detachment, reinforced by Colvil's regiment, under the command of colonel Teesdale and major Nesbitt; and a considerable slaughter was made of the enemy, who withdrew into the citadel in great confusion. Such was the ardour of the assailants, that they entered the streets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives, made a good number of prisoners, and took possession of the town, in which they found the French hospital, and some English prisoners, who had been taken in different sallies.

The English being now masters of the whole island, except the citadel of Palais, bent all their endeavours to the reduction of this fortress, which was very strong both by art and nature, and defended with uncommon courage and perseverance on the side of the besiegers. Parallels were finished, barricadoes made, and batteries erected; and an incessant fire from mortars and artillery was mutually maintained, by night and by day, from the thirteenth of May to the twenty fifth, when that of the enemy began to abate. In the course of such desperate service, a great number of men must have been killed, and many died of distemper.

The island was in itself so barren, and monsieur de St. Croix had taken such effectual precautions to remove its produce, that the English army had neither fresh provision nor refreshments, except what was brought by sea from England. From thence, indeed, they were tolerably well furnished with live cattle: they were also reinforced by one regiment from Portsmouth, and another from the island of Jersey. By the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and notwithstanding the indefatigable industry of the garrison and the governor, in repairing the damage, the fire of the besiegers increased to such a degree, that great part of their defences was ruined, and the breach became practicable by the seventh day of June, when monsieur de St. Croix, being apprehensive of a general assault, demanded a capitulation. He was indulged with the most honourable conditions, in consideration of the noble defence he had made. The articles were immediately signed and executed, and Beauclerk's grenadiers took possession of the citadel.

Whatever might be the opinion of politicians concerning the value of this conquest, and the price at which it was purchased, certain it is, that the rejoicings in England were sincere and universal. Great and deserved applause was bestowed upon the land and sea officers employed in this expedition, who, with so noble a perseverance, had encountered and overcome such mighty difficulties, and who, after such a severe check on their outset, had the spirit to renew the attack under circumstances nearly as unfavourable as those by which they had at first been repulsed. The citizens of London addressed the king on the occasion, and their example was followed by most of the towns and corporations in the kingdom.

While the war thus raged, with uncommon violence, in almost every quarter of the universe, a negotiation was set on foot for putting an end to the troubles, which had so long distracted the several nations of Europe. I have already observed, that the contending powers had agreed to open a general congress at Augsburg; and the British plenipotentiaries were actually nominated for this purpose; when the French king made proposals of a separate pacification with England, under the mediation of the Spanish monarch. Accordingly, after the mutual exchange of several letters and memorials between the two courts, ministers were sent from both kingdoms; Mr. Stanley on the part of England, and M. Buffy on that of France. In order to smooth as much as possible, the way to peace, it was previously resolved by both parties, to establish some certain and simple points that might serve to direct and facilitate the whole negotiation. These points were only two; and even these so inseparably connected with each other, that they seemed rather members of the same proposition than separate articles. The first was, "that the two crowns should remain in possession of what they had conquered one from the other." The second imported, that "the situation in which they should stand at certain periods, should be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty which might be negotiated between the two powers."

As France was known to have had the worst in the war, a proposition of this kind coming from her must have appeared an instance of moderation, altogether surprizing to our ministers. It is certain, that had peace been concluded at that instant, and upon the sole foundation of this article, England would have possessed all the conquests she had made, every one of which was in a very high degree advantageous to her commerce and her power, and none of which could be considered as a subject of future discussion. On the other hand, France by continuing in possession of the places she had conquered, would have acquired no advantage that could balance the expence of keeping them; while she would, at the same time, be exposed to endless altercations, and draw upon herself the jealousy and indignation of her nearest allies. This basis certainly gave the English a vast superiority in the negotiation; and it was natural to expect, that when they came to talk of restitutions, the evacuation of the French conquests in Germany would be purchased at a much smaller price, than their apparent magnitude might seem to demand. However, these were still a matter of so much anxiety, and the nature of the precise stipulations so uncertain, that the negotiation, though it proceeded with strong appearance of a desire for peace, met with very frequent checks and delays. Both parties were indeed unanimous in the article of 'uti possidetis;' and it must be admitted, that there could not be a better ground to treat upon. But as the war still continued, and whilst it continued might daily make an alteration in the fortune of the contracting powers, it was necessary to fix upon some epochas to which this possessory article should refer.

The French accordingly proposed, that the situation in which they should stand on the first of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, in the East-Indies; on the first of July in the West-Indies and Africa; and on the first of May following in Europe, should be the position or basis to the treaty which might be negotiated between the two powers. They added, that as these epochas might seem too near or too distant for the interest

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of Great-Britain, they were extremely willing to enter into a negotiation upon that object.

The English ministry received this proposition with less satisfaction than its apparent fairness deserved. They entirely rejected the French epochas; and declared they could not admit, without prejudice to themselves, any other epochas than those which have reference to the day of signing the treaty of peace. Had this resolution been strictly adhered to, it was evident that the negotiation was that moment at an end: for though what was asserted in the French memorial in reply to this declaration, that the basis of the proposition of '*uti possidetis*' was necessarily connected with the particular epochas proposed, is by no means to be admitted; yet, on the other hand, it is easy to deny the validity of their subsequent assertion, "that if not these, at least some certain periods during the war ought to be fixed; and that the *uti possidetis* could not reasonably have reference only to the time of signing the treaty of peace." For if the contrary principle were once admitted, it would be difficult to know, or even to guess with probability at the nature or the value of the possessions which by such an article should be mutually given away. And if those difficulties occurred in the simplicity of a possessory article, they must be prodigiously increased upon every other, and at length come to such a height as to preclude all possibility of negotiating on things of so intricate a nature as exchanges and equivalents. The French in their memorial insisted so strongly on the propriety of establishing these periods, that they threatened to recall the whole proposition if they were refused.

Here it may not be amiss to observe, that though the courts of London and Versailles treated separately, it was hitherto by no means proposed, that this separate discussion should lead to a separate peace. It was no more than a previous arrangement for the removal of those difficulties, which might prevent the peace of France with England from being united with the general peace of Europe. But in proportion as the treaty advanced, it became obvious that the settling of any terms, which had no reference to the signing of something obligatory between the two crowns, could at best be only void and illusory, and might in the end even prove the source of dangerous and captious altercations. The English Minister therefore, before he could agree to treat definitively upon any point, and particularly upon the epochas, insisted upon two preliminary conditions.

First, that every thing, which should be happily adjusted between the two crowns in relation to their particular war, should be made obligatory, final and conclusive, independant of the state of the negotiation at Augsburg.

Secondly, that the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, or preliminary articles to that end, should be signed and ratified between the date of that memorial and the first of the following August.

If these conditions were accepted, then England on her part consented to name determinate epochas to which the *uti possidetis* should refer; the first of July for Europe; the first of September for Africa and America; and the first of November for the East Indies. The French ministry, without contest-

ing the epochas themselves, complained of the conditions; of the first, because they said it departed from the letter and spirit of the memorial of the twenty-sixth of March, which was the foundation of the whole treaty; of the second, on account of the extreme shortness of the time allotted for the discussion of such difficult and momentous points; and the adjustment of matters which regarded a war extended over the four quarters of the globe; for the memorial which contained those conditions was dated on the seventeenth, and was not received at Paris until the end of June, so that little more than a month was left to obtain the consent of the court of Vienna to a separate treaty, to settle the terms of that treaty, and, finally, to ratify every particular.

If a very good understanding had not subsisted between her Imperial Majesty and the king of France, it must have been very difficult to have received this consent. But in fact it was immediately received, and upon one very short and apparently reasonable condition, "That nothing might be stipulated to the prejudice of the house of Austria." But when this condition came to be explained, as we shall see presently, it was so far from facilitating, that it created new obstacles to the peace. However, this acquiescence of the principal of her allies enabled France to accept of the first condition without reserve; and to the last she also agreed verbally, though not in the clearest terms.

Every thing seemed for the present in the best situation, which in this stage of the treaty could be expected. The basis of the negotiation was solidly established. The article *uti possidetis*, after the taking Belleisle, was a matter of less difficulty, and the epochas were in general settled in such a manner, as to coincide with the designs and desires of both parties. The treaty was confined to the two powers, and it was to be perfectly definitive with regard to them. A time for concluding it was also in a great measure settled; a circumstance, which if it did not admit sufficient leisure for accurate discussion, cut off at least the opportunities of chicane, and seemed to be the most suitable to a candid proceeding, and a sincere desire of peace.

The foundation being thus laid, the superstructure consisted in the adjustment of those compensations which were to be made for the reciprocal conquests, and here the whole difficulty of the two powers lay; a punctilio of honour might have intervened at the very first setting out, extremely pernicious to the salutary work in hand, from which party the first proposition should proceed: but in this respect France gave way, and that concession afforded no inconsiderable proof of her pacific intentions.

The *uti possidetis* being settled as the basis of the treaty, nothing could reasonably be claimed by either party, that was not to be counterpoised by some equivalent from the other; and consequently it was necessary to adjust and value their several possessions, pretensions, and demands. There were six principal objects in this negotiation. First, the limits of the two crowns in North America. Secondly, the conquests of Great-Britain in the West-Indies, together with the neutral islands there. Thirdly, the English Conquests in Africa and in India. Fourthly, the adjustment of the particular affair between the English and French

in Germany. Fifthly, the conduct which the two crowns were to observe with regard to their respective allies in Germany. And, lastly, the Restitution of the captures made by England, previous to the declaration of war.

On the first of these articles, France proposed to cede and guaranty all Canada to England; stipulating only that the free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion should be permitted under the English government, and that those of the old French colonists who chose to retire might have leave to transport themselves from thence, and take away or dispose of their effects. In compensation for this, they required a confirmation of the privilege of what fishing they enjoyed on the coast of Newfoundland, under the treaty of Utrecht; and, that this fishery might be carried on with advantage, they likewise required the restitution of the isle of Cape Breton, excluding themselves from erecting on that island any kind of fortification whatsoever.

The affairs in the West Indies, which made the second capital object, they purposed to settle in this manner: they offered to exchange Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and as to the four neutral islands, they insisted that two of them, Dominica and St. Vincent, were held by their natural inhabitants the Caribbees, under the protection of France, and that they ought still to remain in the same condition. With regard to the two others, they proposed to make a fair division; that St. Lucia should remain to France, and that England should enter into possession of Tobago. On this head, it is sufficient to observe, that in the opinion of some people, the English ministry did not, in this treaty, set the just value on the acquisition they had made, when they looked upon Canada as the great and leading object, and only considered Guadaloupe and Marigalante in a secondary and subordinate light. This is a question of difficulty, and has been much agitated. Those who dreaded a fresh American war, from the ambition of France, and were struck with the idea of extended empire, preferred the former conquest; those who solely considered the interest of England as a commercial people, were generally in favour of the latter.

On the side of Africa, France satisfied herself with demanding either the Settlement at Senegal, or the isle of Goree; for which, together with the restoration of Belleisle, they consented to evacuate Gottingen, Hesse, and Hanau, and to draw off their army to the Maine and the Rhine. This was certainly a full equivalent. But with regard to the East-Indies, they had no tolerable equivalent to offer. They expatiated much in their memorial upon the disadvantages which would arise to the companies of the two nations, from their entertaining views of conquests, so contrary to the true spirit and real interest of those trading establishments; and they concluded, by proposing the treaty formerly settled between the sieurs Godcheau and Saunders as a basis for the re-establishment of peace in Asia. It must be remarked, that this treaty had been concluded at a time when the affairs of France in the East-Indies made a very different figure than during this negotiation; and therefore it seemed unfair to make this treaty a standard under circumstances altogether inapplicable.

The war, which had been so long, with so much bloodshed, and so fruitlessly carried on in Westphalia, the French strenuously contended was from the time of, what they called, the breach of capitulation of Closter-Seven, a war purely English; and therefore that their conquests in that part of Germany, formed a proper compensation for the English conquests in the other quarters of the world. The British ministers did not attempt formally to refute this assertion; they rather seemed to admit it, and agreed accordingly, to receive the evacuation of those places as an equivalent for cessions to be made on the footing we have already mentioned. On this point there was little difficulty.

The intricate and knotty part was on what we have stated as the fifth object, the conduct of the two crowns with regard to their allies. There was a real, a capital difficulty. From the beginning of the negotiation, England had declared that she would inviolably preserve her faith to the king of Prussia, and would act strenuously in his support. This piqued the French ministers, who, in their turn, thought themselves bound to make a declaration equally strong in favour of the empress; and they had, moreover, recently contracted with the court of Vienna, to admit nothing in the treaty to her disadvantage. However, in this difficulty, they found out a solution, which, it must be confessed, had a very fair and captivating appearance. They proposed that both armies in Germany should observe an exact neutrality; and should be reciprocally bound to afford no sort of assistance, nor to give no sort of offence, to the allies of either of the parties. And they proposed further, that as armies in this state of inert neutrality must be a dead and useless expence to the power who maintains them, the French king, from the time his Britannic majesty recalled the English forces from Germany, would cause double the number of French forces from the armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine to return into France; and that no French troops should remain in Germany, but in proportion to those which the king of England should keep in his pay. It might certainly be urged, in confirmation of the propriety of this offer, that in reality these armies, whilst they continued in action, though they worried each other abundantly, offered no kind of assistance to their allies; and therefore when they came mutually to entertain pacific sentiments concerning their own particular quarrel, and were to give an example of moderation to the rest of Europe, there seemed to be no reason why they should make efforts in favour of any ally which they had not made, or been able to make in the hottest time of hostility.

The last article had its difficulties also. The French insisted, as a point from which they were resolved never to recede, upon the restitution of the captures made before the declaration of war. This demand, they were of opinion, was grounded on the clearest principles of the law of nations, and the most express stipulation of treaties. Without entering into those various arguments with which this position might be maintained and attacked, it appeared to many that the honour of both nations was almost equally concerned, the one to claim, the other as resolutely to refuse this restitution.

On the whole, these proposals, which the French sent to London in a memorial of the fifteenth of July, formed, though in some respects undoubtedly exceptionable, a very agreeable plan for a treaty of peace. A better could not have been expected in the first project of an enemy, and it might be hoped, that a negotiation thus favourably begun, could not fail of adjusting easily whatever appeared wrong, or supplying whatever was defective in this first draught of the propositions. But fatally for the repose of mankind, in the very instant that this fair proposal was made, at the very moment when these strong demonstrations were given, an act was done which blew up at one explosion, the whole basis of the treaty that had been long and carefully laying, scattered the materials which had been so industriously collected, and so cautiously arranged, and instead of extinguishing spread the flames of war much further, and made them rage with new fury. From this period all the whole transaction was carried on with animosity, resentment, and mistrust. Before and during this negotiation, the French ministry had used every art and intrigue in their power to interest the king of Spain in their quarrel, and infuse a jealousy into that monarch of the success of the British arms. Hitherto, however, there was no appearance that these measures had any effect; but to the infinite surprise and indignation of the British minister, M. de Bussy, the French agent, delivered with the paper which contained the above propositions, a private memorial, signifying, that in order to establish the peace upon solid foundations, not to be shaken by the contested interests of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to accede to guaranty the treaty; and that to prevent the differences which subsisted between Great-Britain and this monarchy from being a means of producing a fresh war in Europe, with the consent and communication of his Catholic majesty, he proposed, that in this negotiation, the three points which had been disputed between the crowns of England and Spain, might be finally settled. First, the restitution of some captures made upon the Spanish flag. Secondly, the privilege of the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. Thirdly, the demolition of the English settlements made on the Spanish territories in the bay of Honduras.

It may be easily imagined, from the character of the secretary of state, who then sat at the helm of affairs, in what manner he received these proposals: he rejected with the utmost contempt the offer of finishing a negotiation, through the mediation of an humbled enemy, relating to disputes with a power actually in friendship with England. He called upon the Spanish minister to disavow the propositions, which had been said to be made with the knowledge of his court. He returned as wholly inadmissible this offensive memorial, declaring, that it would be looked upon as an affront to the dignity of his master, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation, to make any further mention of such a circumstance.

He therefore immediately prepared an answer to the principal memorial, in a style rather dictated by the circumstances which accompanied that paper, and which sufficiently indicated the designs of France, than what the propositions themselves

strictly deserved. He had indeed, by this time, conceived an incurable suspicion of the sincerity of France in the whole proceeding, and therefore it would not have been prudent to have made those advances, which on a supposition of good faith, and pacific intentions, might possibly have been advisable: for though both powers had over and over declared, that their respective propositions, if the treaty should by any accident be broken off, would be considered as retracted or never made; yet it is certain, that things once settled and agreed to, unavoidably stamp their own impression upon any future negotiation, relative to the same subject.

Mr. Pitt's answer, which is dated on the twenty-ninth of July, agreed to the restitution of Guadeloupe, Marigalante, and Belleisle, on the compensations proposed by France. It agreed also to receive Canada, but without any new limits or any exception whatsoever; and it added to the French the offer of all Canada, and its appurtenances. It admitted the proposal of the partition of the neutral islands. It rejected the French demand of Cape Breton, or any other island in the gulph or river of St. Laurence, or of any power of fishing in that river, in that gulph, or on those coasts: but allowed the privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, on consideration of the demolition of Dunkirk. But the proposed restitution either of Senegal or Goree was utterly refused. The German neutrality was rejected with disdain; and it was declared that Great Britain unalterably resolved to support the king of Prussia with efficacy and good faith. In addition to the offer made to evacuate Hesse, &c. it was insisted that the French should make a general evacuation of all her conquests in Westphalia, and all its countries, including her conquests from the king of Prussia on the Rhine, though France had before declared, that they were conquered for the queen of Hungary, that they were actually governed in her name, and that she could not, consistently with good faith, agree to deliver them to the king of Prussia. The treaty between Saunders and Godcheau was not admitted as a proper basis for a treaty relative to the East-Indies. But it was agreed, that the two companies should negotiate concerning their respective interests, as the king of Great-Britain could not dispose of the rights of the English East-India company without their consent. As to the restitution of the captures made before the war, they were positively refused.

The confidence and good humour of the two courts being thus subverted, all that followed was rather an altercation than a treaty. It is true, that papers passed backward and forward; and the pretensions of each party, the points they agreed to cede, and those which they were determined to adhere to, grew more distinct and explicit. But all that cordiality was vanished which is so necessary towards smoothing and clearing a road, which a long hostility had broken up, and so many intricate topics had contributed to embarrass.

Without involving ourselves in the detail of the several memorials which were delivered in, and without referring numerically to the several articles, it will be sufficient that we briefly state those points which were, or seemed to be, in a fair way of adjustment between England and France; and afterwards

wards those on which it should appear that the negotiation broke off.

After some discussions concerning its proper limits, it was agreed, that all Canada should be ceded to the English. This cession comprehended, on one side, all the islands and countries adjoining to the gulph of St. Laurence. On the other, it took in all the great lakes, and the whole course of the Ohio, to its discharge into the Mississippi; a territory sufficient for the basis of a great empire.

In drawing this line of division, another question arose concerning the bounds of Louisiana, and the state of the intermediate Indian nations between the lakes and the Mississippi, who inhabit, or are rather scattered over an immense country, that lies along the back of the English colonies all the way from Pennsylvania to Georgia. It was therefore very proper that something definitive should be settled on this article, as it might otherwise easily be made productive of a new war. England proposed that all those nations should continue, under the protection of Great Britain, without saying any thing precise, as to the dominion of the soil.

France controverted this proposition; she on her part proposed to divide these nations; that those to the northward of the line drawn to ascertain the limits of Canada should be independent, under the protection of England, but that those, who were to the southward, should enjoy the same independence, under the protection of France. Nothing was perfectly settled in relation to this point; but it does not seem as if there could have been any material disagreement upon it, had the other matters in debate been adjusted to their mutual satisfaction.

The African contest seemed to have been attended with still less difficulty. The French consented to give up both Senegal and Goree, provided Anamaboo and Acra were guaranteed to them.

The important question of the fishery was likewise determined. The French gave up their claim to Cape-Breton and St. John's, and were satisfied to receive the little island of St. Pierre on the coast of Newfoundland; but even this they were to receive on conditions sufficiently humiliating. They were to erect no sort of fortification, nor to keep up any military establishment there. An English commissary was to reside on the island, in order to see that these stipulations were adhered to.

As to the rest, the French were to have the same privileges on the coast of Newfoundland, checked with the same restrictions, which before they had enjoyed under the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht. In conformity to another article of that treaty, and in compensation for the privilege of the fishery, they consented that Dunkirk should be demolished.

Concerning the islands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Minorca, and Belleisle, no great controversy had subsisted from the beginning. It had all along been agreed, that these conquests should be reciprocally restored. Neither did the French scruple to adopt the proposal made by the English concerning the affairs of the East Indies, nor to make satisfactory declarations concerning Ostend and Nieupoort.

So many delicate and interesting points were settled, that it does not at first appear what it was that could have retarded the peace. A discussion of the separate interests of two powers only, that are in earnest to agree, may be settled without any very considerable difficulty. The hard and almost inextricable part of the knot, is that wherein the opposite concerns, and interests of allies intervene. There were two points upon which, if we may form a judgment from appearances, this negotiation unfortunately broke off. The first was upon the manner in which England and France might be at liberty to assist their respective allies; and on the restitution of Wesel, Gueldres, and such other places as the French had conquered from his Prussian majesty.

With regard to the former, the repeated proposals of France for a neutrality in Germany had been uniformly and positively rejected by the British administration. They considered therefore these offers as so many attacks upon national integrity. And this scheme not being admitted, they could come to no agreement, and scarcely to an intelligible explanation either of the mode, or the quantity of the assistance which they should be at liberty mutually to send to their German allies, or of the place in which such succours should be employed. As to Wesel and Gueldres, the French obstinately refused to restore those places. They declared that such a cession would be directly against the faith by which they were bound to the empress queen of Hungary, for whom they insisted that these places had been conquered, and in whose name alone they were governed, though they had been reduced by the French arms, and were at that moment held by French garrisons.

As to the second point, namely, the restitution of the captures made previous to the declaration of war, the negotiating powers were equally positive, the one to demand, the other to refuse it. The English argued, that this claim had no foundation in the law of nations, neither was it grounded on any particular convention. That the right of all hostile operations results, not from a formal declaration of war, but from the hostilities which the aggressor had first offered; that the contrary of this proposition is at least contestible; and since it can by no means be clearly established, it follows, that the detainment of those captures must be considered on the side of England, as part of the "uti possidetis," originally proposed as the basis of this treaty.

France, on the other hand, seemed as fully convinced of the justice of her pretensions, and considered the arguments with which she supported them to be so unanswerable, that she offered to submit them to the justice of the English tribunals. They urged that this claim of restitution was founded on the law of nations, and upon particular conventions, by the nineteenth article of the peace of Utrecht, and by the second article of the treaty of commerce; and that this was strengthened by the third article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which renewed and confirmed those articles in the preceding treaties.

By these articles a protection is allowed to the respective subjects which may have ships in the ports of either of the powers, because having no opportunity of knowing that a rupture has happened,

pened, they sailed under the security of peace, and the faith of treaties. By a parity of reasoning, the ships not actually in those ports ought to enjoy the same security; else, as they are included in the same parity of circumstances, it would follow, contrary to the principles of humanity and right reason, that the sovereigns had provided for the preservation of one part of their subjects from the miseries of a sudden rupture, to which they expose the rest. The particular conventions of these treaties, they said, had their foundation in general equity, and the law of nations; since, as it is impracticable for belligerent states to agree amongst themselves which is the aggressor, it is proper that the subjects should receive previous notice of the rupture, in order that they might be able distinctly to know when they are, or are not in security, or when they may, or may not rely upon the treaties which subsist between their sovereigns.

These topics were, as usual, debated with great heat and little effect; and as in such discussions the arguments on both sides are plausible, and there can be no authorized judge, the weight of the several pretensions commonly depends upon the power of the parties to enforce them. On these two points, therefore, the renunciation of German alliances, and the restitution of captures, the negotiation from the beginning was at a stand: and on those at length, to all appearance, it finally broke off.

We are, however, fully satisfied that the disagreement even in those points might have been only the pretended cause of the rupture. The true cause of the breach seems to have been the unreasonable interposition of the Spanish claims: for could France be supposed in good earnest to desire peace, that is, to desire such a reasonable peace as her circumstances might demand, when she officiously mingled with a particular debate, the affairs of a foreign and neutral power, which had not the smallest connection with those that were then properly under deliberation? It was ridiculous to urge, that this was done from a prudent foresight, and to prevent a future war, which those disputes might possibly have occasioned. The business was to put an end to the war which then actually subsisted; and nothing could be farther from assisting this design than to increase the subjects of debate. France must have been sensible of the weight of this argument, proposed in the very beginning of this treaty, as a necessary precaution for carrying it on with effect, that their particular dispute should be separated from those of their German Allies, with which it certainly had a more natural connection than with those that subsisted between England and Spain; as all the former parties were then engaged directly or indirectly in the war, to which Spain had then no manner of relation.

The English ministry finding the French immovable on the two capital points above-mentioned, and having no opinion of the sincerity of their proceedings, sent directions to Mr. Stanly to return to England, and to desire that M. Bussy should, on the part of his court, receive the same orders: accordingly on the twentieth of September, an end was put to this negotiation; which being thus broken off, that proposed at Augsburg never took place.

As nothing could have been more unprecedented,

so nothing was more alarming than the proceeding of the court of Spain in the negotiation. It was altogether extraordinary to see a proposal for accommodating disputes that subsisted between friends, coming through the channel of an enemy. It was extremely singular to see points of such consequence formally communicated and proposed for deliberation by a French agent, commissioned only to negotiate a particular and distinct business, when the Spaniards had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no sort of intimation had been previously received of such a design.

That proposal not only marked out a want of sincerity on the part of France, but it manifested so strange and irregular a partiality on the part of Spain, that it would very little have become the dignity of the king of Great-Britain, or his attention to the safety of his subjects, to let it pass without a full and satisfactory explanation. Accordingly the Spanish ambassador was called upon to disavow this irregular procedure; but he returned a verbal, and soon after was authorised by his court to return a written answer, in which he openly avowed and justified the step taken by the French agent, as entirely agreeable to the sentiments of his master. He declared that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood, but by a mutual interest. He applauded the humanity and greatness of mind which his most Christian majesty demonstrated in the proposition that was complained of. He insisted much on the sincere desire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs; and he added, haughtily, that if his master had been governed by any other principles, "his Catholic majesty, giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken for himself, and as became his dignity."

It appeared evidently from the whole of this paper, that the court of Spain was regularly, as a sort of party, apprised of every step that was taken in the negotiation; that her judgment was appealed to upon every point, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms which were offered by France; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between those two courts; and the minister of the former, so far from denying or palliating this conduct, seemed to glory in it.

Mr. Pitt, who then took the lead in the ministry, was fully satisfied the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal, and that this partiality, which they strongly avowed, not only by declarations, but by facts, would drive them into all the measures of France. That a war on that account was absolutely inevitable; and if, for the present moment, the Spaniards rather delayed their declaration of war, than laid aside their hostile intentions, it was in order to strike the blow at their own time, and with the greatest effect; that therefore their reasons for delaying to act were the very motives, which ought to induce us to act with the utmost speed and vigour. That we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war. That we ought from prudence, as well as from spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow: and to be practically convinced, that the early and effective measures, which had so large a share in reducing

cing France to the dependance upon Spain, would also be the fittest for deterring or disabling Spain from affording any protection to France. That, to carry on this war with vigour, it was only necessary to continue our present efforts; no new armament would be necessary; and that, if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain. That their fleet had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once disable theirs and strengthen our hands. This procedure so suited to the dignity of the nation, and the insults it had received, would be a lesson to Spain, and to every other power, how they should presume to dictate in our affairs, and to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, and an officiousness as insidious as it was audacious. That we would allow our enemies, whether secret or declared, no time to think and recollect themselves.

These sentiments, so agreeable to the resolute and enterprising character of this minister, appeared shocking to almost all the rest of his colleagues. They admitted that we ought not to be terrified from the assertion of our just demands, by the menaces of any power. They owned that Spain had taken a very extraordinary and very unjustifiable step, but that we ought to admit, and even to wish for, an explanation. This court, upon a sober, yet spirited remonstrance, might recal that rash proposition into which they had been perhaps unwarily seduced by the artifices of France; that to shun war upon a just occasion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it, was madness. And, if to court a war was not in general a very wise measure, to desire it with Spain, if possibly it could be avoided, was to overturn the most fundamental principles of the policy of both nations. That this desire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilst we had our hands already as full as they could hold, and whilst all our faculties were strained to the utmost pitch, was to over-calculate the national strength of our country, which, however great, had its limits, and was not able to contend with all the world: that whilst we were calling for new enemies, no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new resource whatsoever. To plunge into such measures, in the manner proposed, and upon no better grounds, could not fail to scandalize and to alarm all Europe; and we could possibly derive no advantage from this precipitate conduct, which would not be more than counterbalanced by the jealousy and terror it would necessarily create in every nation near us. As to the seizure of the fleet, it was not to be depended upon, as at the very time of that deliberation, it might be expected to be safe in its harbour; and perhaps if we could succeed in seizing it, we might perform a service not very agreeable to neutral nations, and as little advantageous to our own commerce.

If Spain, blind to her true interests, and misled by French councils, should give in a more decisive manner into the designs of that court, and obstinately refuse a reasonable satisfaction, it would be then true time to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced that we acted with as much temper as resolution, and when every thinking man at home would be satisfied that we were not hurried into the hazards and expences of war, from an idea of chimerical heroism,

but from inevitable necessity; and that in such a case, we might depend upon the utmost support which the nation could give to an administration that depended upon its strength, and yet dreaded to waste it wantonly, or to employ it unjustly. The minister, warmed by this opposition, declared that, "this was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved that this was the last time he should sit in that council. He thanked the ministers of the late king for their support; said he was himself called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct; and that he would no longer remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide."

On the division, the minister himself, and a noble lord closely connected with him, were the only voices, in favour of the immediate declaration of war; the rest of the board were unanimously against it.

Mr Pitt and lord Temple, adhering to their first opinion, and having declared their reasons in writing, resigned their employments. This resignation seemed equal to a revolution in the state. An universal alarm was spread; a thousand rumours flew abroad, and the first suggestions were that this great minister, endeavouring to avail himself by his firmness in negotiation of the advantages he had acquired by his vigour in war, was opposed by the whole council, who were resolved to have a peace at any rate, and that this opposition had driven him to resign the seals. But the true cause of the resignation very soon came out; and on this point a violent conflict ensued, in which the popular cause was worst sustained, and the ministerial better, that is with greater effect, than is usual in such discussions. Some circumstances contributed not a little to this success.

When Mr. Pitt resigned the seals, the great person to whom they were delivered, received them with ease and firmness, without requesting that he should resume his office. His majesty expressed his concern for the loss of so able a servant; and to shew the favourable sense he entertained of his services, he made him a most gracious and unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. His majesty at the same time expressed himself not only satisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council, but declared he should have found himself under the greatest difficulty how to have acted, had that council concurred as fully in supporting the measure proposed by Mr. Pitt, as they had done in rejecting it: a sentiment (in the light in which his majesty considered this measure) grounded upon the firmest principles of integrity and honour, and which must raise the highest veneration for his royal character, not only among his own subjects, but amongst all nations, when they see a power which has so little to fear from any human effort, so very fearful of the least infringement of the strictest and most critical rules of justice.

Mr. Pitt was sensibly touched with the grandeur and condescension of this proceeding. "I confess, Sire, said he, I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared

pared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, Sire, it overpowers, it oppresses me!" He then burst into tears.

We are far from an attempt to add any colouring to so exquisitely affecting a picture. We are indeed far from being able to do justice to perhaps one of the most pathetic and elevated scenes which could possibly be displayed, the parting of such a prince and such a minister.

The next day a pension of three thousand pounds a year was settled on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and at the same time a title was conferred upon his lady and her issue; a pension the best bestowed, and a nobility the most honourably acquired, and most truly merited. Immediately the gazette gave notice to the public of all these transactions. The resignation made the first article, the honours and rewards the next; and they were followed by a letter from the English ambassador in Spain, containing an account of the favourable and pacific language of that court, and of the strong assurance they gave of a desire to accommodate all differences in an amicable manner.

Without presuming to take any part in a controversy which long divided the royal council, or without entering into the sentiments of any faction, which we have always avoided, we may affirm with truth and impartiality, that no man was ever better fitted than Mr. Pitt, to be the minister in a great and powerful nation, or better qualified to carry that power and greatness to their utmost height. There was in all his designs a magnitude, and even a vastness, which was not easily comprehended by every mind, and which nothing but success could have demonstrated to be reasonable. If he was sometimes incorrect, he was never vulgar.

This power, as it was not acquired, so neither was it exercised in an ordinary manner. With very little parliamentary, and with less court influence, he swayed both at the council board and in parliament with an authority unknown before to the best supported ministers. He was called to the ministry by the voice of the people; and what is more rare, he held it with that approbation; and under him for the first time, administration and popularity were seen united. Under him Great Britain carried on the most important war in which she was ever engaged, alone and unassisted, with greater splendor, and with more success than she had ever enjoyed at the head of the most powerful alliances. Alone this island seemed to balance the rest of Europe.

In the conduct of the war he never suffered the enemy to breathe, but overwhelmed them with reiterated blows, and kept up the alarm in every quarter. If one of his expeditions was not so well calculated, or so successfully executed, amends were made by another, and by a third. The spirit of the nation, once roused, was not suffered for a moment to subside; and the French, dazzled as it were by the multitude and celerity of his enterprises, seemed to have lost all power of resistance. In short, he revived the military genius of the English; he supported our allies; he extended our trade; he raised our reputation; he augmented our dominions; and on his departure from the administration, left the nation in no other danger than that which ever must attend exorbitant power, and

the temptation which induces the invidious exertion of it. Happy had it been for him, for his sovereign, and his country, if a temper less austere, and a disposition more compliant and conciliating, had been joined to his other great virtues. The want of those qualities disabled him from acting any otherwise than alone: it prevented our enjoying the joint fruit of the wisdom of many able men, who might mutually have tempered, and mutually forwarded each other; and finally, which was not the least loss, it deprived us of his own immediate services.

I now proceed to particularize the most remarkable events that happened in Great-Britain during the course of this year.

The new tax laid upon beer, excited loud clamours among the class of labouring people, especially in the metropolis, where some few publicans began to raise the price, in consequence of this imposition: but, as they did not act in concert, those houses, in which the attempt was made, were immediately abandoned by their customers. Menacing letters and intimations were sent to some individuals, supposed to have advised the new duty. The streets resounded with the noise of vulgar clamour and discontent; nor was it till after some time, and many experiments, that the price of strong beer could be actually raised to the consumer.

The establishment of a militia, though at first projected in compliance with the earnest request of the people, was not, however, entirely accomplished, without exciting some dangerous commotions. As this kind of troops had already served the term of three years, prescribed by law, it was necessary to ballot for a succession of men; and in the month of March the justices of the peace in the county of Northumberland were assembled at Hexham for this purpose. The common people being determined to oppose this regulation, which they considered as an intolerable grievance, assembled to the number of five thousand of both sexes, and of all ages, some of them armed with clubs, and some of them with fire-arms. The justices, apprehensive of some such disorder, had procured a battalion of the Yorkshire militia for their guard, and these were drawn up in the marketplace. The populace being joined by a body of desperate keelmen from Newcastle, began to insult the guard with reproaches, missiles, and even with blows, which the militia for some time bore with all the patience that could be imagined. The riot act was read, and the people were exhorted to retire to their respective habitations. But instead of complying with this advice, they became more untractable. Encouraged by the forbearance of the militia, and possessed with a notion that they would not commit hostilities, they proceeded from one act of outrage to another; assaulted them as they stood arranged in order of battle, and killed an officer and two private men. Thus exasperated, the militia poured in upon them a regular discharge, by which forty-five were killed on the spot, and three hundred miserably wounded. The survivors immediately betook themselves to flight, and many dropped down upon the road in their retreat. The most lamentable part of this disaster was a circumstance which attends all such unfortunate occasions: some hapless women and children, drawn thither by curiosity, or the more laudable motive

motive of persuading their husbands, parents, or kinsmen to retire, were confounded and perished in the undistinguishing vengeance of the day. Some of the rioters, being apprehended, were tried for high treason, convicted, condemned, and executed for examples.

The spirit of murder and assassination still continued to prevail in different parts of the kingdom. Women attempted the lives of their husbands, and husbands embued their hands in the blood of their wives. As the last year was distinguished by an atrocious murder committed in London by a foreigner, so the present exhibited an instance of the same kind, perpetrated by another stranger in the capital, though attended with much more savage and horrible circumstances. One Theodore Gardelle, a Swiss painter, being provoked by some trivial injury, layed violent hands on Mrs. King, in whose house he lodged, near Leicester Square, and deprived her of life in her own apartment. The rage of passion, which prompted him to this excess, was succeeded by a transport of terror, which hurried him into such measures for his own preservation, as cannot fail to shock the humane and tender reader. He concealed what had passed by locking the apartment where the body lay, and by dismissing the maid servant, who happened to be absent when the murder was committed. He had sent her upon some errand to a different part of the town, as if the murder had been a premeditated scheme: when she returned, he told her Mrs. King was gone suddenly to the country, and had directed him to dismiss her from her service. He accordingly payed her the wages that were due to her, in consequence of which she retired.

Being now in possession of the house, he passed the night alone in his own apartment. Next morning he descended to the chamber where the body of the unhappy woman lay, separated the head, and even dissected it with the most gloomy deliberation. This he consumed by fire: the bowels he took out, and buried in the soil of the privy. He then dismembered the body, and destroyed the limbs with a fire made of green wood, that the smell of flesh might not alarm the neighbours. He divided the trunk in small pieces, and carrying part of them in a sack, threw them into the river. This was a work of time, which he seemed to brood over with a kind of horrid enjoyment. In the intervals of his labour, he solaced himself with the conversation of a prostitute, who lay with him in the house, and from whose side he rose early in the morning in order to finish his dreadful task.

His guilt could not be long concealed. The sudden disappearance of Mrs. King, and the distracted behaviour of the assassin, created suspicion. He found it necessary to employ an occasional domestic, who perceived signs of blood. The servant, whom he had dismissed, exerted herself in his detection: a warrant was granted for apprehending Gardelle; and search being made in the house, parcels of the body were found. The murderer, being brought to trial, was convicted on the fullest evidence, and executed in the open

street, not far from the place where the crime was committed.

I shall conclude this narrative of domestic transactions with an account of the marriage and coronation of their present majesties.

The king, ever attentive to the great purposes of his elevation, and desirous of giving all possible permanency to the present happy establishment, resolved to choose a consort, whose participation might sweeten the cares of government, and whose virtues should make his private happiness coincide with the satisfaction of his people. Struck with the character of the princess Charlotta-Sophia, princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz *, he privately employed persons, in whom he could confide, to ascertain the report of her engaging qualifications; and being fully convinced of her personal attractions, her amiable disposition, and superior understanding, he made a formal demand of her in marriage. The proposal of such an illustrious alliance could not but be acceptable to the court of Mecklenburg; and the princess herself was not insensible to the extraordinary accomplishments of the young monarch, who had thus distinguished her by his affection and esteem.

On the eighth of July, the members of the privy council being assembled to a very considerable number, the king acquainted them in a formal speech, that, "having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of his people, and to render the same stable and permanent to posterity, he had, ever since his accession to the throne, turned his thoughts towards the choice of a princess for his consort; and now, with great satisfaction, acquainted them, that, after the fullest information, and mature deliberation, he had come to a resolution to demand in marriage the princess Charlotta of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; a princess distinguished by every eminent virtue, and amiable endowment; whose illustrious line had constantly shewn the firmest zeal for the Protestant religion, and a particular attachment to his family: that he had judged it proper to communicate to them these his intentions, that they might be fully apprized of a matter so highly important to him and to his kingdoms, and which he persuaded himself would be most acceptable to all his loving subjects."

This declaration was so agreeable to the council, that they unanimously requested it might be made public for the satisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambassador-plenipotentiary to the court of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, to demand the princess, and sign the contract of marriage; and the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a gallant squadron commanded by lord Anson, to convoy the future queen to England. Meanwhile her household being established, the ambassador set out for the continent on this important affair. The dutchesses of Ancafter and Hamilton and the countess of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburg in her passage to England; and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet set sail for Stade on the eighth day

* The duchy of Mecklenburg lies between Lunenburg and the Baltick, and is neither rich nor extensive. The dukes are said to be descended from the kings of the Vandals. The people were converted to the Christian religion in the twelfth century, and at present profess the Lutheran persuasion. The duke of Mecklenburg-Swerin, being the eldest branch, possesses a yearly revenue amounting to about forty thousand

pounds. The duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz does not receive above twenty thousand pounds a-year; but he has a voice in the diet of the empire. The princess Charlotta-Sophia, who was then in the seventeenth year of her age, is sister to the last mentioned prince, born of Elizabeth, daughter of Ernest-Frederick, duke of Saxe Hildburghausen.

of August. The contract of marriage being signed by the earl of Harcourt at Strelitz, her royal highness was complimented by the states of the country, and the deputies of the towns. The ambassador and the ladies were magnificently entertained; and the event was celebrated with the most splendid rejoicings.

On the seventeenth day of the month, the princess, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, set out for Mirow, amidst the tears and prayers of all ranks of people, the poor in particular, whose zealous patroness she had always shewn herself. Next day she arrived at Perleberg, where the count de Gotter complimented her in the name of the Prussian monarch. From thence she continued her journey by Leutzen to Gourde, and on the twenty-second reached Stade, under a general discharge of cannon, and amidst the acclamations of the people. She was received by all the burgesses in arms: the whole town was illuminated: triumphal arches were erected; several of the principal ladies presented her with verses on her approaching nuptials; and the public joy was expressed by every possible demonstration. On the twenty-third she embarked in the yacht at Cuxhaven, where she was saluted by the British squadron assembled for her convoy. The moment she entered the cabin, she saluted the officers of the different ships, who had crowded the deck in order to have the pleasure of seeing her, and were all charmed with her polite and easy behaviour.

In this interval the minds of the English people were wound up to the highest pitch of expectation. The king having signified his intention that the princess should land at Greenwich, both sides of the Thames were for several days lined with innumerable multitudes. The river itself was covered with pleasure-boats, wherries, and other vessels filled with spectators, and cruising between Blackwall and Gravesend, in order to meet and welcome their future queen's arrival. Seats and scaffolds were prepared along the shore for several miles; and all the publicans residing near the banks of the river, both in Kent and Essex, were enriched by an amazing conflux of company. Every individual observed the wind as earnestly as if his whole fortune had depended upon the first change of weather; and London poured forth her swarms like an immense hive during the first gleams of vernal sunshine. All the medicinal wells, to which wealthy people resort in the summer, either for health or pleasure, were now deserted; and numbers flocked to the metropolis from all parts of the united kingdom to see their sovereign's bride, and be eye-witnesses of the ensuing coronation. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was exposed to three different storms, and often in danger of being driven on the coast of Norway, the princess landed on the seventh day of September in the afternoon at Harwich, where she was received by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colchester to Witham, and lodged at a house belonging to the earl of Abercorn, where she gratified the curiosity of the people with the most obliging condescension. Meanwhile the king, whose ardour far surpassed the impatience of his subjects, being apprized by couriers of her arrival, dispatched his own coaches,

with a party of the horse-guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crouds of people, assembled on the road to gratify their curiosity and welcome her arrival. Their applause was signified in tumultuous acclamations, which attended her for several miles; and the eagerness of the populace was even carried to a degree of licentious zeal, which the guards could hardly restrain within the bounds of decent respect.

Thus accompanied by great numbers in carriages, on horseback and a-foot, this amiable princess proceeded by Shoreditch church, up Old-street to the city-road, across Islington, along the new road into Hyde-park, and down Constitution-hill, to the garden gate of the palace of St. James's, where she was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonshire, in quality of lord-chamberlain. At the gate she was received by the duke of York, and in the garden she was met by the king himself, whose looks declared the transports of his joy. When she made her obeisance, he raised her by the hand, which he kissed, and then led her up stairs to the palace, where they dined together, with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occasion. Besides the royal family, all the great officers of state, the nobility, peers and peeresses, and the foreign ministers, attended at the service, the conclusion of which was announced to the people by the discharge of the artillery at the Park and the Tower; and the cities of London and Westminster were illuminated in honour of this auspicious event. Nothing was now seen at court but splendor and festivity, exhibiting all the marks of mirth and satisfaction. The great accession of domestic happiness that the king enjoyed in this connection, enabled him to support the fatigue of receiving fresh addresses of felicitation, which were ushered in as usual by the city of London, and presented to him by the clergy, the universities, the dissenters, the cities, towns, and corporations in all parts of the British dominions.

The ceremony of the nuptials was soon succeeded by that of the coronation, which could not fail of being extremely irksome and disagreeable to a prince of true taste and sentiment. A commission had long ago passed the seal, constituting a court to decide the pretensions of a great number of people, who laid claim to several offices and privileges, in the celebration of this necessary form; and many of these, being derived from the most remote antiquity, carried with them an uncouth and ridiculous appearance to a modern reader. Westminster-hall was prepared for the coronation-banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of spectators. A platform was laid between this Hall and the Abbey-church, where the king is actually crowned. All the houses and streets within sight of the procession were faced and crowded with benches and scaffolding, which extended on both sides within the Abbey from the Western entrance almost up to the choir. The prospect formed by these occasional erections, which were surprisingly calculated for security and convenience, could not

fail to awaken the expectation of the spectator for something solemn and sublime: but when all these benches were filled with above two hundred thousand people, of both sexes, arrayed in gay apparel, they filled the mind with an astonishing idea of the wealth and populousity of Great Britain, and entirely eclipsed the procession, notwithstanding the incredible profusion of jewels and finery, and all the other circumstances of pomp by which it was distinguished. The principal objects, however, still maintained their importance in the eyes and bosoms of all the spectators, who could not without the most lively emotions of admiration and joy behold such attractive accomplishments in the royal pair, whose virtues adorned the crowns they were destined to wear.

The ostentation of this year was closed with the anniversary pageants that celebrate the election of a new lord mayor in the city of London. As the kings and queens of Great-Britain are always entertained at Guildhall by the magistrate who happens to be chosen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their majesties; who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet, in the midst of the most tumultuous expressions of loyalty and attachment that ever were known on any former occasion.

On the third of November the new parliament was opened at Westminster; and, as no ministerial influence had been used in electing the members of which it was composed, it undoubtedly deserved the appellation of a free parliament; a phenomenon which had not appeared in the meridian of Great Britain for the space of above forty years before this period. The king, being seated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; to whom he signified his pleasure, by the mouth of the high-lord-chancellor, that they should return to their house, and chuse a new speaker. Accordingly their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cust, baronet, a gentleman of extensive knowledge and distinguished probity, qualified in all respects to supply the room of Mr. Onslow, who had so long and so worthily discharged that important office. His majesty, repairing again to the house of peers on the sixth, approved of the speaker, and harangued the parliament in these words.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ At the opening of the first parliament, summoned and elected under my authority, I with pleasure take notice of an event, which has made me completely happy, and given universal joy to my loving subjects. My marriage with a princess, eminently distinguished by every virtue, and amiable endowment, whilst it affords me all possible domestic comfort, cannot but highly contribute to the happiness of my kingdoms; which has been, and always shall be, my first object in every action of my life.

“ It has been my earnest wish that this first period of my reign might be marked with another felicity; the restoring of the blessings of peace to my people, and putting an end to the calamities of war, under which so great a part of Europe suffers. But though overtures were made to me, and my good brother and ally the king of Prussia, by the several belligerent powers, in order to a general pacification, for which purpose a congress was

appointed; and propositions were made to me by France, for a particular peace with that crown, which were followed by an actual negotiation; yet that congress hath not hitherto taken place, and the negotiation with France is entirely broken off.

“ The sincerity of my disposition to effectuate this good work has been manifested in the progress of it; and I have the consolation to reflect, that the continuance of the war, and the farther effusion of Christian blood, to which it was the desire of my heart to put a stop, cannot with justice be imputed to me.

“ Our military operations have been in no degree suspended or delayed; and it has pleased God to grant us farther important successes, by the conquests of the islands of Belleisle and Dominique; and by the reduction of Pondicherry, which hath in a manner annihilated the French power in the East Indies. In other parts, where the enemy's numbers were greatly superior, their principal designs and projects have been generally disappointed, by a conduct which does the highest honour to the distinguished capacity of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and by the valour of my troops. The magnanimity and ability of the king of Prussia have eminently appeared in resisting such numerous armies, and surmounting so great difficulties.

“ In this situation, I am glad to have an opportunity of receiving the truest information of the sense of my people, by a new choice of their representatives. I am fully persuaded you will agree with me in opinion, that the steady exertion of our most vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy may still be attacked with advantage, is the only means that can be productive of such a peace, as may with reason be expected from our successes. It is, therefore, my fixed resolution, with your concurrence and support, to carry on the war, in the most effectual manner, for the interest and advantage of my kingdoms; and to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the good faith and honour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with my allies. In this I will persevere, until my enemies, moved by their own losses and distresses, and touched with the miseries of so many nations, shall yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace; in which case, as well as in the prosecution of the war, I do assure you, no consideration whatever shall make me depart from the true interests of these my kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of my crown.”

“ Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

“ I am heartily sorry, that the necessity of large supplies appears so clearly from what has already been mentioned. The proper estimates for the services of the ensuing year shall be laid before you; and I desire you to grant me such supplies, as may enable me to prosecute the war with vigour, and as your own welfare and security, in the present critical juncture, require, that we may happily put the last hand to this great work. Whatever you give shall be duly and faithfully applied.

“ I dare say your affectionate regard for me and the queen makes you go before me in what I am next to mention; the making an adequate and honourable provision for her support, in case she should

should survive me. This is what not only her royal dignity, but her own merit calls for, and I earnestly recommend it to your consideration.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have such confidence in the zeal and good affections of this parliament, that I think it quite superfluous to use any exhortations to excite you to a right conduct. I will only add, that there never was a situation in which unanimity, firmness, and dispatch, were more necessary for the safety, honour, and true interest of Great Britain.”

These expressions of confidence and esteem, which flowed from the heart of a patriot king, met with the most cordial returns of gratitude and affection. The two houses unanimously resolved to address their sovereign in the warmest terms of zeal and attachment. The commons, having thanked him for this most gracious speech from the throne, presented their congratulations on the joyful and auspicious event of his nuptials, with a princess descended from an illustrious protestant line, distinguished by the most eminent graces and endowments, worthy to be the partner of a throne, by possessing every virtue by which it could be adorned. They expressed their deep sense of the affectionate regard he had manifested for his people, by consulting, on this important and interesting occasion, as on every other, the happiness of them and their posterity. They assured him, that with hearts full of gratitude for this signal instance of his royal attention to the welfare of his subjects, and thoroughly sensible of the exalted merit of his illustrious consort, his faithful commons would not fail to make such honourable and ample provision as might enable her to support her royal dignity with proper lustre, in case she should survive his majesty *; for the long continuance of whose life they should offer up their most ardent vows to Providence, without ceasing. They thanked his majesty for having expressed his concern for the prosperity of his people, in wishing to restore them the blessings of peace. They declared their admiration of that humanity so becoming the royal breast, which, amidst the successes of his own kingdoms, felt for the calamities of other nations. They professed themselves fully persuaded, that those beneficent dispositions which induced his majesty to propose a congress for a general pacification, and to engage in a negotiation with France for a particular peace, could not have failed of the desired effect, if the enemy, influenced by the same motives, had shewn the same good intentions, and would have complied with such conditions as were requisite for the accomplishment of that salutary work. They testified the most grateful acknowledgment of his majesty's vigilance and firmness, in not suffering the hopes and expectations of peace to produce the least suspense or relaxation in the exertion of his arms; and congratulated his majesty on those happy successes, which, under the good providence of God, they ascribed to the wisdom and vigour of his majesty's measures: to these they owed the reduction of Dominique, the conquest of Belleisle, achieved with so much reputation to the British arms, and the destruction of

the enemy's power in the East Indies, by the acquisition of Pondicherry, their last remaining settlement of any strength in those countries. They observed, that the wise and able conduct of his serene highness prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whereby he had successively defeated the projects of the enemy, and prevented their making that progress, which, from their superior numbers, they expected; together with that gracious approbation which his majesty had been pleased to express of the valour of his troops; could not but give the highest satisfaction to his faithful commons. They said, they saw with just admiration repeated proofs, in every campaign, of that unshaken resolution, and of those astonishing efforts, which alone could have enabled his majesty's great ally, the king of Prussia, to resist the numerous forces of his enemies. They assured him, he might depend upon their intire concurrence and support, in the most effectual prosecution of the war, for the interest and advantage of Great Britain; and in maintaining, to the utmost of their power, the good faith and honour of his majesty's crown, and the engagements entered into with his allies: and they declared themselves truly sensible, that the constant care and attention of his majesty to pursue the most vigorous measures, in every part, where any successful impression could still be made upon the enemy, were the only means to attain that desirable object, an honourable and lasting peace. They acknowledged with the deepest gratitude, that most endearing expression of his majesty's unbounded goodness and affection towards his native country, in the solemn declaration which he had been pleased to make, that, as well in the prosecution of the war as in the conclusion of the peace, no consideration whatever should induce him to depart from the true interests of his kingdoms, and from the honour and dignity of his crown. They gave him to understand, that his faithful commons would cheerfully grant such supplies as the nature and extent of the several services should be found to require, firmly relying on his majesty's wisdom and justice, that they would be applied with the strictest œconomy, and in such a manner as might most effectually answer the great ends for which they should be granted. They expressed their earnest desires, that this first parliament convened by his authority, might, by their conduct, give his majesty a happy proof of the zeal, the loyalty, and the affection of his people. They concluded with saying, that, sensible of the difficult crisis in which they were assembled, they were determined to concur, with the greatest firmness and unanimity, in whatever might contribute to the public welfare, might tend to defeat the views and expectations of their enemies, and convince the world, that there were no difficulties which his majesty's wisdom and perseverance, with the assistance of his parliament, could not surmount.

The supplies of the year, which amounted to eighteen millions, two hundred twenty nine thousand, one hundred thirty-five pounds, eighteen shillings and eleven-pence halfpenny, were just pro-

* They afterwards resolved, that in case she should survive his majesty, she should enjoy a provision of one hundred thousand pounds per annum during her life, together with the palace of Somerset-house, and the lodge and lands at Richmond old Park.

vided, when the public attention was called off to an incident of national importance. The king of Great Britain had directed the earl of Bristol, his ambassador at Madrid, to demand of the Spanish ministry an explanation of the late treaty concluded between the kings of France and Spain; and particularly to require a categorical declaration with respect to the part his catholic majesty intended to act in the disputes between the courts of London and Versailles. His instructions imported, that those questions should be put with all the delicacy which the nature of such demands could admit, that Spain should have no cause to complain that she was treated with want of decorum. The demands were made accordingly, with all imaginable demonstrations of respect; but as the answers given appeared evasive and unsatisfactory, he became more peremptory in his remonstrances; and at length plainly declared, that if the court of Spain should refuse a positive explanation whether the catholic king intended to ally himself with France against England, he should interpret the refusal into an aggression and declaration of war, and, in consequence, be obliged to retire from the court of Madrid. The Spanish monarch had already taken his measures in concert with the court of Versailles, and waited only for an opportunity to provoke Great-Britain into an immediate rupture. In answer therefore to this declaration, Mr. Wall, the Spanish Minister, replied, that such a step could only be suggested by the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigned but too much in the British government; that it was in that very moment the war was declared, and the king's dignity violently attacked; and the earl might retire how and when he should think proper. Nothing could be more idle and frivolous than this pretence for taking umbrage. Had the English Minister failed in point of punctilio, and made an abrupt demand, unauthorized by the law of nations, the court of Madrid might have resented his personal behaviour, and complained of it by their ambassador at London; but, even in that case, the affront would have been, by all the reasonable part of mankind, deemed too inconsiderable a cause for involving the two nations in the horrors and misery of war: yet even this plea was wanting. The Earl of Bristol proceeded with delicacy and caution, and did not insist upon a categorical answer until every milder method had been tried without success. The most extraordinary circumstance attending this rupture was the purport of a paper delivered to the earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary of state for the southern department, by the count de Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London. It seems to have been calculated for sowing jealousies and fomenting divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain, and may be termed, "His catholic majesty's declaration of war against the person of Mr. Pitt, late secretary of state, and minister to the king of Great-Britain."

No measures were now to be kept with Spain. The earl of Bristol was recalled: the count de Fuentes retired from England. His Britannic Majesty granted a commission, empowering the admiralty to issue letters of marque, and commissions for privateers to act against the subjects of Spain. War

was declared in form on the fourth day of January; and on the nineteenth the king communicated it in a speech to both houses of parliament. He said he had so often assured them of his sincere disposition to put an end to the calamities of war, and to restore the public tranquility on solid and lasting foundations, that no impartial person, either at home or abroad, could suspect him of unnecessarily kindling a new war in Europe. He acquainted them, that, since their recess, he had found himself indispensably obliged to declare war against Spain, for the causes specified in his public declaration. He observed, that his own conduct, since his accession to the throne, as well as that of the late king his grandfather, towards Spain, had been so full of good will and friendship, so averse to the laying hold of several just grounds of complaint, which might have been alledged, and so attentive to the advantages of the catholic king and his family, that it was matter of the greatest surprise to find that engagements had, in this conjuncture, been entered into between that crown and France; and a treaty made to unite all the branches of the house of Bourbon in the most ambitious and dangerous designs against the commerce and independency of the rest of Europe, and particularly of these kingdoms. He expressed his reliance on the divine blessing on the justice of his cause, on the zealous and powerful assistance of his faithful subjects, and the concurrence of his allies, who must find themselves involved in the pernicious and extensive projects of his enemies. He left these considerations with his parliament, full of the justest confidence, that the honour of his crown, and the interests of his kingdoms, were safe in their hands.

This speech being taken into consideration, each house apart presented an address, containing assurances of constant support, conveyed in the most endearing expressions.

Here I must interrupt the narrative of parliamentary proceedings, to take notice of the reduction of the island of Martinique, which happened during this period.

The late minister had determined to employ a very considerable part of the force of the nation against the French colonies in the West-Indies, and a strong squadron was accordingly equipped. This armament sailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year, having under their convoy a number of transports, with four battalions from Belleisle, to join at Barbadoes a strong body of forces from North America, together with some regiments and volunteers from Guadaloupe and the Leeward islands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that station, and make a conquest of Martinique, which, since the attempt of general Hopson, had been strengthened with new fortifications, and a strong body of troops. The militia were well regulated, commanded by experienced officers, and the island had plenty of provisions, artillery and ammunition.

It may be necessary to inform the reader, that Martinique is the largest of all the Caribbee islands, situated between the fourteenth and fifteenth degrees of north latitude, about the middle between Barbadoes and Guadaloupe, to the windward of Antigua and St. Christopher's. It extends twenty leagues in length, and may be about one hundred
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and thirty miles in circumference; indented by a great number of creeks and harbours, diversified with hill and dale, shaded with woods, watered by many streams; in climate sultry, in soil fertile, producing a very considerable quantity of sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento. Here the governor-general of all the French islands in this part of the world resides; and here is established the sovereign council, whose jurisdiction extends over all the French Antilles, and even to the settlements of that crown in the islands of St. Domingo and Tortuga. In a word, Martinique is the most populous and flourishing of all the colonies which the French nation possess in the West-Indies. Its towns and harbours were strongly fortified: the country itself is almost inaccessible on account of woods, passes, rivers, rocks, and ravines; and was defended by a body of regular troops, reinforced by a disciplined militia, said to consist of ten thousand white natives; and to these might be added four times that number of negroes, whom they could arm in cases of necessity. The reduction of this island was an object of the greatest consequence to Great-Britain, not only on account of its intrinsic worth, and the detriment which the loss of it must occasion to the enemy, but likewise for the security of the English islands, amongst which it is situated, and of the British trading ships, which were constantly molested by the privateers of Martinico.

The armament from North America and England under the command of major-general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ships of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, having rendezvoused at Barbadoes in the month of December, proceeded from thence on the fifth day of January; and on the eighth the fleet and transports anchored in St. Ann's Bay, in the eastern part of Martinique, after the ships of war had silenced some batteries, which the enemy had erected on that part of the coast. In the course of this service, the *Raisable*, a ship of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence she could not be disengaged, though the men were saved, together with her stores and artillery.

The general, however, judging this an improper place for a disembarkation, two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Haviland and Grant, were detached under convoy to the bay of Petite-Anse, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the seamen and marines. These brigades were soon followed by the whole army, and the rest of the squadron; and other batteries being silenced, general Monckton and the forces landed without further opposition on the sixteenth, in the neighbourhood of the Cas des Navires. The brigadiers Haviland and Grant had made a descent in the other place, and marched to the ground opposite to Pidgeon-island, which commands the harbour of Fort-Royal; but the road being found impassable for artillery, Mr. Monckton altered his first design. The two brigades, however, with the light infantry under lieutenant-colonel Scot, while they remained on shore, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and Mulattoes, who had been transported from Fort-Royal; but they met with such a warm reception, as compelled

them to retreat with precipitation, after having lost a great number of men.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, which were sent from the squadron, the general determined to besiege the town of Fort-royal; but, in order to make his approaches, he found it necessary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortueson, which the enemy had fortified, and seemed resolved to defend to the last extremity. The English commander, having raised a battery to protect the passage of a ravine which separated him from those heights, made a disposition for the attack, which was put in execution on the twenty-fourth day of January. In the dawn of the morning, brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, sustained by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced posts of the enemy, under a brisk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Rufane, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raised along the shore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, supported by the brigade of Walsh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if possible, to turn the enemy.

They succeeded in their attempt, while the grenadiers were employed in driving the French from one post to another; and this motion contributed in a great measure to the success of the day. By nine in the morning they were in possession of the Morne Tortueson, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was fortified. The enemy retired in confusion to the town of Fort Royal, and to the Morne Garnier, which being more high and inaccessible than the other, was deemed impregnable. During the contest for the possession of Tortueson, brigadier Haviland, at the head of his brigade, with two battalions of highlanders, and another corps of light infantry, under major Leland, was ordered to pass the ravine a good way to the left, and turn a body of the enemy posted on the opposite heights, in hope of being able to divide their forces; but the country was so difficult of access, that it was late before this passage was effected. In the mean time, the general, perceiving the enemy giving way on all sides, ordered colonel Scot's light infantry, with Walsh's brigade, and a division of the grenadiers, to advance on the left to a plantation, from whence they drove the enemy, and where they took possession of an advantageous post opposite to the Morne Garnier. They were sustained, on the right, by Haviland's corps, when they passed the ravine; and the road between the two plantations, which they occupied, was covered by the marines.

Next day the English began to erect batteries against the citadel of Fort-Royal: but were greatly harassed from Morne Garnier. On the twenty-seventh, about four in the afternoon, the enemy made a furious attack, with the greatest part of their forces, on the posts defended by the light infantry and brigadier Haviland; but met with so warm a reception, that they soon retired in disorder. Such was the ardour of the English troops, that they passed the ravine with the fugitives, seized their batteries, and took possession of the ground, being sustained by the brigade of Walsh, and the grenadiers under Grant, who marched up to their assistance when the attack began. Major Leland,

with his light infantry, finding no resistance on the left, advanced to the redoubt which was abandoned; and the brigadiers Walsh, Grant, and Haviland, moved up in order to support him; so that by nine at night the British troops were in possession of this very strong post, that commanded the citadel, against which their own artillery was turned in the morning.

The French regular troops had fled into the town, and the militia dispersed in the country. The governor of the citadel, perceiving the English employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which it was commanded, ordered the *chamade* to be beat, and surrendered by capitulation. On the fourth of February the gate of the citadel was delivered up to the English; and next morning the garrison, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were sent from different quarters of the island, requesting a capitulation: but the governor-general, M. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he proposed to defend to the last extremity. On the seventh, Pidgeon island, which was strongly fortified, and esteemed one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons, and was favoured with a capitulation similar to that of the citadel. It was agreed, that the troops of the French king should be conveyed to Rochfort in France; that the militia should lay down their arms, and remain prisoners of war, until the fate of the island should be determined. This conquest was achieved at the small expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loss of the enemy was much more considerable. The most remarkable circumstance of this enterprize was the surprising boldness and alacrity of the seamen, who, by force of arm, drew a number of heavy mortars and ships cannon up the steepest mountains to a considerable distance from the sea, and across the enemy's line of fire, to which they exposed themselves with undaunted resolution. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal; and a much greater number, from other parts in the island, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in consequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other respects, were very favourably treated.

Just as general Monckton was going to set out for the reduction of St. Pierre, a very large and populous town, situated to the leeward of Fort-Royal, two deputies arrived with proposals of capitulation for the whole island on the part of M. de la Touche, the governor-general. On the fourteenth the terms were settled, and the capitulation signed: on the sixteenth the English commander took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood; while the governor-general, with Mr. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the staff officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were put on board some transports, to be carried to France. That such an important conquest should be achieved almost without bloodshed, was in a great measure owing to the favourable capitulation which the island of Guadaloupe had obtained, and the good faith with which the articles of that capitulation had been observed by the conquerors. Indeed the inhabitants of Martinico,

who were indulged with nearly the same terms, must have found themselves considerable gainers by their change of sovereign; inasmuch as, together with the enjoyment of their own religion, laws, and property, they had now an opportunity of exporting their produce to advantage, and of being supplied with all necessaries from the dominions of Great Britain; whereas, before they fell under the English government, their commerce was almost entirely interrupted, and they were obliged to depend even for subsistence on the most precarious methods of supply. By the reduction of Martinico, the island of Antigua, St. Christopher's, and Nevis, together with the ships trading to these colonies, were perfectly secured against the depredations of the enemy; and Great Britain acquired an annual addition in commerce, at least to the amount of one million sterling.

The surrender of Martinique naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. Granada, a fertile island, and possessed of some good harbours, was given up without opposition. St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been objects of contention between the two nations, followed its example. The English were now the sole and undisturbed possessors of all the Caribbees, and held that chain of innumerable islands which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South America. And though some of these islands are barren, none of them very large, and not many of them well inhabited, they boast of more trade than falls to the lot of many respectable kingdoms.

Before we proceed any further in relating the transactions of the present campaign, it may not be improper to take notice of some other particulars which distinguished this session of parliament.

In the course of the foregoing year it had been found necessary to lay an additional duty of three shillings on every barrel of beer; and as this did not immediately take place, it made little impression on the minds of the people: but now that the brewers began to raise the price of their liquor, and the publicans in consequence resolved to demand one halfpenny extraordinary on every quart of strong beer, the cities of London and Westminster were filled with tumult. The populace denounced vengeance against the brewers for exacting a higher price than usual from the victuallers; and even threatened to pull down the houses of those publicans who should charge the additional halfpenny on their beer. Under the apprehension of these dangers, they petitioned the house of commons for security and relief: and a new law was made in their favour. It enacted, that no brewer or retailer of strong beer or ale should be liable to be sued, impleaded, or molested, by indictment, information, popular action, or otherwise, for advancing the price; and that, on the other hand, they should not be allowed to mix it, on any pretence whatsoever, after the gauge of it should be taken by an officer of the excise.

Another act was passed to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the several laws relating to the militia, which had been found hitherto ineffectual. By this regulation persons liable to serve in the militia, may be chosen by ballot, as before; or otherwise the parish officers, with the consent of the inhabitants, may provide volunteers, to be approved

of by two deputy-lieutenants and one justice of the peace; and whatever expence they incur, by providing such volunteers, they are empowered to reimburse themselves by a rate on the parish, to be made in proportion to that for the relief of their poor, and the overplus, if any, to go in aid to the poors rate. It is further decreed, that parish officers shall pay to every person chosen by lot, and sworn in, or substitute, such sum of money, not exceeding five pounds, as any two deputy-lieutenants and a justice of the peace shall adjudge to be one half of the current price then paid for a volunteer in the county where such person shall be chosen. It is likewise ordained, that no person under the age of eighteen, or above forty-five, articulated clerk, apprentice, or poor man with three children born in wedlock, shall be compelled to serve: and that every person, who shall contract or agree with any other liable to serve, to insure him from serving in the militia, by providing a substitute, or paying the penalty of ten pounds, shall, for so doing, be fined in the sum of one hundred pounds, one half to the prosecutor, the other to the poor of the parish. This act was to take place from the time of its being passed, and is to continue in force for the space of seven years, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, and no longer. And nothing in the said act is to be construed to extend to the preventing persons of the same parish, town, or place, from entering into subscriptions among themselves, for paying jointly for any substitute or substitutes, who may be provided for one or more of the subscribers, who may happen to be chosen by lot. By this wise and wholesome alteration in the militia-laws, which obliges, and very justly, every man to pay his quota, all parishes have it in their power to keep their good and useful hands at home, and by a small and equitable tax, to be raised only twice in seven years, to send the idle and dissolute to serve their king and country for three years in the militia.

By a new law for the preservation of the game, it was decreed, that after the first day of June next ensuing, no partridge, pheasant, heath-fowl, or grouse, should be killed, taken, or sold, any year, between the twelfth day of February and first of September, for partridges; between the first of February and the first of October, for pheasants; between the first of January and the twentieth of August, for heath-fowl, commonly called black game; and between the first of December and the twenty-fifth day of July, for the grouse, commonly called the red game.—The person offending against this law to forfeit five pounds for every bird, to the prosecutor. A new act passed for the better lighting and paving the streets of Westminster, which were neither very safe nor commodious. A new law was also made for securing the additional salaries to the puisne judges, whom the king had rendered independent, in the course of the preceding session; and by another bill, an annuity of three thousand pounds was settled and secured for the use of Arthur Onslow, Esq; late speaker of the house of commons.

The mutiny bill was passed as an annual regulation; and the parliament enacted an explanatory law for a further encouragement to those who should make any progress towards the discovery of a certain method for finding out the longitude at sea,

that great desideratum in the art of navigation. Mr. Harrison, a clock maker of London, had contrived a curious time-piece, which, under the direction of his son, was tried in a voyage to the West-Indies, and found to succeed in all experiments infinitely beyond any thing which had hitherto been invented on the same subject. Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, had also contrived a marine chair, by means of which it was found practicable, in the roughest weather at sea, to take observations of the immersions and emersions of Jupiter's satellites, from which the longitude may be ascertained. This machine had been found successful upon trial; and a board of longitude being now held at the Admiralty, to consider the merit of these improvements, Mr. Harrison and his son were gratified with a reward of fifteen hundred pounds; and five hundred were given to Mr. Irwin.

The public business being finished, the king repaired to the house of lords on the second day of June, and put an end to the session with a speech, in which he expressed the highest approbation of the zeal, unanimity and dispatch, which had so signally appeared in the course of their proceedings. He said, he had informed them at the opening of the session, that it had been his earnest wish to restore the blessings of peace to his people; but that it was his firm resolution, with their concurrence and support, to carry on the war in the most effectual manner, till that desirable object could be obtained upon equitable and honourable terms: that his sentiments in both these respects continued invariably the same, and he had the satisfaction to find them confirmed by the unanimous voice of his parliament. He observed, that the signal success of his arms, in the conquest of Martinique, and the acquisition of many other valuable settlements in the West-Indies, had, under the blessing of God, been the happy consequences of these measures. He expressed his trust in the divine providence, that they would be attended with still further advantages, until the enemy should be disposed to such terms of accommodation, as the dignity and just rights of his crown, and the future security and commercial interests of his subjects would permit him to accept. He said, when he considered the ample supplies which they had so unanimously granted, he could not but lament the heavy burthens, which the necessities of the public service had obliged them to impose upon his people: that, from these considerations, he had endeavoured, in every instance, to confine his demands within as narrow bounds, as the difficulties, in which he found himself involved, would allow: and that, from the same motive, his utmost care should be employed in observing the most exact œconomy, consistent with the safety of his kingdom, and the good faith and honour of his crown. He returned them his particular thanks for the proof, which they had given, of their regard to him and his family, in the ample provision they had made for the queen; whose virtues and affections to this country would, he was confident, be found to deserve it. He added, he had the fullest persuasion, that they would continue to diffuse, in their several counties, the spirit of concord, which they had themselves so steadily exerted in parliament: and he assured them, that he would, on his part, return their zeal and affection for his person and government,

ment, by a constant attention to whatever might contribute to the ease of his subjects; and that it was his ardent wish to found the glories of his reign on the union of his parliaments, and on the welfare and prosperity of his people.

The most remarkable transaction that distinguished this session in the parliament of Ireland, was a generous resolution in favour of their lord-lieutenant the earl of Halifax, whose conduct they entirely approved of, and whose character they held in the utmost veneration. They unanimously resolved on an address to his excellency, desiring he would represent to the king the sense of the house, that the appointments of the lord-lieutenant were become inadequate to the dignity of that office; and that it was the humble desire of the house, that his majesty would be pleased to grant such augmentation to the lord lieutenant for the time being, as should raise the whole to the annual sum of sixteen thousand pounds. At the same time they expressed their satisfaction at the pleasing hope that this augmentation should take place during the administration of a chief governor whose many great and amiable qualities, whose wise and happy administration in the government of that kingdom, had universally endeared him to the people of Ireland. The earl received this glorious testimony of their approbation with all suitable acknowledgments; but, with a delicacy peculiar to himself, declined their proposal that the augmentation should take place during his government.

The peace of that kingdom had been for some time disturbed by a set of licentious people, who assembled in the night in arms, and committed many outrages in different parts of the kingdom. They were indiscriminately known by the name of White Boys and Levellers, because they wore linen shirts over their cloaths, the better to distinguish each other in the dark; and levelled all the inclosures which had encroached upon commons. This, indeed, was the principal grievance of which they complained. They looked upon every diminution of a common as an injury to the poor, who had used to enjoy the benefit of that common. They therefore not only destroyed the fences which had lately been made, but also robbed and maltreated the authors and proprietors of those encroachments. They even made head against some parties of regular troops, and some few lives were lost. A report began to prevail that those were no other than malcontents taking measures against the established government: that they were already increased to a formidable number, well armed and disciplined by officers, who had come for that purpose from France and other foreign countries. These surmises, however, were afterwards found to have been absolutely groundless, and all those petty insurrections were quelled by the vigilance and wise conduct of the lord-lieutenant, who, nevertheless, was obliged to make some examples of justice, in order to prevent such disturbances for the future.

If England was free from these domestic insurrections, yet her internal tranquillity was disturbed by the furious disputes which prevailed among the ministry. The whole council had been almost unanimous to oppose Mr. Pitt in his scheme for precipitating a declaration of war against Spain. They thought his principles were too violent, and they did not perfectly like his person. When he

retired from public business, it seemed as if they breathed more freely, and had got rid of a burthen that oppressed them. But he was not long removed, when it appeared, that the remaining part of the system was framed upon principles so very discordant in themselves, that it was by no means likely to stand.

The D. of N——, first lord of the treasury, by his early zeal in favour of the Protestant succession, by the liberal and public use he had made of a great fortune, by the obligations, which, in a course of many years, and in a succession of great employments, he was enabled to confer on some of the most considerable people in the kingdom, had attached a great number to his fortunes, and formed a party in the parliament and the nation, which it was extremely difficult to overturn, or even to shake. He came to be considered as the head of the Whigs, and he was, in reality, well qualified, in many respects, for the chief of a party, by his unbounded liberality, by his affability, magnificence, and personal disinterestedness. Even the defects and faults, which might have appeared in his character, were rather of service to him, as they tended to soften resentments, and helped to give that great power, of which he was possessed, an appearance less formidable.

During a great part of the late king's reign, his family had directed all affairs without controul. On the accession of his present majesty, his situation seemed more doubtful; but, in a little time, he appeared outwardly as well established as ever, not only in his former high employments, but in that share of influence which is supposed to attend it. There was, however, very little reality in this specious appearance; for he did not possess the r—— confidence, upon which all the essential of power depends. Neither his age, nor his situation in the former reign, had allowed him an opportunity of cultivating an interest with the present k——. Another noble person had been in an employment near his person; and having formed his mind with much attention and success to those virtues which adorn his station, deserved and obtained a very uncommon share of his confidence.

This nobleman was first groom of the stole; afterwards engaging more openly in the conduct of affairs, he accepted the seals as secretary of state. On the removal of Mr. P——, who preserved a kind of union in the administration by their common dread of him, the only competition was between the D. of N—— and the E. of B——. The former could not well endure that decay of influence, which, on a thousand occasions, he must have sensibly felt, and which the great rank he held must have rendered only more painful. L. B——, on the other hand, could not bear to see the treasury board, which, under whatever limitations, was attended with so much power, in the hands of his rival. It is indeed a department, the entire conduct of which is absolutely necessary to the person, who has any pretensions to be at the head of the British administration.

These principles soon produced their natural effect. In a short time the D. of N—— thought himself obliged to resign, and L. B—— was appointed first lord of the treasury. Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became secretary of state in the room of his lordship; and the place of first

missioner of the admiralty being vacated by the death of lord Anson, that office was bestowed upon the earl of Halifax, now returned from Ireland. No one was surprised at the ferment occasioned by these alterations; in which personal resentment, party violence, and national or rather local prejudices, were all united, to throw every thing into confusion.

In this state of parties, a number of those called Whigs, who had lost their places, being highly irritated at the late changes, and even many of those, who still continued in employments, being supposed attached to the interest of the D. of N—, and therefore not to be depended on by the new administration, it became necessary to have recourse to those called Tories, or country gentlemen.

From the beginning of this reign, it had been proposed, with the general applause of all good men, to abolish those odious party distinctions, and to extend the royal favour and protection equally to all his majesty's subjects. The persons called Tories had, besides, been before active in support of those gentlemen, who now clamoured at the very measures, which they had themselves, more than once, adopted. Occasion, however, was taken from thence to endeavour at the revival of this almost exploded distinction. The two parties were inflamed against each other with the most violent animosity; and this was artfully blown up into a general combustion by every art and instrument of falsehood, which had ever proved effectual upon similar occasions.

Whilst the nation was thus distracted, the conduct of a war became difficult; its continuance unsafe; and its supplies uncertain. If the administration failed, their failure would be construed into incapacity: if they succeeded, their success would be converted into an argument for such terms of peace, as it would be impossible for them to procure. Above all, the ancient and known connection between the chiefs of the moneyed interest and the principal persons in the opposition, must have been a subject of great anxiety to the administration.

These causes co-operated to render the intentions of the British ministry towards peace altogether cordial and sincere: nevertheless, far from relapsing in their warlike operations, they prosecuted them with redoubled vigour, that the enemy might be the sooner reduced to the necessity of proposing equitable terms of accommodation. His majesty had already signified to the king of Prussia, that he would not renew the annual treaty, in consequence of which a very large subsidy had been granted to that prince; but, at the same time, gave him to understand that he should for the ensuing campaign, be still accommodated with pecuniary assistance; which was refused on any other condition than a renewal of the treaty. With regard to the British army in Westphalia, he gave orders that it should be supplied with all necessaries, and augmented to the number of one hundred thousand effective men. The French were already dispossessed of all their settlements in North America, except that of Louisiana, which was not considered as a very important object. It was determined therefore to transfer the seat of war from that continent; to attack the French islands

the conquest of which I have already described; and to make a vigorous impression upon Spain, not only by attempting the reduction of the Havanna, which may be regarded as the key of the bay of Mexico; but also by making a descent on the island of Manilla, in the East-Indies, a country in which the French had now nothing left to be conquered.

The first of these expeditions was committed to the care of the earl of Albemarle, commander of the land forces, recommended for this service by the duke of Cumberland, under whose auspices he had been trained up to arms; and the ships of war appointed to co-operate in the attack, were commanded by Admiral Sir George Pococke, who had already distinguished himself by his gallantry in the East-Indies; his second was Mr. Keppel, brother to the earl, an able officer, who had reduced the isle of Goree, on the coast of Africa. They sailed from Portsmouth in the beginning of March; and arrived at the place of their destination without any considerable obstruction. Their proceedings shall be particularly related in their proper place. The expedition against Manilla was conducted by rear-admiral Cornish. He had sometime before sailed with an intention to reduce the French island of Bourbon or Mauritius. He was to have been joined by a reinforcement of ships from England, which, however, did not arrive at the place of rendezvous; and the greater part of his men being disabled by distempers, he was obliged to postpone the undertaking, which thus miscarried: I shall in due time give an account of the other, which proved more successful.

For the security of the British coast, and in order to answer the emergencies of war, a powerful squadron was kept in readiness at Spithead, under the direction of Sir Edward Hawke; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of rear-admiral Moore; and from these two were occasionally detached into the Channel, and all round the coasts of the island, a number of light cruisers, which exerted themselves with such vigilance and activity, that not a ship could stir from any of the French sea-ports, without running the most imminent risque of being taken; and scarce a day passed without seeing some privateer of the enemy, either French or Spanish, brought into the harbours of Great-Britain. Some large ships of war were stationed in the bay of Basque, to watch the coast of Brittany, and in particular to have an eye upon Brest, where some of the enemy's ships of war lay at anchor.

Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in such a manner as enabled him to maintain his superiority in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, or, if that should be found impossible, to give them battle when joined. Lord Colville continued with his squadron at Halifax in Nova-Scotia, in order to protect the coast of North America, and the new conquest in the gulph and river of St. Laurence. Sir James Douglas still commanded the ships of war appointed for the defence of the Leeward islands; and captain Forest, since the death of admiral Holmes, directed the small squadron at Jamaica. Such was the general disposition for the offensive as well as the defensive measures of the

campaign, and, indeed, it must be owned, in justice to the ministry, that it was planned with sagacity, and prosecuted with vigour.

I shall, as usual, begin my narrative of military transactions with describing the progress of the war on the continent of Europe.

The Bourbon alliance, it was strongly suspected, would soon be productive of some fatal consequences to the rest of Europe. It was not, however, altogether certain, where the storm that was gathering would first fall. There were some apprehensions for the peace of Italy; Holland had not a few causes of dread; and menaces were even used in that quarter. But Portugal seemed to be the most endangered, on account of her close and natural connection with Great-Britain, her internal weakness, the ancient claims of the Catholic king, and the opportunity of invasion; that kingdom being on all sides, except to the sea, in a manner inclosed by Spain.

Public conjecture was not mistaken in fixing upon Portugal. No mention was made, indeed, of the Spanish pretensions to that crown; but a resolution was taken to oblige her not only to renounce all friendship, but to violate her neutrality with Great-Britain. No scheme was ever projected with less appearance of justice; no proposition was ever made with more arrogance and presumption to an independent sovereign; and no enterprize seemed, according to every human appearance, so certain of success.

The kingdom of Portugal, on the recovery of her liberty, which happened in the year 1640, found herself stripped of the greatest part of those acquisitions, in both Indies, which had been the principal sources of her wealth, and the great monuments of the capacity of her former kings and commanders. During the interval of her subjection, new commercial powers had risen, some on the ruins of her fortune, and others upon different but not less substantial foundations. Though the Brazils were recovered, and Goa, and some other places in India, still remained to Portugal, her maritime power, and the share of trade, on which it depended, was altogether irrecoverable. Contrary to the fate of other nations, who have shaken off a foreign yoke, she did not owe her liberty to the exertion of any great abilities. Whilst the United Provinces were first freed, and afterwards aggrandized, by the capacity of the princes of Orange; and whilst Prussia, from an inconsiderable and dependent principality, grew, by the genius of her sovereigns, into a formidable monarchy, Portugal continued to languish in a state of mediocrity. Without any symptoms of danger to her existence, she suffered a gradual decay of her power and former influence. The principles of her government were narrow and bigotted, and the whole system of her commerce preposterous. If, on the one hand, a long peace added to the resources of her revenue, it, on the other, absolutely annihilated the spirit of her militia; and no country in the world had an army so incomplete in numbers, so ill furnished with arms, so deficient in discipline, and so wholly unprovided of able and experienced officers.

In this condition she suffered a fatal blow from the earthquake in 1756. The wealthy and flourishing city of Lisbon was laid level with the

ground: near thirty thousand of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins; and those who remained, with the court itself, were reduced to the utmost distress and misery. As if this earthquake, which had overturned their capital, had also shaken and distracted the frame of their government, and the temper of their minds, the most dreadful distempers broke out in the state. A series of horrid crimes, and of cruel punishments, succeeded to this calamity. The most noble and wealthy family of Portugal, having engaged itself in a sacrilegious attempt on the life of their sovereign, was cut off at once with very little distinction of sex or age, by a bloody and dreadful exertion of justice. Many others, who were accused or suspected, suffered death, or exile, or imprisonment. Among these, and from the same causes, one of the most considerable religious orders for wealth, influence, and policy, was stripped of its possessions, and entirely driven out of the country.

These and the like circumstances had thrown this unhappy kingdom into a state of the most dangerous and dreadful confusion. All those, and they were not a few, who were attached, by connection of blood or interest, to the nobles that had suffered, or, by religious prejudice, to the jesuits, who had been expelled, could never be cordially relied upon by the crown, and were probably but little willing to make any very vigorous efforts in favour of a government, which their resentments must have represented to them as no better than a bloody tyranny. The Bourbon confederates had some ground to suppose, that Portugal, in this situation, would not have courage to withstand their menaces, and much less ability, for any long time, to resist their efforts. The Spanish army overspread the frontiers of Portugal; the commerce of corn between the two kingdoms was prohibited, and every thing seemed to threaten a sudden invasion.

In the midst of these hostile preparations the French and Spanish ambassadors at the court of Lisbon presented to the Portuguese ministry a joint memorial, importing, that the two sovereigns of France and Spain, being obliged to support a war against the English, had found it proper and necessary to establish several mutual and reciprocal obligations between them, and to take other indispensable measures to curb the pride of the British nation, which, by an ambitious project, to become despotic over the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce, pretended to keep dependent the possessions of other powers in the new world, in order to introduce themselves there, either by an underhand usurpation, or by conquest: that the first measure which the kings of France and Spain had agreed on, was to have the most Faithful king in their offensive and defensive alliance, and to desire him to join their majesties forthwith: that they expected, that the most Faithful king would acquiesce therein, conformably to what he owed to himself, and to his kingdom, since his subjects felt, much more than other nations, the yoke which Great-Britain laid upon them, and which she meant to extend over all those, who had possessions beyond sea: that it would be unjust for France and Spain to sacrifice themselves for an object, in which Portugal was so much interested; and that, instead of assisting them, she would make it impossible for them



them to succeed, by allowing the English to enrich themselves by her commerce, and to enter her ports, not only to make use of them as an asylum, but to be more at hand to hurt the defenders of Portugal: that in this spirit, the ambassador of Spain, and the minister plenipotentiary of France, desired the most Faithful king to declare himself united with their Catholic and most Christian majesties in the present war against the English, to break off all correspondence and commerce with that power, as the common enemy of all the three, and even of all maritime nations; to send away from his ports, and to shut them against all their men of war and merchant-ships; and to join to the forces of France and Spain, those which the Most High had put in his hands, in order to make them equal to those of the enemy: that this declaration was made by the two monarchs of France and Spain, as being agreed and concerted between them; his Catholic majesty had, in the mean time, instructed his ambassador to make this reflection to the most Faithful king (in order that his magnanimous breast might the more easily and the more speedily determine, without being stopped by other impressions, to take the part the most consonant to his advantage and to his glory) that it was the brother of the queen his wife, a true friend, and a moderate and quiet neighbour, who had made this proposal to him, and who had agreed to it, considering the interests of the most Faithful king as his own, and wishing to unite the one with the other, so as that, either in peace or in war, Spain and Portugal might be considered as belonging to one master; and in order to that, if any power should think of making war with Spain, they might not imagine they should find, in his own house, shelter and succours to attack her, as it happened, with regard to Portugal, in the wars, which king Philip the fifth, his father, and father-in-law of the most Faithful king, was obliged to support against England: how much more glorious, he asked, and more useful would it be for the most Faithful king to have, for his ally, a Catholic king, a near relation, his neighbour in Europe and America, to assist each other mutually with ease, than the English nation, incapable, by their haughtiness, of considering other sovereigns with equality, and always desirous to make them feel the influence of their power? and what occasion could the most Faithful king have for the assistance of England, when, by an offensive and defensive league, he should be united with Spain and France? That these considerations were so strong, that the Catholic king thought there could be no doubt, but that the most Faithful king, his brother-in-law, would yield to them, without stopping a moment; so much the more, as his Catholic majesty, before making this invitation, and in order to prevent the danger which the maritime places of Portugal might run, when the part taken by his most Faithful majesty should come to the knowledge of the English, had caused his troops to march to the frontiers of Portugal, so that, in a very few days, they might garrison the principal ports of the kingdom, and they would do it, after the answer of the most Faithful king, which, doubtless, would be as speedy, as clear, and as decisive as the necessity, and the positive determination of his Catholic majesty to prevent the designs of his enemies, required.

To this extraordinary memorial the two ministers added, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days; and that any delay, beyond that period, would be considered as a negative.

The situation of Portugal was at this time truly deplorable. If contrary to her known interests, contrary to her ancient connections, and to the faith of treaties, she should engage in this offensive alliance, she must expect to see her territories and her colonies exposed to the formidable navies of England. This dangerous condescension however, would not have secured her: by her own act, she would have put herself, bound hand and foot, into the power of the Bourbon alliance; and having received foreign garrisons into all her places of strength, would have reduced herself to the condition of a province of Spain. If, on the other hand, she adhered to her faith, and attempted to maintain her independency, an army of sixty thousand men was ready to enter her territories, which contained no place of real strength, and which had not twenty thousand troops, and those ill armed, and worse disciplined, to defend them.

In this emergency, the firmness of the king of Portugal was eminent, and such as must transmit his name to posterity with the most distinguished advantage. He resolved steadily to adhere to his ancient and natural alliance, and to brave all dangers and difficulties, that he might preserve his fidelity inviolable; following that noble maxim of king John of France, that if good faith were to be banished from all other parts of the world, it ought to be found in the breast of sovereigns.

His answer to this insulting proposition was humble and moderate, but firm. He observed, that the ties, which equally united him to Great-Britain, and the two crowns, rendered him as proper a mediator to them all, as they made it improper for him to declare himself an enemy to any of them: that his alliance with England was ancient, and therefore could give no offence at this juncture: that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all its circumstances: that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her, (in case she were willing) from taking part in an offensive war, into the calamities of which, neither the love his Faithful majesty bore his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could suffer him to plunge them. Finally, he reminded the Catholic king of his pacific dispositions, by which on former occasions, he had yielded so much to preserve peace between the two crowns.

This reasonable and moderate answer drew on replies, which more and more disclosed the true spirit of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was purely defensive or entirely innocent; and for this unheard of reason, that the defensive alliance was converted into an offensive one, "from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and from the nature of the English power." They said, that the English squadrons could not keep the sea at all seasons, nor cruize on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the ports and assistance of Portugal: that these islanders could not insult all the maritime powers of Europe, if all the riches of Portugal did

did not pass into their hands: that therefore Portugal furnished them with the means of making war; and that, of consequence, their alliance with the court of Great-Britain was offensive.

This most certainly is the first time, that ever the situation of a country was given as a reason, however it may have served as a secret motive, for declaring war against it. Nor was it ever before heard, that the common advantages of trade, derived from a neutral nation, could be considered as an act of hostility. These were rather insults than arguments; and the whole proceedings of the Bourbon family were in the same strain. They undertook to judge for Portugal of the pretended yoke which was imposed upon her by England, and which she could not herself discover; to resent some injuries for her, which she had never felt; and to avenge others, for which she had received and accepted satisfaction: and as if this kind of indignity was not sufficient, they insultingly informed the king of Portugal, "that he ought to be glad of the necessity, which they laid upon him, to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory, and the common interest." This necessity was the immediate march of their army to take possession of his dominions.

So extraordinary a treatment could neither divert the king from the firmness of his resolution, nor provoke him to depart from the moderation of his language. He maintained, that the treaties of peace and commerce, which subsisted between Portugal and Great-Britain, were such as the law of God, of nature, and of nations, had always deemed innocent. He intreated their most Christian and Catholic majesties to open their eyes to the crying injustice of pursuing against Portugal, the war kindled against Great-Britain. He desired them to consider, that they were giving an example, which would produce the destruction of mankind; that there would be an end of the public safety, if neutral nations were to be attacked, because they had defensive treaties with the belligerent powers: that a maxim so destructive would occasion the desolation of all Europe, the moment a war was kindled between any two states: that, therefore, if their troops should enter his dominions, he would, in defence of his neutrality, endeavour to repulse them with all his forces, and those of his allies; and he concluded with this magnanimous declaration, "that it would affect him less, though reduced to the last extremity, of which the Great Judge was the sole arbiter, to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal held most dear; and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard of example to all pacific powers, who would no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war should be kindled between other powers, with which the former were connected by defensive treaties." When this final resolution was thus spiritedly signified, passports were demanded for the ambassadors of the two crowns, who immediately departed, and in the month of June, France and Spain, jointly, declared war against Portugal.

By this time the British succours had arrived in Portugal, to the number of about eight thousand

troops, partly drawn from Belleisle, and partly from Ireland, where two regiments of Roman catholics had been raised for this service, and a fine train of artillery was provided, together with large supplies of stores and ammunition. The king of Portugal had bestowed the supreme command of his army upon the count de Lippe Buckenbourg, an officer of distinguished abilities, who had directed the artillery of the British army in Westphalia during the whole course of this war. He was accompanied by one of the princes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, brother to the queen of Great-Britain, who resolved to make this campaign in the Portuguese service. The English auxiliaries were conducted by the lord Trawley and the earl of Loudon; lieutenant-general Townshend, who had served with such reputation in America, was the next in command; and the subordinates were lord George Lennox, with the brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne; the former of these last had been governor of Belleisle, where he was now succeeded by colonel Forrester, an accomplished officer, equally distinguished for his wit, politeness, and humanity; the other commanded a regiment of light horse, which were now numbered among the English troops who served in Portugal. Besides these, several natives of North-Britain, who had learned the art of war in the English or foreign service, were recommended for their merit to his Portuguese majesty, who promoted them to the command of regiments in his army.

Lord Trawley, disgusted at the behaviour of the court of Lisbon, and greatly disappointed in his expectations of the exertion they had promised to make of their own force, as well as of the use they had made of the succours from England, desired, in a short time, to be recalled to his own country, and was succeeded, in command, by the earl of Loudon, who, in conjunction with the count de la Lippe, resolved to begin the campaign without further delay.

The Spanish forces had been divided into three separate bodies, with a view to penetrate into Portugal by as many different avenues. The marquis de Sarria, who commanded the bulk of their army, consisting of thirty-six battalions and thirty-five squadrons, passed the rivers Douro and Esla, below Zamora. The body assembled in Galicia amounted to eight battalions of regular troops, six of militia, and two squadrons of horse; and the third in Andalusia amounted to four battalions regular, and the same number of militia, with eight squadrons of cavalry. The design was to form one camp between Villa-real, Braga and Oporto; a second under Abrantes; and a third in the neighbourhood of Elvas; so that their principal objects seemed to be Lisbon and Oporto, the two most important cities and sea-ports of Portugal, and the centers of the whole English commerce with that kingdom.

The first attempt of consequence they made was the siege of Miranda, which they invested in the beginning of May; but, before any battery could be erected, the magazine of the place taking fire by accident, and blowing up, made two large breaches in the walls, and about five hundred men of the garrison lost their lives by the explosion.

In consequence of this misfortune, the Portuguese garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war,

war, and the Spanish troops took possession of the city. From hence the marquis de Sarria sent a detachment to attack the town of Braganza; but the garrison retired with precipitation at their approach, and the magistrates presented the keys of the town to the Spanish commander. No steps had been taken for putting those two places in a proper posture of defence. In the course of the same month, colonel Alexander O Reily, being detached by the marquis of Sarria with a body of light armed horse and infantry, to make an attempt upon Chaves, that officer executed his orders with equal activity and success. He marched through bye-roads above fourteen leagues in two days, and shewed himself all of a sudden at the gates of the place: but it was already abandoned by the garrison, though it consisted of two thousand effective men, and the town was well provided with artillery, ammunition, stores, and provision for a vigorous defence. These, however, were rendered useless by the ruinous state of the fortifications, which had been long neglected.

After these exploits, the Spanish forces made an attempt to enter the province of Minho; but finding the passes of Monte Allegre defended by some regiments of militia, under the command of Don John de Lancastro, and Don Francisco Joseph Sarmiento; they changed their route, and resolved to pass the mountains of Maran and Amarante, that they might advance directly to the city of Oporto: precautions however had been taken to obstruct their passage, and some regular troops were ordered to garrison the city thus menaced. Part of the enemy that remained at Miranda had, in attempting to pass the river Douro, near Villa nova de Foscoa, been repulsed by the inhabitants, supported by some militia, who were now reinforced by a detachment of regular forces, under the command of the marquis de Angeja, and the count de Arcos. On the side of Almeida, the enemy, to the number of eight thousand, passed the frontier in the beginning of June, and encamped between Val-de-la-mula, and Val de Coelha, from whence they had detached parties to lay waste the country. In the province of Tralos-montes, the Spanish army was divided into three separate bodies, the principal of which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Miranda, the other at Torre de Moncorvo.

The army of Portugal, when assembled, was in no condition to face the enemy in the open field. All that could be done was to harass them in their advances through a barren country, rendered almost impassable by steep mountains and narrow passes. In ravaging the open country, the Spanish detachments committed some barbarities upon the peasants, and these were retaliated with interest; for an inveterate enmity has for a long time subsisted between the common people of these two nations, inflamed by former wars, and maintained by a long course of mutual rapine and other offices of bad neighbourhood. That body which had encamped near Val-de-la-mula, being considerably reinforced from Estremadura, and supplied with a train of artillery and other implements of siege, invested Almeyda in the month of July. On the twenty-fifth their trenches were opened, and next day they were joined by the French auxiliaries, to the number of eight thousand. On the twenty-fifth

day of August the garrison capitulated, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, which made a much better defence than was expected.

The count de la Lippe, from the moment of his arrival in Portugal, took every step which military skill and prudence could dictate to form the troops to a regular discipline by the example of the English auxiliaries, who were mingled in due proportions with the different detachments posted in sundry parts of the kingdom, so as to guard the passes of the mountains, harass and annoy the enemy in their progress, intercept their convoys, and cut off their parties.

He then resolved to attack Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Portugal, where, according to the intelligence he had received, the enemy had established large magazines of flour and forage. The place was at a considerable distance, and the design required uncommon courage, conduct, and expedition. The execution of this enterprize he committed to brigadier Burgoyne, who, on the twenty-fifth day of July, crossed the Tagus at midnight, with four hundred of his own dragoons, and put himself at the head of all the British grenadiers, commanded by lord Pulteney, and eleven companies of Portuguese grenadiers, with two pieces of light artillery, and two howitzers. Having marched through the country to Apallem, on the morning of the twenty-fifth he advanced to Castel-Vida, where, arriving late at night, he was joined by some infantry, and irregular cavalry, with forty-eight armed peasants; and here he made his final disposition, in consequence of the advices he received with regard to the situation and the state of the place he was determined to attack. Notwithstanding all the dispatch he could make in the night, he found himself overtaken by day-light, before he could reach Valencia; so that he was obliged to alter the disposition he had made, and advance with the cavalry at full gallop, in hopes of surprising the place. He accordingly entered the town sword in hand, dispersed the guards that were in the great square, and occupied the ends of the streets, having met with little or no resistance. Some desperate parties attacked the regiment when it was drawn up in the square, but they were all killed or taken. When the grenadiers arrived they sustained some loss by firings from windows, which however soon ceased, when the brigadier declared that he would set fire to the town at the four quarters of it, if they would not desist. A detachment of dragoons being sent out to scour the country, brought in some prisoners, with a good number of horses. A British serjeant and six men only, falling in with a subaltern of the enemy, at the head of twenty-five dragoons, unbroken and prepared for action, killed six, made all the rest prisoners, and took the horses of the whole party. Major general Don Michael d'Iruniberri, and Kalanca his aid-de-camp, one colonel with his adjutant, two captains, seventeen subalterns, fifty-nine soldiers, with three pair of colours, a great quantity of arms and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor, who brought away hostages for the care of the wounded, and the payment of the king's revenue for one year, which he exacted as a consideration for having spared the town and convents. Lieutenant colonel Somerville, lord Pulteney, and major Singleton,

Singleton, distinguished themselves in this action, which cost the British troops but one lieutenant, one serjeant, and three men killed, with ten horses, and about twenty private men wounded. The information which the count had received about the magazine, was groundless; but the Spanish major-general d'Iruniberri was to have invaded Alentejo in a few days, with a considerable detachment, and when taken was actually employed in reconnoitring the entrance into that province.

The Spanish army, now commanded by the Conde de Aranda, having left garrisons in Almeyda and Castel Rodrigo, advanced by Alfayates to Castel Branco; and this motion constrained the count de la Lippe to relinquish his strong camp at Ponte de Murcella in the Beira, from whence he marched back into Estremadura. On the eighteenth day of September, he arrived at Abrantes; and lord Loudon, with a separate corps, encamped at Sardoel in the neighbourhood. The business now was to prevent the Spaniards from forcing a passage through the mountains in their front, and from crossing the river Tagus at Villa-velha. For these purposes the marshal count de la Lippe ordered the count St. Jago, with four battalions, six companies of grenadiers, and a regiment of cavalry, to occupy the strong pass of Alvito, which had been always deemed impregnable; and brigadier general Burgoyne, with part of his own regiment, the royal volunteers, and the English grenadiers, encamped on the southern bank of the Tagus, over-against Villa-velha, where the great road from Castel Branco crosses the river into Alentejo.

Such was the disposition, when the enemy, on the first day of October, made several movements towards both these advanced bodies: they placed six thousand men over-against the corps of the count St. Jago, and attacked upon his right the old Moorish castle of Villa-velha, at the same time assailing a post upon his left, commanded by a major at the defile of St. Simon. Though brigadier Burgoyne for several days protected the castle of Villa-velha, by his cannon across the river, it was at length reduced, and the post of St. Simon taken: the enemy likewise made themselves masters of the passes of the mountains; so that the corps commanded by the count St. Jago was in the utmost danger of being attacked by superior forces, in front and rear.

In this emergency, the mareschal ordered lord Loudon to advance and cover the retreat of the count, who had instructions to retire. His lordship immediately proceeded with great expedition by the shortest road through the mountains, to Soubrira-formosa, where he was joined by major Macbean of the artillery, with four regimental field-pieces. The enemy, perceiving their intention to retreat, detached a strong body over the river Alvito, to attack the rear-guard, which was formed of four English regiments, six companies of Portuguese grenadiers, a few light dragoons, a regiment of Portuguese cavalry, with the four field-pieces, the whole under his lordship's command. The retreat was conducted with such good order and countenance, that not a man was lost, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, who, being terribly annoyed by the artillery, thought proper to desist, while the forces of Portugal continued their march unmolested towards Cardegas.

The enemy having, by these motions, weakened their corps at Villa-velha, brigadier Burgoyne seized this favourable opportunity to surprise them in their quarters. He directed lieutenant-colonel Lee, with a detachment of British troops, to ford the Tagus in the night, and fall upon the Spanish camp. This gallant officer executed the plan with equal spirit and success, while the brigadier pointed his cannon, and made a false attack on the other side, to amuse and distract the enemy. The colonel having happily crossed the ford, and made himself master of a little village near the mountain of Villa-velha, where the Spanish magazines were established, entered their camp without being perceived, and a considerable slaughter ensued. The enemy being at length alarmed, began to make a confused and irregular defence; but being vigorously pushed by the grenadiers and volunteers, who used their bayonets without firing, they found it impossible to form, and were obliged to submit. The only part of them that made a regular stand was a body of horse, which lieutenant Maitland, at the head of Burgoyne's dragoons, attacked and routed in a few minutes. Most of the Spanish officers, including a brigadier-general, were killed in endeavouring to rally their forces. Four cannon were spiked up in their camp: their magazines were destroyed; some prisoners were taken, together with a good number of horses and mules, and a considerable quantity of valuable baggage. The loss of the English on this occasion, amounted only to ten men and horses.

This advantage being obtained in a critical moment, was attended with important advantages. The season was now far advanced; immense rains fell at this time; the roads were destroyed; the country became impracticable; and the Spaniards, having secured no advanced posts in which they could maintain themselves during the winter, and being especially unprovided with magazines for the support of their horse, every where fell back to the frontiers of Spain, where their supplies were at hand, and where they were not liable to be harassed by the efforts of the combined army.

In this manner Portugal was saved, at least for that campaign, by the wise conduct of the count de la Lippe, and the distinguished valour of the English commanders and soldiery: all that was wanting towards their deliverance was accomplished by the success of the English army in more distant quarters, and by the peace, in which so valuable and exposed an ally was not neglected. There never was, probably, so heavy a storm of national calamity, ready to fall upon an unprovided people, so happily averted, or so speedily blown over. Every thing, at the beginning of the campaign, bore the most lowering and ominous aspect to the affairs of Great-Britain. As it advanced, the sky continually cleared up; and the fortune of no nation, towards the close of it, was enlivened with a more brilliant and more unclouded prosperity.

Having thus related, with as much brevity as was consistent with perspicuity, the military operations in Portugal, I shall now take notice of the state of the several courts of Europe, and then proceed to describe the progress of the war in Germany, which still continued to be the principal object of attention.

The States general of the United Provinces still persisted in maintaining their neutrality, and in endeavouring to allay the heats occasioned by the misunderstanding between their East-India company and that of England. Their East-India factors had published an account of the mutual hostilities which had been committed in the river of Bengal; and this piece, which was artfully calculated to throw the blame of aggression upon the English, was fully refuted by an answer published at London, under the sanction of authentic documents. At length the directors of the Dutch company proposed an accommodation. The proposal was accepted by the English directors, and a deputation of merchants from Amsterdam were sent over to London for this purpose, which was happily accomplished. The merchants of Holland still murmured at the capture of their ships by the English cruisers, and, in the course of this year, loudly complained that their neutrality was again violated by a British sloop, which drove on shore and destroyed a French privateer on the coast of Scheveling: but the states were too wise to enter into the resentments of the people; they knew their merchants had provoked this treatment, by carrying on a contraband commerce ever since the beginning of the war, in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain; nor would they allow such a petty insult as that of the British cruiser, to come in competition with the friendship of the British monarch, which, therefore, they continued assiduously to cultivate.

The domestic tranquillity of France was still disturbed by the dispute between the parliaments and the Jesuits. We have already remarked, that the society had been condemned by arrets or decrees of the parliaments of Paris, Normandy, and Bretagne, in consequence of the doctrines which they taught and promulgated in favour of equivocation and mental reservation, excusing regicide, homicide, perjury, profanation, impurity, and irreligion; in short, the breach of every moral duty, upon certain occasions. The edict issued by the king for suspending the execution of the sentence against the Jesuits, the parliaments refused to register. That of Paris published a new arret in April, containing extracts from the books of the Jesuits to the amount of a large quarto volume, which was presented to the king at Versailles by the first president, at the head of twenty members. Mean while the Jesuits, trusting, in all probability, to their great interest among the clergy, and their own address, which had seldom failed them, still delayed the payment which they had been condemned to make to their creditors; and in consequence of this delay, the parliament of Paris issued a new arret in the course of the same month, for sequestering all their effects within their jurisdiction. Nevertheless, they still continued to sell their merchandize for ready money until a guard was placed upon their college in the Rue St. Jaques; and places were appointed for taking informations concerning their effects. In a word, they were now become so unpopular with the nation in general, and the clamour against them grew so loud, that the king found it necessary to give them up to justice. All their colleges were seized; all their effects confiscated; and, with respect to France, the order itself was annihilated.

As the navy of France had, for some time, been almost totally annihilated, several communities of that kingdom engaged to build ships of war for the king's service; and large sums were subscribed by individuals for the purpose. After the conclusion of the last campaign, the court of Versailles became the scene of intrigues, between the prince of Soubise and the mareschal duke de Broglie, who accused each other, and, in all appearance, were both equally guilty, of having retarded and impeded the operations of the last campaign, by their mutual jealousies and animosity. In this civil contest, the prince de Soubise, being supported by the interest of madame de Pompadour, gained a complete victory over his rival, who was deprived of his command, and, together with his brother, banished from court, to the great mortification of the people, who looked upon the mareschal as a general of superior abilities. It was now resolved that the prince de Soubise should command the army in Westphalia, in conjunction with the count d'Estrees, who was esteemed an excellent officer; and that another army should be assembled on the lower Rhine, under the command of the prince de Condé, whose high rank was not the greatest of his qualifications.

The king of Spain was so bent upon prosecuting the war against Portugal, that he seems to have taken little pains in securing his West Indian settlements from the resentment of Great-Britain, which he had so injudiciously provoked. True it is, the moment his council resolved upon a war with England, he sent three ships of war, with four transports, having on board two battalions of troops, with artillery and ammunition from Ferrol to the West-Indies; and dispatched several vessels with advice of the rupture to his American colonies; but considering the risque of their being intercepted by the British cruisers, who covered the sea, he ought not to have rushed precipitately into the war, until his settlements had been put into a proper posture of defence, and every other necessary precaution had been taken.

We have seen, in the close of the last year, that, by the taking of Colberg, on the one hand, and Schweidnitz, on the other, the king of Prussia's dominions were intirely at the mercy of his enemies: his forces were worn away, and even his efforts had gradually declined: a complete victory, though this was an event not at all probable, could not save him. The Russians, by wintering in Pomerania, and by the possession of Colberg, which insured them supplies by a safe and expeditious channel, were in a condition to commence their operations much earlier than usual, as well as to prosecute them with greater spirit and perseverance. No resource of policy could be tried with the least prospect of success. After such a resistance, for five years, of which the world had never furnished another example, the king of Prussia had nothing left but such a conduct as might close the scene with glory, since there was so little likelihood of his concluding the war with safety.

In the midst of these gloomy appearances, his inveterate and inflexible enemy, the empress of Russia, died, in the sixty-third year of her age, and the twenty-second of her reign.

She was succeeded on the throne by her nephew Charles-Peter-Ulric, a prince of the house of Holstein,

stein, who had been created by his aunt grand duke of Russia, and now assumed the sceptre under the name of Peter III. None but those who were intimately acquainted with the character and disposition of the new Czar, could have any reason to imagine, that he would abandon the system of his predecessor, which was certainly founded on the true interests of the country he governed. The king of Prussia himself seemed, for some time, to have entertained no great hopes from this change. The Czar had, however, on many occasions, discovered marks of esteem for the character of that monarch. He was a knight of the black eagle, of which order the king of Prussia is grand master. His Prussian majesty, however, could derive no great hopes from this circumstance.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the steps which the new Czar might take. With regard to the government of his country, nothing could be more popular and auspicious than his first measures. The earliest use he made of his absolute power, was to set the Russian nobility and gentry free, and to put them on the same footing with those of their rank in the other more moderate governments of Europe. Almost all the exiles were recalled to court, and among the rest the unfortunate count Biron, who, from a sovereign prince, had been reduced to the most wretched condition, in the most wretched country on the globe. He had been many years a peasant of Siberia, and is now once more become a sovereign prince. It is in these despotic governments we see the most striking excesses, and dismal reverses of fortune; in which one day a person is raised to something almost above man, and the next is, perhaps in a moment, degraded to the lowest station of humanity.

The new emperor proceeded, in his reformation, to abolish some severe and tyrannical jurisdictions; and extending the same benign disposition to all degrees of his subjects, he lessened the tax upon the salt, to the very great and universal relief of the poor.

Those beginnings gave the most favourable impressions of his domestic government; but Europe was principally concerned in his foreign politics; nor was it long before his dispositions to peace became apparent. What astonished the world most, was the high rate at which he valued this blessing. In a memorial which he caused to be delivered, on the twenty-third day of February, to the ministers of the allied courts, he declared, "that in order to the establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts would, on their part, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to all the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war, but which they could not obtain but by a continuance of the effusion of human blood."

The allies praised the disinterestedness, spirit, and humanity of this declaration; but recommended to his attention the fidelity to treaties, which constitutes a no less valuable part of the royal character, and a no less considerable branch of the duty of a monarch to his subjects. They shewed a disposition to imitate his desire for peace, but by no means to follow his example in purchasing it by a

cession of all the advantages, which they had acquired or hoped to acquire by the war.

The Czar having thus far complied with decency, and being of a temper little fitted to wait the slow procedure of a joint negotiation, gave way to his ardent desires for peace, and to the sentiments of that extravagant admiration which he had conceived for the king of Prussia. A suspension of hostilities was concluded between them on the sixteenth of March; and it was followed, not long after, by a treaty of peace and alliance. Nothing was stipulated by the Czar in favour of his former confederates, whom he entirely abandoned. He even agreed to join his troops to those of the king of Prussia, to act against them. In a little time a Russian army was seen with one of Prussia, to drive out of Silesia those very Austrians, who had been a few months before brought into that province by the Russian arms.

This was a miraculous revolution. Fortune, who had so long abandoned the king of Prussia to the resources of his genius, after having persecuted him for near five years, and overwhelmed him with the whole weight of her anger, at length made him amends, and did for him at one stroke, the only thing, by which he could possibly be saved.

Sweden, who, since she has recovered her liberty, has lost her political influence, and for a long time acted entirely under the direction of Russian councils, followed, on this, as on all other occasions, the example of the court of Petersburg, and on the twenty-second of May, signed a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia.

In order to account for whatever was not the result of mere personal character in this extraordinary revolution of politics in Russia, it will be necessary to take notice, once more, that the Czar Peter the third was duke of Holstein; and that the dukes of Holstein had pretensions to the duchy of Sleswick. These pretensions were given up by a treaty in 1732. But as the cession made by the house of Holstein in this treaty was the effect of necessity, it had been always apprehended, that she would make use of the first fair opportunity of asserting her ancient rights. The Czar seized eagerly on the great once, which the possession of the whole Russian power afforded him, and he resolved to enter into an immediate war for this object, to which his predilection for his native country gave, in his eyes, a far greater importance than to all the conquests of his predecessor. As long as the war with the king of Prussia lasted, it was impossible that his designs against Denmark could be prosecuted with any hope of success. Wholly indifferent, therefore, to all others, and passionately fond of this object, as soon as he came to the throne, without any dispute or negotiation, he offered the king of Prussia in his great distress every thing he could have hoped from a series of victories; and whilst he joined his arms to those of that monarch in Silesia, he caused an army to march towards Holstein.

Thus the peace with Russia, far from conducing to the general peace of Europe, did very little more than change the face of the war. It brought in new subjects of dispute, and new parties, and by threatening Denmark, left not a single power in the North in a state of assured tranquillity.

The king of Denmark, though menaced by so formidable a power engaged in pursuit of a favourite object, was not terrified into any mean concessions. He recruited his army, repaired his fortifications, and prepared for his defence, with temper and magnanimity. As money must be necessary for the services of so important a war; as his country could furnish no great supplies; and the borrowings in every part of Europe, together with the sudden invasion of his dominions, could enable him to form no sanguine hope of public credit; he turned his eyes towards the city of Hamburgh, which had grown rich by its industry and neutrality during the whole war, and by the number of wealthy individuals who had fled thither for refuge from the calamities, with which all the neighbouring countries had been afflicted.

His Danish majesty had always kept alive a claim of sovereignty over that city, which, however founded, he had taken care to exercise whenever he found it convenient. The present appeared to him to be one of those conjunctures. Accordingly, without any previous notice, he appears with a strong army before Hamburgh, seizes the suburbs, and threatens the city with an immediate siege, if they did not immediately agree to a loan of one million of rixdollars. The magistrates of this trading city, unaccustomed to war, unprepared for defence, having no ally at hand, and dreading equally the neighbourhood of an ally, who should be able to protect them, prudently submitted, and furnished the king with such a supply as his affairs required.

While the king of Denmark took those bold and vigorous measures for the defence of his dominions, the affairs of his enemy were running fast into confusion. From the moment of the late Czar's accession to the throne of the Russias, something extraordinary was expected. His disposition seemed to lead him to make changes in every thing; and having set before him two great examples, that of the king of Prussia, and of his predecessor Peter the first, it was apprehended, that this vast empire was going once more, almost within the life of a man, to assume a new face; a circumstance, which could not fail of having a mighty influence on the affairs of Europe. Peter the third made more new regulations in Russia in a few weeks, than wise and cautious princes undertake in a long reign. It was to be feared, that his conduct proceeded rather from a rash and irregular turn of mind, and a spirit of innovation, than from any regular and well-digested plan, for the improvement of his extensive dominions. True it is, his first actions, on coming to the throne, were laudable, and seemed well calculated to acquire him the affections of his people. But if in some instances he consulted their interests, in many he shocked their prejudices; and he lost thereby that good opinion of his subjects, which is so useful on all occasions, but absolutely necessary for carrying such uncommon designs as his into execution.

The preference he so manifestly gave to the uncertain hope of inconsiderable conquest, in Holstein, over the solid and valuable possessions which the fortune of his predecessor had left him, must have disgusted all the politicians of his country. His intimate connection with, and boundless admi-

ration of that prince, with whom Russia had been, so lately, and so long, in a state of violent hostility, could not add to the opinion of his prudence. They thought he departed from his imperial dignity, in soliciting, with so much anxiety, a command in the Prussian service. When he received it, he dressed himself in the Prussian uniform, made a grand festival, and displayed all the marks of an immoderate and puerile satisfaction. He pushed his extravagance in this point so far, that he made preparations, in this immature state of his government, to quit Russia, and to go into Germany, in order to have an interview with that great monarch, whose genius, principles, and fortune, he so greatly admired.

Although this proceeding was, almost in every respect, extremely impolitic, it did not threaten such dangerous consequences, as the other steps which he took about the same time. The soldiery and the clergy are the great supports of all absolute rule; and they are certainly the last bodies, upon which a prince of this kind would chuse to exert any invidious act of authority. But the Czar was indiscreet enough, very early in his reign, highly to provoke both those bodies; the soldiery, by the manifest preference he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all the officers of that nation; and by the change he made in favour of the Prussian uniform to the exclusion of that, in which the Russians believed they had so often asserted the honour of their country, and gained many signal advantages over the troops distinguished by those regimentals which were now preferred.

These trifles had very important consequences; but what he did in matters of religion, was still more dangerous. This prince had been educated a Lutheran; and though he conformed to the Greek church, in order to qualify him for the succession, he never shewed much respect to that mode of religion, to the rules and doctrines of which his subjects had been always extremely attached. He seized upon the revenues of the ecclesiastics, whether monks or seculars, whether bishops or inferiors; and, for compensation, allowed them some mean pension, in such a proportion as his fancy suggested. He even ventured to attack the beards of the clergy, which were no longer allowed to grow to their usual length; an innovation, which, though seemingly trifling, was productive of the most fatal effects. He made likewise some regulations concerning the images and pictures in their churches, which gave them reason to apprehend his intention of accomplishing a total change in the system of religion, and introducing the doctrines of Luther.

While he was taking these measures to alienate the minds of his people in general, and especially of those bodies, with whom it was the most his interest to be well, he had not the good fortune to live in harmony with his own family. He had long slighted his consort, a princess of the house of Anhalt Zerbst, a woman of a masculine temper, bold, politic, ambitious, and vindictive. He maintained an amorous correspondence with the countess of Woronzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name, and seemed attached to her with so strong a passion, as to occasion a suspicion of his intending to throw his empress into a monastery, and raise this lady to the throne of all the Russias.

What seemed to confirm this suspicion, was his omitting formally to declare his son, the grand duke Paul Petrowitz, his successor. This omission in a country where the succession is established and regular, would have been of no consequence: the punctual observance of such a ceremony would have betrayed some doubt of the title. But the nature of this government, as well as positive constitutions, had made it necessary in Russia, and the omission of it was certainly alarming.

That unfortunate prince having, in this manner, affronted his army, irritated his clergy, offended the nobility, and alienated his own family, without having left himself any firm ground of authority, in personal esteem, or national prejudices, proceeded with his usual precipitation to new changes. In the mean time a most dangerous conspiracy was forming against him. The cruel punishments, inflicted in Russia on state criminals, tend only the more to harden the minds of men already fierce and obdurate, and seldom deter them from the most desperate undertakings. Rosamowski, Hetman or chief of the Cossacks, a person of importance by that command, Panin, governor of the great duke Paul, marshal Buterlin, the chamberlain Teplow, the attorney-general Glebow, baron Orlov, major of the guards, and many other of the great officers and first nobility of the empire, engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the Czar, who was now universally hated; and what was more fatal to him, universally despised.

They assured themselves that their project could not be disagreeable to the empress; whose conduct had always been the very reverse of that of her consort. This princess, finding that the affections of her husband were irrecoverably alienated, endeavoured to set up a separate and independent interest in her own favour, and for asserting the rights of her son. She therefore assiduously cultivated the affections of the Russian nation, and paid a respect to their manners and religion, in the same degree as her husband seemed to condemn both.

So ill was the Czar served, that this conspiracy was grown general, without his receiving the least notice of it; and he remained in perfect security, while the senate and the clergy were assembled to pass the sentence of his deposition. At this time the empress and he were both absent from the capital at different country-seats. The empress was no sooner informed that the design was ripe for execution, than she got on horseback, and repaired with all possible speed to Petersburg. She immediately harangued the guards, who cheerfully and unanimously declared in her favour, and proclaimed her empress of Russia, independently of her husband. She then addressed herself to the clergy, and the chief of the nobility, who applauded her resolution; and all orders immediately took the oath of allegiance to her as sole empress. No sooner was she acknowledged in this manner, than, without losing a moment's time, she marched from Petersburg towards the emperor, at the head of a body of troops.

This prince was indulging himself in indolent amusements, and lulled in the most profound security at a house of pleasure, called Oraniebaum, on the sea-shore, when a soldier brought him an account that his kingdom was taken away from him.

Astonished, and wholly unprepared for this event, he was some time senseless, and intirely at a loss what part to take. When finally aroused from this trance by the approaching danger, his first resolution was to defend the place with his Holstein guards; but, though satisfied of their attachment, he doubted their strength, and he knew it was in vain to hope for any effort in his favour from the Russians.

Nothing then remained but flight, by which he might escape to Holstein, and wait some favourable turn of fortune. This late lord of powerful fleets and armies embarked in a small vessel, with a few attendants, and rowed towards Cronstadt; but he had not proceeded very far, when he was informed that this fortress was in the hands of his enemies, and that every avenue for escape was shut against him. Dejected and desponding, he returned to Oraniebaum. After some short and tumultuous deliberation, he resolved to abandon all thoughts of defence, and to throw himself on the compassion of the empress.

On her march she met his messengers, who brought letters containing a renunciation of the empire, and stipulating no other terms than leave to return to Holstein, and the satisfaction of taking with him, as the companions of his retreat, the countess of Woronzoff and one single friend.

Reasons of state could not permit the empress to consent to the first of those terms; and the last she considered as an insult on her honour. His terms were rejected; and he was required to sign an unconditional resignation of his crown, according to a form that was prepared for him. Not satisfied with depriving him of his crown, they even resolved to make him the murderer of his own reputation; and this unfortunate prince, moved with the vain hope of life, signed a paper, declaring his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, either as a sovereign, or in any other capacity, and his sense of the distress, in which his continuing at the head of affairs would inevitably involve it. After he had signed this abdication, he gave up his sword, and was conducted to prison, where, in a short time, but according to what had been universally expected, he died. The disorder, which killed him, was called an hemorrhoidal cholic.

Thus was a revolution of such immense importance effected in a single day, and without shedding a single drop of blood. The unfortunate emperor enjoyed the power of which he had made so imprudent and impolitic an use, no longer than six months. His consort, without any hereditary title, is sovereign mistress of the Russian empire; and the most absolute power on earth is now held by an elective monarch.

Immediately after this revolution a number of manifestoes appeared, in which the conduct of the late emperor was condemned, the weakness of his personal character exposed, and designs of the blackest nature, even that of murdering his consort, attributed to him. These manifestoes were at the same replete with the strongest declarations of affection from the empress to the people of Russia, of regard to their interests, and of attachment to their religion; and they were all filled with such unaffected and fervent strains of piety, as must have been extremely edifying to those who were

were acquainted with the religious disposition of the empress, her moderate and unambitious temper, and particularly her innocence as to the death of her husband, which, yet, the malicious and incredulous part of the world obstinately persisted in laying to her charge.

Whatever truth there might be in these surmises, certain it is, that nothing could be more prudent and circumspect than the conduct of the empress. In almost every respect it was the very reverse of that of her husband. She dismissed all foreigners from her confidence and service; she sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russian, whose ancient uniform was revived with new lustre, the empress herself frequently condescending to appear in it. The clergy were restored to the possession of their revenues and their beards. She conferred all the great posts of the empire on native Russians, and entirely threw herself on the affections of that people, to whom she owed her elevation.

This great change in the government of Russia, it was universally feared, would be followed by a total change of system with regard to foreign affairs. The peace and alliance with the king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in Muscovy; nor was it probable that the close and intimate connection, which had subsisted between that prince and the late Czar, would greatly recommend him to the successor. And as it was imagined, that this revolution must have been, in a great degree, owing to the machinations of those courts, whom the Czar had provoked by withdrawing from their alliance, there was the greater reason to apprehend, that the power, which was now set up, would be exerted in their favour.

There were also great advantages on the side of Russia, if the empress should not hold the peace, concluded by her late husband, to be binding on her, as none of the conquests were at this time evacuated. In a word, every thing seemed to conspire towards replunging the king of Prussia into the abyss of his former distresses, after he had emerged from them only for such a time, and in such a manner, as to make the renewal of them more bitter and insupportable.

Fortunately, however, for this wonderful man, the empress, who had come to the Russian throne in the manner we have related, could not look upon herself as sufficiently secure to undertake again a war of so much importance as that which had just been concluded. It was necessary, for some time at least, that she should confine her attention solely to her own safety. For this purpose it was expedient to collect, within itself, all the force of the empire, in order to oppose it to the designs of the many malecontents, with which that empire always abounds, and who, though not attached to the interests of the Czar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would find now both inducement and opportunity for raising troubles and attempting new changes. Very plausible pretences for such attempts existed from the time of Peter the Great, who, while he improved and strengthened his kingdom, left in it, at the same time, the seeds of civil wars and revolutions.

These considerations induced the Czarina, however unwillingly, to continue so much of the system of her predecessor, as coincided with her situation. She therefore declared to the king of Prussia's

ministers, that she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; but that, nevertheless, she had thought proper to bring back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops, in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania.

This moderation was not owing to the critical situation alone of the Czarina: the prudent behaviour of his Prussian majesty, during the time of his connection with the late Czar, contributed likewise, in a great measure, to reconcile to him the mind of this empress, and to perpetuate something like the same friendship, with interests so very different. The Russian senate, flaming with resentment against this monarch, and against their late sovereign; and the empress, full of suspicion, that the conduct of the latter might have been influenced by the councils of the former, searched, eagerly, among the papers of the late emperor, for elucidation or proofs of this point. They found, indeed, many letters from the king of Prussia; but in a strain absolutely different from what they apprehended. The king of Prussia had, as far as prudence would admit, kept a reserve and distance in regard to the rash advances of this unhappy ally. Too experienced to be carried away by his inconsiderate impetuosity, he gave him much salutary, though fruitless, advice. He counselled him to undertake nothing against the empress his consort; to desist from the war with Denmark; to attempt no changes in the religion and fundamental laws of the country; and to lay aside all thoughts of coming into Germany.

On hearing these letters read, the empress is said to have burst into tears of gratitude, and made, in consequence, the strongest declarations in favour of this prince. Nor were they without effect. Orders had been given with relation to Prussia, which threatened a renewal of hostilities; but these were soon countermanded. The army of the Russians was, indeed, separated from that of Prussia; but all the important places, which the Russians had, with so much bloodshed, and through so many difficulties, acquired, and which gave them the command of every thing else that remained to the king, were instantly restored. An immediate end was likewise put to the war between Prussia and Denmark; and every thing in relation to Holstein replaced upon its former footing.

Having thus given a concise and, I hope, a faithful account of the revolutions in Russia, I shall now proceed to relate the transactions of the war as it was carried on in Germany.

In the beginning of the year, the Austrian and Prussian armies continued very quiet in their winter quarters: but prince Henry, who conducted the troops in Saxony, extended his forces, in January, by driving the Imperial army to a greater distance, and occupying Naumberg, Zeitz, Altenburg, and Gera. On the other hand, the Imperial and Saxon troops dislodged the Prussians in February, from the post of Lamatch, and destroyed the magazine which had been transported thither from Magdeburg. In the beginning of May, this active prince suddenly crossing the Mulda in three columns, at Roswin, Dolbeling, and Leisnig, attacked the left wing of the Imperial and Austrian army; on which occasion, general Zetwitz was taken with twelve officers, fifteen hundred men, and three piece

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This great change in the government of Russia, it was universally feared, would be followed by a total change of system with regard to foreign affairs. The peace and alliance with the king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in Muscovy; nor was it probable that the close and intimate connection, which had subsisted between that prince and the late Czar, would greatly recommend him to the successor. And as it was imagined, that this revolution must have been, in a great degree, owing to the machinations of those courts, whom the Czar had provoked by withdrawing from their alliance, there was the greater reason to apprehend, that the power, which was now set up, would be exerted in their favour.

There were also great advantages on the side of Russia, if the empress should not hold the peace, concluded by her late husband, to be binding on her, as none of the conquests were at this time evacuated. In a word, every thing seemed to conspire towards replunging the king of Prussia into the abyss of his former distresses, after he had emerged from them only for such a time, and in such a manner, as to make the renewal of them more bitter and insupportable.

Fortunately, however, for this wonderful man, the empress, who had come to the Russian throne in the manner we have related, could not look upon herself as sufficiently secure to undertake again a war of so much importance as that which had just been concluded. It was necessary, for some time at least, that she should confine her attention solely to her own safety. For this purpose it was expedient to collect, within itself, all the force of the empire, in order to oppose it to the designs of the many malecontents, with which that empire always abounds, and who, though not attached to the interests of the Czar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would find now both inducement and opportunity for raising troubles and attempting new changes. Very plausible pretences for such attempts existed from the time of Peter the Great, who, while he improved and strengthened his kingdom, left in it, at the same time, the seeds of civil wars and revolutions.

These considerations induced the Czarina, however unwillingly, to continue so much of the system of her predecessor, as coincided with her situation. She therefore declared to the king of Prussia's

ministers, that she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; but that, nevertheless, she had thought proper to bring back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops, in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania.

This moderation was not owing to the critical situation alone of the Czarina: the prudent behaviour of his Prussian majesty, during the time of his connection with the late Czar, contributed likewise, in a great measure, to reconcile to him the mind of this empress, and to perpetuate something like the same friendship, with interests so very different. The Russian senate, flaming with resentment against this monarch, and against their late sovereign; and the empress, full of suspicion, that the conduct of the latter might have been influenced by the councils of the former, searched, eagerly, among the papers of the late emperor, for elucidation or proofs of this point. They found, indeed, many letters from the king of Prussia; but in a strain absolutely different from what they apprehended. The king of Prussia had, as far as prudence would admit, kept a reserve and distance in regard to the rash advances of this unhappy ally. Too experienced to be carried away by his inconsiderate impetuosity, he gave him much salutary, though fruitless, advice. He counselled him to undertake nothing against the empress his consort; to desist from the war with Denmark; to attempt no changes in the religion and fundamental laws of the country; and to lay aside all thoughts of coming into Germany.

On hearing these letters read, the empress is said to have burst into tears of gratitude, and made, in consequence, the strongest declarations in favour of this prince. Nor were they without effect. Orders had been given with relation to Prussia, which threatened a renewal of hostilities; but these were soon countermanded. The army of the Russians was, indeed, separated from that of Prussia; but all the important places, which the Russians had, with so much bloodshed, and through so many difficulties, acquired, and which gave them the command of every thing else that remained to the king, were instantly restored. An immediate end was likewise put to the war between Prussia and Denmark; and every thing in relation to Holstein replaced upon its former footing.

Having thus given a concise and, I hope, a faithful account of the revolutions in Russia, I shall now proceed to relate the transactions of the war as it was carried on in Germany.

In the beginning of the year, the Austrian and Prussian armies continued very quiet in their winter quarters: but prince Henry, who conducted the troops in Saxony, extended his forces, in January, by driving the Imperial army to a greater distance, and occupying Naumberg, Zeitz, Altenburg, and Gera. On the other hand, the Imperial and Saxon troops dislodged the Prussians in February, from the post of Lamatch, and destroyed the magazine which had been transported thither from Magdeburg. In the beginning of May, this active prince suddenly crossing the Mulda in three columns, at Roswin, Dolbeling, and Leisnig, attacked the left wing of the Imperial and Austrian army; on which occasion, general Zetwitz was taken with twelve officers, fifteen hundred men, and three piece

pieces of cannon. After this exploit, the prince took possession of Freyberg, where he found a considerable magazine. In the beginning of June, an attempt was made upon his out posts by the Austrians, who had been reinforced for that purpose; but they were repulsed with considerable loss.

About the same time the king of Prussia assembled the main body of his army in the neighbourhood of Breslau; while that of the Austrians, under count Daun, occupied several strong eminences, that enabled him to communicate with Schweidnitz, which was considered as the king's chief object.

Towards the latter end of June, the Russian troops under general Czernichew, passing the Oder, joined the Prussian army, in consequence of the late treaty between the king and the Czar Peter. Thus reinforced, his majesty took possession of the heights of Sackwitz; and this motion constrained count Daun to withdraw in the night to the hills of Kuntzendorff. The king continued to advance, and drove the Austrians from several hills; but his attack upon the hill of Engel, defended by general Brentano, proved ineffectual. Count Daun however, thought proper to decamp from Kuntzendorff, and take post at Tanhausen, in order to secure his magazine at Friedland, and maintain his communication with Bohemia, into which the Prussian general Weid actually penetrated with a detachment, as far as Weisse. Marshal Daun no sooner abandoned the hills of Kuntzendorff, than they, together with the heights of Ziesken and Justenstein, were occupied by the Prussian forces. In the midst of these transactions, many skirmishes were fought with various success; by detached parties, which traversed the open country in Austria, Silesia, and Moravia, as well as in Bohemia.

The king of Prussia did not long enjoy the assistance of his new allies. The revolution in Russia was no sooner effected, than orders arrived in the allied camp from Petersburg for the Russians to separate themselves from his army, and return immediately to their own country. The king, without being confounded by this sudden event, and instead of slackening his efforts on account of this desertion, resolved to fall with vigour, and without delay, upon marshal Daun, and to attack him before the news of this change could reach him. Since he could no longer profit by the arms of the Russians, he endeavoured to profit at least by their appearance in his camp. The very next day, therefore, he attacked the Austrian army, whose right wing occupied the heights of Buckersdorff, drove them from that eminence, and from some villages where they were advantageously posted. The success was not owing only to the spirit of the actual attack, but to an apprehension of the Austrians, that the whole united army of the Prussians and Muscovites was on the point of engaging them. The king of Prussia made an use of those allies, in the moment they deserted him.

This lively attack was made with the loss of only three hundred men on the side of the Prussians: the number of the Austrians killed is not known. The prisoners amounted to one thousand: and fourteen pieces of cannon were taken. It was indeed no more than an affair of posts; but its consequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialists with Schweidnitz was now en-

tirely and finally cut off: they could not attempt any thing considerable for the relief of that place. Prince Henry held them in continual alarm for Bohemia; and a great part of their attention, and no small part of their forces, were kept constantly engaged on that side. The king of Prussia, having thus pushed back marshal Daun, invested Schweidnitz, and laid siege to that important fortress before his face. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, the trenches were opened, and the operations of the siege carried on with such vigour, that by the fourteenth, nine batteries played against the town. Schweidnitz was undoubtedly strong, both by nature and art, and moreover defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, who exerted themselves with courage and activity: but such was the determined resolution of the besieger, and so formidable was the provision he had made for this enterprize, that the Austrian general thought it necessary to make some bold attempt to disturb him in his operations. The Prussian infantry were encamped on the heights behind Schweidnitz. The cavalry formed a chain in the plains of Keintzendorff, extending to a detached corps, under the prince of Wirtemberg, so situated as to prevent any interruption from the county of Glatz; and the prince of Bevern commanded a strong body advantageously posted near Cassel.

These dispositions were made to protect the convoys as well as to frustrate any attempts which might be made for the relief of Schweidnitz. On the sixteenth day of August, the Austrian generals Laudohn, O'Donnel, and Beck, were detached with thirty-three battalions, and eighteen regiments of cavalry, to attack the post of the prince of Bevern, and they executed their orders with great celerity and resolution: but the prince, being upon his guard, maintained his ground without flinching, until the king arrived in person, with eight battalions of infantry, and a strong body of dragoons and hussars. These falling upon the Austrian cavalry, soon routed them with considerable slaughter, upon which Laudohn desisted from his attack, and retreated towards Silberberg, with the loss of two thousand men killed or taken by the enemy.

After this victory the king returned to the siege, which he prosecuted with redoubled vigour; while general Gualco, who commanded the garrison, with the assistance of two able engineers, left no step untaken which could retard his progress. Repeated sallies were made with considerable effect; mines were sprung, breaches repaired, and the fire from the ramparts was maintained with great spirit and perseverance. Count Daun found it impracticable to take any effectual measures for the relief of this fortress; yet in Saxony, the Imperial and Austrian troops under general Haddick, by three successive attacks upon the Prussian posts, compelled prince Henry to abandon Zwickau, Chemnitz, and Wilsdruff. Encouraged by this gleam of success, he made an attempt upon the front of the prince's army; but met with a severe repulse.

In the night, between the eighth and ninth of October, the besiegers of Schweidnitz sprung a mine; in consequence of which, great part of the wall was thrown into the ditch, and a disposition was

was made for a general assault. In this emergency general Guasco, considering it would be madness any longer to think of resistance, ordered the command to be beat, and surrendered himself and his garrison, to the number of eight thousand men, prisoners of war. This siege is said to have lasted the longer, as the attack was conducted, and the defence made, by two engineers, who had written on the attack and defence of places; and they were now practically engaged to prove the superiority of their several systems.

The king, having taken possession of this fortress, which had four times changed masters since the commencement of the war, sent a strong reinforcement to his brother in Saxony, and returned to his former quarters at Peterswald. Before this reinforcement arrived, the prince of Stolberg and general Haddick attacked the Prussian general Belling, who was posted in the wood of Kats, from whence he was dislodged after two successive actions, in which a great number were slain on both sides. The Prussians, after a most obstinate defence, were not only driven from the wood, but also compelled to abandon Freyberg, with the loss of nine pieces of cannon, seven colours, a considerable quantity of stores, and about a thousand men taken prisoners, exclusive of those who were killed in the action. The victors having taken possession of Freyberg, general Haddick repaired to Dresden.

Their triumph was of no long continuance. On the twenty-ninth day of October, prince Henry of Prussia, even before the arrival of the reinforcement from Silesia, attacked the Imperial and Austrian forces under the command of prince Stolberg. The action began at day-break, and lasted till two in the afternoon, when the enemy being thrown into irreparable disorder, abandoned the field of battle and the town of Freyberg, with the loss of five thousand prisoners, thirty cannon, and many colours and standards. They withdrew to Plauen, complaining that they were betrayed by the perfidy of a superior officer, who had, during the whole campaign, discovered their dispositions to the Prussian general. He was at last detected by an intercepted letter, directed to general Kleist, and conveyed under a strong guard from Dippoldswalde to Dresden. In the beginning of November, the king of Prussia joined his brother in Saxony, leaving a strong garrison in Schweidnitz, under the command of major-general Knoblock, and his army in Silesia, to the conduct of the prince of Bevern, whose camp formed a chain on the mountains from Steinfelsendorff to Borsdorff, while part of the cavalry encamped on the plain. General Werner was detached with a small corps into the Upper Silesia. As for marshal Daun, he sent a large detachment into the same country, and reinforced the Austrian troops in Saxony, he himself remaining at Scharffnick, in the county of Glatz. Immediately after the victory at Freyberg, a detachment of Prussians, under the command of general Kleist, made an incursion into Bohemia, laying waste the country to the very gates of Prague, and destroyed several Austrian magazines of great value.

The court of Vienna, alarmed by the success of this partisan, was glad to agree to a suspension of hostilities, proposed by the king of Prussia, for

the respective armies in Silesia, to continue in force during the winter. This being accordingly concluded, the Austrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter quarters, in hope of enjoying some repose, which, however, was of a very short duration.

General Kleist immediately advanced at the head of a strong body of forces into Franconia, where he obliged a great number of men to enlist in the king's service, and laid the whole country under exorbitant contributions. From the city of Nuremberg alone, they are said to have exacted to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The king, being resolved on these measures, had declared by his minister to the diet assembled at Ratisbon, that as all his former remonstrances to the states of the empire had produced no effect, he was determined to employ more effectual means to make them recall their troops from the Austrian army: that he had ordered one body of his forces to enter Franconia; another to take the route of Suabia; and a third to penetrate into Bavaria: that they should every where conduct themselves according to the exigencies of war: but that the diet of the empire should not be disturbed. It has been supposed, that, in these incursions, the Prussians raised a sum equal to the annual subsidy, which had formerly been paid by Great-Britain to their sovereign.

In Westphalia the war was prosecuted with great spirit and activity. The design of the enemy was to keep possession of Hesse, and extend their conquests into the electorate of Hanover, where they were still masters of Goettingen, which they had been at great pains and expence to fortify. The business of prince Ferdinand was to stop their progress, and if possible drive them back to the banks of the Mayne.

In the beginning of March, before the armies began their operations, a detachment of four thousand men from the French garrison of Goettingen, made a forced march to the posts of Gittel and Kahlfeldt, in hope of surprising the east chain of the allied cantonments; but the troops withdrew from these places so seasonably, that the enemy could only make a small impression on their rear, and next day returned to their quarters. Immediately after this attempt, the east chain of the allies was strengthened by a reinforcement of three thousand men, who took post at Eimbeck.

In April, general Luckner, a famous Hanoverian partisan, gained a considerable advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Goettingen, at the head of eighteen hundred horse and two thousand infantry, to intercept the other in one of his excursions: but Luckner, being apprised of his design, procured a strong reinforcement of horse, with which he attacked the marquis unexpectedly, and obliged him to retire into Goettingen with great precipitation and no small loss. About the same time major Witzingerode, commander of the Hessian hussars, made a party of French irregulars prisoners at Eichsfeld. In the course of the same month, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, at the head of a strong detachment, with a train of artillery, laid siege to the castle of Arensburg situated on one of the heads of the Roer, which the French had occupied, in order to maintain a communication between their

forces on the Rhine, and those they had upon the Weser. In a few hours after the batteries of the besiegers began to play, the castle was set on fire, and the flames raged with such violence, that Monsieur de Muret, with his garrison of two hundred and thirty men, were obliged to leap over the walls, and surrender at discretion. After this exploit, the prince made a progress as far as Elvervelt and Solingen, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, and met with considerable success in levying recruits and contributions.

The French generals, Soubise and d'Etrees, arriving at Franckfort in April, assembled their forces in May, on the banks of the Weser, while the prince of Condé conducted a separate army at Dusseldorp, on the Lower Rhine. Prince Ferdinand, with the main body of the allies, lay encamped behind the Dymel, to make head against the two marshals; the hereditary prince was posted with a considerable corps, in the bishopric of Munster, to observe the motions of the prince of Condé; and general Luckner, with a third detachment, encamped near Eimbecke on the Leine, to watch prince Xavier of Saxony, who had taken post with a corps de reserve, between the river Werra and the town of Gottingen. The French camp of the marshals being situated between Graebenstein and Meinbrexten, prince Ferdinand made a disposition for attacking them on the twenty-fourth day of June; and the plan was immediately put in execution. General Luckner, leaving his Hessian hussars to amuse prince Xavier and conceal his route, set out from Hollenstadt on the twenty-third in the morning, crossed the Weser in the evening, and by three o'clock next morning arrived between Mariendorff and Udenhausen. At four general Sporcken passed the Dymel at Sielem, with twelve battalions of Hanoverians, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, and advanced between Nombrexten and Udenhausen, with a view to fall upon the enemy's flank at Carlsdorff, while Luckner should attack them in the rear. At the same time prince Ferdinand, passing the river with twelve British battalions, eleven of the Brunswick troops, eight regiments of Hessians, with the English cavalry, and part of the German horse of the left wing, drew them up, in order, behind the ponds of Kasse. The vanguard on the left was composed of the piquets of the army, and that on the right of the chasseurs of the English and German infantry, commanded by lord Frederick Cavendish, and Freytag's Hanoverian chasseurs, who had orders to occupy the mountain of Langenberg. The marquis of Granby, who conducted the body of the reserve, crossed the Dymel at Warburg, and proceeded by Zieremberg and Ziebershausen, to an eminence opposite to Furstenwalde, in order to fall upon the left wing of the enemy. These preparations were made with so much judgment, celerity, and good order, that the French had not perceived the approach of the allies, when they found themselves attacked with infinite impetuosity in front, flank, and rear. Confounded at this unexpected assault, they thought of nothing but a retreat, which they immediately began, and which, considering the ardour with which they were attacked, would in all probability have ended in a total rout, had not Mr. de Stainville, at the head of a chosen body, sacrificed them to the safety of

the army. This gallant officer threw himself into the woods of Willemstahl, with the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, the regiment of Aquitaine, and some other troops that constituted the flower of the French infantry. With these he made a noble stand, effectually covering the retreat of the marshals, who retired under the cannon of Cassel, and part of their forces passed the Fulda in the utmost precipitation. Lord Granby attacked the troops of Stainville with his usual impetuosity; and the whole body was either killed or taken, except two battalions that found means to escape. Upon this occasion the number of prisoners amounted to two thousand seven hundred and fifty, including one hundred and sixty-two officers, together with some standards and colours; while the loss of the victors did not exceed three hundred men, and no British officer of distinction lost his life, except colonel Townshend, who had behaved with great gallantry in this and several other actions since the commencement of the war.

Every thing in the conduct of prince Ferdinand appears the effect of a well digested plan; and one great action completed always helps to disclose a series of bold, masterly, and connected designs.

While the French army lay in their strong camp, under the cannon of Cassel, prince Ferdinand determined, if possible, to cut off their communication with Franckfort, which was at present preserved by Mr. de Rochambeau, who had occupied a strong post near Homburg, with a body of horse and some brigades of infantry. The marquis of Granby and lord Frederick Cavendish advanced to dislodge him at the head of the British grenadiers, two regiments of English cavalry, four Hanoverian squadrons, the chasseurs of the infantry, and the hussars of Bauer and Riedesel. The enemy beginning to retreat as they approached, the marquis ordered his horse to attack their rear, and this service was gallantly performed by the regiment of blues and Elliot's dragoons, led on by the colonels Hervey and Erskine: but the French cavalry suddenly facing about, and falling upon them sword in hand, with great resolution, they must have been overpowered by superior numbers, had not the infantry come up to their assistance. Then the French cavalry retired, and were hard pressed by the British grenadiers and Highlanders; so that they must have been entirely routed, had not they been supported by their infantry, which had taken post in a hollow way. At length they accomplished their retreat, with the loss of about four hundred men; while the hussars of Bauer and Riedesel, advancing to Rothemburg, set fire to a considerable magazine which the enemy had there collected.

In the month of July, prince Ferdinand formed a design of attacking the French marshals in their camp at Melsungen, to which place they had withdrawn in order to maintain their communication with Franckfort, and to facilitate their junction with the prince de Condé, who had orders to advance from the Lower Rhine for that purpose. The general of the allied army, having made an excellent disposition for attacking the enemy, crossed the Eder on the twenty-fifth, and joined the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg; but examining the situation of the enemy, he found them too advantageously posted to

to attack them with any prospect of success. Observing, however, that there were signs of confusion among them, he advanced in columns, and forming at eight in the evening, began to cannonade their camp. At night he retired and repassed the rivers Schwalm and Eder, leaving the marquis on the heights of Falkenberg. At the same time the enemy crossed the Fulda, and leaving a body of troops under Mr. de Guerchy, opposite to the camp which they abandoned, they withdrew towards Cassel, while the marquis of Granby took possession of the post of Melsungen. Thus their communication with Frankfort seemed to be once more cut off. Their conduct at this period appears to have been equally imprudent and irresolute. They sustained a new check in the misfortune of Mr. de Stainville, who, advancing with four regiments of dragoons towards Rothenburn, fell into an ambuscade at Morschen, where his troops were routed and dispersed by a body of troops, under the command of general Freytag. They now relinquished Goettingen, after having destroyed the fortifications of the place, which they themselves had erected at a very great expence. They sent repeated orders to the prince of Condé, to join them without delay; and, in the mean time, secured themselves in a strong camp on the banks of the Fulda; while prince Ferdinand laid bridges over that river, as if he intended to seize the first opportunity of hazarding another battle.

On the sixteenth of July, the prince of Condé began his march from Coesfeldt, in order to join the marshals, and passed the Lippe at Halteren; but was obliged to take a large circuit, in which he was constantly followed by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, at the head of a strong body detached from the allied army.

On the thirtieth day of August, being informed that a large body of the enemy were on their march to join the prince of Condé on the heights of Joannesberg, he determined to attack him before the junction could be effected. At first his success was answerable to his own expectations, and the courage of his troops. He drove the enemy entirely from the high grounds into the plain; but while he pursued his advantage, the body he attacked was reinforced by the main army. The action, which began so favourably for the allies, ended in a defeat. They lost about three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The hereditary prince, who had, through the whole action, made the most powerful efforts, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, received a wound from a musket-ball in his hip-bone, from which his life was, for a long time, doubtful, and his recovery lingering and tedious. Whilst his life continued in danger, the concern was universal, and common to both armies; both taking an interest in the preservation of a prince, as much endeared by his humanity, as admired for his valour and military genius.

A victory of the greatest importance could not have more fully displayed the superiority of prince Ferdinand's capacity, in the conduct of a war, than his measures after this defeat. The French were not suffered to derive the smallest advantage from their victory; nor did the allies lose a foot of ground.

As prince Ferdinand seemed to have a design

upon Cassel, where the French marshals had left general Diesbach with a numerous garrison; the prince of Condé attempted to open march-routes towards Frankberg, on the Eder, through which he intended to turn the right of the allied army, passing by the country of Waldeck. Through these very roads prince Ferdinand advanced to Wetter, which was abandoned by the French garrison, and the prince of Condé was obliged to pass the Lahne. Then the allied army proceeded to the Ohme, and took possession of the camp at Kirchayne, extending to Ernesthausen, while general Luckner occupied Frankenberg on the Upper Eder. The French marshals having endeavoured, in vain, to interrupt his march, between Horloff and Ohme, crossed the Lahne in the neighbourhood of Gießen, and encamped near Marburgh: the prince of Condé took post at Gosfeln and general Levis at Wetter: but this last was dislodged, and his place occupied by a detachment under the generals Luckner and Conway. Many posts were disputed on both sides with uncommon resolution. The general of the allies had determined to undertake the siege of Cassel; and the enemy made repeated efforts to throw fresh supplies into the place; but they were effectually prevented by the disposition of his forces.

Part of the French army, under the generals de Castries and Saarsfeldt, was posted on one side of the Ohme; and on the other, opposite to them, was a strong detachment of the allies, commanded by the marquis of Granby and general Zastrow, in the neighbourhood of the castle of Amenebourg, which the allies furnished with a garrison of about seven hundred men, under the conduct of captain Cruse. The enemy resolved to make themselves masters of this fortress; and in order to amuse the allies, attacked a post which they occupied at the Brucker-muhl, for the defence of a bridge over the Ohme. It was defended by a detachment of two hundred men, the greatest part of whom were posted in a small redoubt they had raised for the purpose. On the twenty-first day of September, about six in the morning, the weather being extremely foggy, the enemy attacked the post at the Brucker-muhl with musquetry and some pieces of cannon, having stationed a body of horse and infantry on the eminence beyond the bridge. A cannonade immediately began on both sides, while a warm dispute with small arms was maintained between the assailants and the Hanoverians, who defended the redoubt. General Waldegrave, being ordered to sustain this party at the Brucker-muhl, detached the first battalion of British guards to relieve the Hanoverians, who had by this time suffered great loss, and expended all their ammunition. The enemy continuing to throw fresh troops into a small work, which they had beyond the bridge, and to bring up more cannon; prince Ferdinand also reinforced his artillery with six large cannon, and three howitzers from the army; and four Hessian battalions advanced to support those who were engaged. Both sides fought with the most determined resolution, and a prodigious fire of artillery and small arms was maintained for fifteen hours, without intermission; yet no attempt was made on either side to pass the bridge. At length the darkness put an end to the action, which cost the allies about
six

six hundred men in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was much more considerable.

They likewise began to detach some parties on the right and left of the allied army, in order to open their communication with Cassel; but all their efforts were rendered ineffectual by the vigilance and activity of the allied generals, who obtained several advantages over them, between the twenty-seventh of September and the first day of October, when prince Ferdinand's quarters were still at Kirchayn, his army extending on the right to Watzenbach, and on the left, behind Merlan. The marshals of France had their right at Merlan, and their left at Caldern. This was the period at which the siege of Cassel was undertaken. The trenches were opened on the sixteenth day of October; and the operations prosecuted with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the activity and resolution of a very numerous garrison, commanded by the baron de Diesbach, they were obliged to capitulate on the first day of November, and marched out with all the honours of war. Prince Ferdinand intended to have finished his operations with the siege of Ziegenhayn, which was the only place in Hesse now possessed by a French garrison; but his preparations were interrupted by the cessation of arms, which took place immediately after the signing of the preliminaries of the peace between France and Great Britain.

This campaign, though not distinguished by any great decisive victory, was not less honourable, than any of the former, to the commander or the troops. A connected series of judicious and spirited operations produced all the effects which could have been proposed from a single and brilliant stroke. At this time, the French, after having, for six years, exerted almost the whole undivided strength of their monarchy upon this single object, were, in the end, very little more advanced, than they were the day they first set their foot in Germany. The possession of three or four poor unimportant places was all they had purchased by many millions of treasure expended, and possibly near two hundred thousand lives thrown away. The whole body of the allies acquired great and just glory in this war; but the English had all along the post of honour, and obtained the highest reputation. As to their commander, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having begun his operations almost without an army, having continued the war with an army always inferior in numbers, having experienced every variety of fortune, his capacity and his firmness carried him with credit through all; and enabled him to conclude the war with a triumphant superiority. He may now enjoy, in the honourable repose, which his exploits have purchased for himself and his country, the best of rewards, the consciousness of having merited and obtained the approbation of the public. Posterity will consider him as the deliverer of Germany.

Having now concluded the account of the transactions of the war on the continent of Europe, I shall next describe the exploits of the British arms by sea, during the course of the year.

In the month of December of last year, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the enemy, to burn the British ships of war at anchor in the road of Basque. They provided three fire-vessels, which being chained together, were towed out of the

port, but the wind luckily shifting, drove them clear off the ships they were intended to destroy. They continued burning some time, after having blown up with a terrible explosion, and every person on board perished.

In the beginning of April, captain Gambier, commander of the *Burford*, arrived at Plymouth with a large French East-India ship from the isle of Bourbon, laden with coffee and pepper, which had been taken by one of Sir George Pococke's squadron, in the Chops of the Channel.

In May, two British frigates, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the *Hermione*, a Spanish register-ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with treasure and valuable effects, by which all the captors were enriched. Her cargo amounted to about one million sterling, which was considerably more than had ever been before taken in any one bottom; and the loss of so much treasure in the beginning of such an expensive war, must have been a severe stroke on the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and silver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in procession to the Bank amidst the acclamations of the people, who considered it as an happy omen of success in the war with Spain, against which the nation was enraged to a remarkable degree of animosity.

About the latter end of May, intelligence being received that a French squadron under the command of Mr. de Ternay had escaped from Brest in a fog, and its destination being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York, as rear-admiral, sailed from Spithead with seven ships of the line, and two frigates, in hopes of falling in with the enemy; but, after having visited the coast of France, and cruised for some time in the Chops of the Channel for the protection of the trade, they returned to Portsmouth, without having seen Mr. de Ternay. He had been discovered however, on the eleventh day of May, about fifty leagues to the south-west of the Lizard, by captain Rowley, who had sailed with three ships of war as convoy to a fleet of merchant-ships bound to the East and West-Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley, though inferior in strength to the enemy, no sooner observed them to windward, than he made a disposition for battle, and lay to, waiting their approach. They accordingly bore down upon him: then he hoisted British colours, and fired at the nearest, when she was within little more than random shot. They immediately hoisted English ensigns, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chace till three in the afternoon, when they were scarcely in sight; but having no hope of overtaking them, he now discontinued the pursuit and rejoined his convoy.

The French commander steered his course to Newfoundland, and, on the twenty-fourth day of June, entered the bay of Bulls, where he landed some troops without opposition. Having taken possession of an inconsiderable settlement in that bay, they advanced to the town of St. John's, which being in no condition of defence, was surrendered upon capitulation. One company of soldiers, which composed the garrison of the fort, were made prisoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majesty's sloop the *Gramont*,

mont, which was in the harbour. They also took several other vessels, demolished many stages erected for curing cod, and did considerable injury to the English fishers, and settlers on different parts of the coast. The ministry were no sooner apprized of this trifling loss, which it was impossible either to foresee or prevent, than they took measures for retrieving the damage which the nation had sustained; and this petty triumph of the enemy was of a very short duration. The armament equipped in England for retaking Newfoundland, was rendered unnecessary by the vigilance and activity of Sir Jeffery Amherst and lord Colville, who commanded by land and sea in North-America.

On the thirty-first day of August, the Hunter sloop of war, one of Admiral Moore's cruisers, falling in with four Dutch merchant-ships in the channel, under convoy of a frigate of thirty-six guns, the English captain prepared to examine the lading of the Dutch vessels, when the commander of the frigate interposing, declared he would not suffer any such search to be made. The other insisting upon the examination, but being prevented by superior force, made a signal to the Diana and Chester ships of war, which happened to be in sight, and they advanced accordingly. After some expostulation, the Dutch captain continuing obstinate, the Diana fired a gun to bring him to, and he returned a whole broadside. An engagement immediately ensued, and was maintained with great spirit for about fifteen minutes, when the Dutchman thought proper to submit, having lost his own nose, and nine or ten men in the action. He was brought into the Downs, together with his convoy, which were found laden with contraband merchandize from Havre to Brest.

In the beginning of September the Zephyr, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, bound to Newfoundland, with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, was taken in the Chops of the Channel by the Lion ship of war, after an engagement of two hours, in which she had about thirty men killed and wounded.

In the month of November, a French ship mounted with twenty cannon, bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francois, on the island of Hispaniola, was taken by captain Ruthven, nephew to the earl of Bute, commander of the Terpsichore, after a sharp action, in which he himself was wounded. In the course of the same month, the Oiseau, another French frigate of twenty-six guns, commanded by the chevalier De Modene, was taken by captain Tonyn of the king's ship the Brune, about seven leagues from Carthage. The engagement was maintained, for some time, with great courage on both sides; but at length the chevalier was obliged to submit, having lost about thirty men, including all his officers, except three, who with himself were wounded in the action.

A third French frigate, called the Minerve, was wrecked in the harbour of Villa-franca, through the pride, precipitation, and ignorance of her commander. She had, in company with four French ships of war, given chase to the Sheerness, an English frigate commanded by captain Clarke, from Gibraltar, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa-franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing high. He was immediately followed by

the enemy, when the captain of the Minerve, actuated by an idle spirit of vanity and insolence, resolved to get between him and the shore, and ran his ship upon the rocks that formed the eastern side of the harbour. Being himself ignorant of the art of navigation, and ill seconded by a crew little acquainted with such emergencies, his ship was in a short time dashed in pieces; and a considerable number of his people perished, notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given him by his consorts. On this melancholy occasion captain Clarke, forgetting they were enemies, and that their present calamity was the effect of their enmity to him and his country, generously followed the dictates of humanity, and exerted his utmost endeavours for their relief. He sent his boats manned to their assistance, and actually saved the lives of the greater part of their company: an instance of unbounded benevolence, for which he was thanked in person by the French commodore.

About the end of August, captain Hotham, of the *Æolus*, chased two Spanish ships into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the second day of September, entering the bay, he dropped anchor in such a situation, as to bring his guns to bear, not only upon one of the ships, but also upon a small battery situated upon an eminence. After a short contest both the battery and ship were abandoned; but before captain Hotham could take possession of his prize, she ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. She was a large ship bound from the Caracas to Passage, laden with hides and cocoa; the other escaped in the night. On the eleventh of September, Captain Hotham came up with a French squadron, amounting to no less than seven sail, between St. Andero and Bilboa, and kept company with them till the sixteenth, as far to the westward as Cape Finisterre, whence he returned to his station. By a sloop from Bourdeaux, which he took on the twentieth, he learned that this squadron had a body of troops on board for St. Domingo.

The navy of France was by this time reduced to such a small number, that their ministry was obliged to send reinforcements to their settlements abroad, in single ships, some of which were picked up by the British cruisers, particularly one transport containing the best part of a regiment intended to reinforce their colony of Louisiana, which had engrossed their principal attention in America, ever since the loss of Canada.

About the end of September, the duke of York and Sir Charles Hardy set sail once more with a small squadron for the bay of Biscay, in order to intercept the enemy's cruisers; and protect the shipping of Great-Britain on their voyage home from the westward, and after a short cruise returned to Spithead.

The cruisers of Great-Britain were no less active and successful in the seas of America. In the beginning of April captain Ourry of the *Actæon*, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spanish register ship, bound to Lagueira, laden with artillery, stores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of twenty-five French merchant ships, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, set sail from Cape Francois for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of these vessels were engaged and

taken in the night by some privateers of New-York and Jamaica. Next day the remaining part fell in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port-royal in Jamaica.

I proceed now to the progress of the British arms in the East and West-Indies. I have already observed, that, in the beginning of March, an armament had sailed from Portsmouth under the command of the earl of Albemarle and Sir George Pocock; and that, according to the general opinion, it was destined to act against the chief Spanish settlement on the island of Cuba. On the twenty-seventh day of May they were joined off Cape Nicholas, on the northernmost point of Hispaniola, by a detachment of the fleet from Martinico, under Sir James Douglas; and, in consequence of this junction, their whole force amounted to nineteen sail of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about one hundred and fifty transports, having on board about ten thousand land forces and marines. A supply of four thousand men had been ordered from New-York, and was expected to join them very near as early as they could be supposed able to commence their operations.

The admiral, having determined to take the nearest course through the old straits of Bahama, used every possible precaution, and chose the most skilful pilots for conducting the fleet through that difficult and dangerous passage, which lies along the north side of Cuba. He was favoured with a fair wind and good weather, which enabled him to perform this task in about ten days, without accident or danger; and, on the sixth day of July, he lay to, about five leagues to the eastward of the Havanna, after having taken a Spanish frigate and a store-ship in the passage. Having given directions to the masters of the transports, with respect to the landing of the forces, and left commodore Keppel to superintend this service, with six sail of the line and some frigates, he bore away with the rest of the fleet, and ran down off the harbour, where he descried twelve Spanish ships of the line, with several trading vessels. Next morning he disposed his marines in boats, and made a shew of landing about four miles to the westward of the Havanna; while the earl of Albemarle landed with the whole army, between the rivers Boca-nao and Coxemar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro Castle, which was the enemy's chief fortrefs for the defence of the town and harbour. A body of Spaniards appeared on the shore; but, some sloops being ordered in to scour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops not only landed, but also passed the river Coxemar, without opposition. On the tenth, colonel Carleton drove the enemy from a small redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos, which overlooked the Moro; and there a post was established: at the same time, three bomb-vessels being anchored in shore, began to throw shells into the town, under cover of the ships Stirling Castle and Echo. Though this attack of the English was altogether unexpected, the place being strongly fortified and well supplied, preparations were instantly made for a vigorous defence, by Don Juan de Prado, governor of the city, and the marquis del Real, commodore of the shipping, assisted by the counsels and experience of the viceroy of Peru and the governor of Car-

thagena, who happened to be at the Havanna, in their way to or from their respective governments. By the twelfth, they had sunk three of their capital ships in the mouth of the harbour, so as entirely to block up the channel. The admiral ordered four ships of the line to cruise in the offing; and, with the rest of his squadron, anchored off Chorrera river, four miles to the westward of the Havanna, where there was plenty of wood and fresh water. Here, at the request of lord Albemarle, he landed eight hundred marines, formed into two battalions, under the majors Campbell and Collins, who encamped on this side, and were reinforced from the other side by a detachment of twelve hundred men, under the command of colonel Howe. This step was taken in order to secure a footing on both quarters of the town, and distract the enemy's attention, so as to weaken the defence of the Moro, which commanded the town, and against which therefore the earl of Albemarle had determined to direct his chief operations. He was encamped in the woods between the river Coxemar and the Moro, leaving a corps at Guanamacoa, under the command of lieutenant-general Elliot, to guard the avenues on that side, and preserve his communication with the country, which, it was hoped, would supply the troops with water, vegetables, and fresh provision. The attack of the Moro was conducted by major-general Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle; and the chief engineer was Mr. Mackellar, who had discovered uncommon abilities at the siege of Louisbourg, and on many other occasions both in this and the last war.

Fascines, stores, and artillery, being conveyed from the ships with great expedition by the seamen, the engineers began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed to cut parallels in the woods, and form a line with fascines, to protect the guards from the fire of the enemy, which began to be very troublesome. On the twenty-ninth, about one thousand chosen men of the enemy, with a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes, landed in two divisions to the right and left of the Moro, in order to demolish the works of the besiegers: but they were repulsed by the piquets and advanced posts, and retreated in great disorder, with the loss of two hundred men, killed or taken.

On the first day of July, the besiegers opened two batteries of cannon, so that their whole fire now proceeded from twelve battering cannon, six large mortars, three small ones, and twenty-six royals. The enemy had seventeen pieces of artillery, and one mortar, mounted on the front attacked: but their fire was neither so vigorously plied, nor so well directed as that of the assailants. Indeed, their attention was this day divided for about three hours, in consequence of an attack made upon the north-east face, by three ships of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the captains Goostrey, Hervey, and Burnet, who maintained a close cannonade, though with little effect: for the Moro was situated too high to be much affected by their artillery. Their rigging was considerably damaged, and a good number of their men killed, including captain Goostrey, who fell in the beginning of the engagement. His place was supplied by captain Lindsay



A Plan of the SIEGE of the HAVANA, drawn by an OFFICER on the Spot, 1762.

Lindsay of the Trent, a brave officer, who behaved with remarkable gallantry. Captain Campbell, of the Stirling-Castle, who had been ordered to lead until the first ship had been properly placed, did not perform his part according to the directions he had received; and was obliged to quit the service.

About the same time, the admiral's cruisers, who scoured the sea round the whole island, brought in the Venganza frigate of twenty-six guns, the Marté of eighteen, and a schooner, laden with coffee. On the twelfth, Sir James Douglas, who had parted from the admiral immediately after their junction, and steered his course to Jamaica, in a single ship, now arrived off the Havanna, having under his convoy a fleet of merchant ships bound for England.

The parapet of Fort Moro was all of mason-work; the ditch of the front attacked, was seventy feet deep from the edge of the counterscarp, and more than forty feet of that depth sunk in the rock. The soil of the country was so thin, that it was with great difficulty the men could cover themselves in their approaches; and as it was thought necessary to carry on the siege by sap, this method might have been found altogether impracticable, had not Sir James Douglas supplied the engineers with cotton bags, from some ships of his convoy, which were partly loaded with this commodity. Mean while, the enemy made such a vigorous defence, that the siege was protracted beyond expectation; a considerable delay was likewise occasioned by an unlucky accident. On the third day of July, the principal battery of the besiegers, chiefly constructed of timber and fascines, being dried by the heat of the weather and the continual cannonade, took fire, and the flames raged with such violence, that almost the whole work was consumed.

The besiegers laboured under many other discouragements. Epidemical distempers, such as never fail to attack the natives of Britain who visit those countries, began to make great havock, both in the army and the navy. These were rendered more fatal by the want of necessaries and refreshments. The provision was bad; and the troops were ill supplied with water. The great number of the sick rendered the duty more fatiguing to those that were well. In those warm climates, the human body being in a state of relaxation, is incapable of exerting such vigorous efforts as it can make in more northern latitudes: and the men are subject to a species of dejection, which always increases the general mortality: this was now augmented by the delay of the troops from North-America, which they had long expected to no purpose.

At length, on the second day of August, the long wished-for reinforcement arrived; and this circumstance added fresh vigour to the operations of the siege. In a few days, the seamen and soldiers belonging to four of the American transports, which had been wrecked in the streights of Bahama, were brought off in five sloops, detached by the admiral on this service: but, at the same time, he received intelligence that five other transports, having on board three hundred and fifty soldiers, of Anstruther's regiment, and one hundred and fifty provincial troops, were taken on the twenty-first day of July, by a French squadron, which fell in

with them near the passage between Maya Guanna, and the North Caicos. All the rest of the troops, however, arrived in perfect health.

On the nineteenth of July, the English made themselves masters of the covered way, before the point of the right bastion, and a new sap was begun at this lodgement. The only place by which the foot of the wall was accessible, happened to be a thin ridge of rock, left at the point of the bastion, to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwise have been open to the sea. Along this ridge the miners passed without cover, to the foot of the wall, where they made a lodgement with little loss. Mean while, they sunk a shaft without the covered way, in order to form a mine for throwing the counterscarp into the ditch, should it be found necessary to fill it; and continued their former sap along the glacis. In the night of the twenty-first, a sergeant and twelve men scaled the walls by surprise; but, the garrison being alarmed before they could be sustained, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Next day, at four in the morning, a sally was made from the town, by fifteen hundred men, divided into three detachments, who attacked the besiegers in three different places, while a warm fire was kept up in their favour from the fort of Punta, the west bastion, the lines and flanks of the entrance, and their shipping in the harbour. After a warm dispute, which cost the English about fifty men killed or wounded, all their three parties were repulsed, and fled with such precipitation, that a considerable number was drowned in the hurry of their retreat. Their loss amounted to four hundred, killed and taken prisoners. On the thirtieth day of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed out into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small arms into the ditch, though without any great molestation to the miners; and the close fire of the covering party soon obliged the enemy to retire.

This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a sullen resolution, and made no sort of proposal to capitulate. The mines at last did their business. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch; leaving a breach, which though very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable. The English troops, who were commanded on this most dangerous of all services, rejoiced that it was to be the end of labours which were much more grievous to them. They mounted the breach, entered the fort, and formed themselves with so much celerity, and with such a surprising coolness of resolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the assault an affair of great bloodshed, astonished at their countenance, fled on all hands. About four hundred men were slaughtered on the spot, or ran to the water, where they perished. Four hundred more threw down their arms, and obtained quarter. The second in command, the marquis de Gonsales, fell, whilst he was making brave, but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people. Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, who had hitherto defended the fort with such obstinate bravery, seemed resolved, in this extremity, to share the same fate with

with it. He collected an hundred men in an intrenchment he had made round his colours; but seeing that all his companions were fled from him, or slaughtered about him, disdaining to fly or call for quarter, he received a mortal wound, and fell, offering his sword to his conquerors. The English wept, with pity and admiration, over that unfortunate valour, which had occasioned them so many toilsome hours, and cost them so many lives.

The reduction of the Moro was not immediately followed by the surrender of the Havanna; on the contrary, the governor of the place now directed his chief fire against the fortress which they had lost; and even sent down a large ship of the line to the entrance of the harbour, from whence she could batter it with more effect. Her efforts, however, proved altogether fruitless, and in a few hours she desisted from the attack. In the mean time, general Keppel, with the advice of the engineer, resolved to erect new batteries on the hill of the Cavannos, on the utmost point of which the fort stands; and a plan was formed for making a new attack to the westward of the town. On the tenth of August, in the morning, the batteries on the Cavannos being finished, the earl of Albemarle, by a message, desired the governor to surrender; and his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. Next morning, at day-break, about three and forty cannon and twelve mortars began to play against the town and the Punta, which last was silenced before ten; in another hour the north bastion was almost disabled. About two in the afternoon, white flags were hung out all round the place, as well as aboard the admiral's ship in the harbour; and, in a little time, a flag of truce arrived at the head-quarters, with proposals of capitulation. The governor stickled hard to obtain permission to send the ships to Spain, and to have the harbour declared neutral; but neither of these points could be given up, and hostilities were ordered to be renewed, when the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands. By the capitulation, which was signed on the thirteenth, the inhabitants were secured in their private property, in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion; and next day the English troops took possession of this important conquest. As for the Spanish garrison, which was reduced to about seven hundred, including officers, they were indulged with the honours of war; and it was stipulated, that they and the sailors should be conveyed to Old Spain, together with the Spanish commodore, the governor of the Havanna, the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagená, which two last had not yet left the place. In the progress of the siege, about five hundred of the British troops, including fifteen officers, were killed outright or died of their wounds; and about seven hundred, comprehending thirty-nine officers, were cut off by a distemper, which raged with still greater violence after the reduction of the place. Vast quantities of artillery, small arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with twelve ships of the line, two upon the stocks, and several trading vessels. They likewise acquired to the amount of about three millions sterling, in silver, tobacco, and valuable merchandize, collected on his catholic majesty's account: so that the British nation was more than

indemnified for the expence of the expedition; and the enemy's loss was irreparable.

So much treasure intercepted by the English, first in the ship *Hermione*, and now in the island of Cuba, must have been a severe stroke upon the king of Spain: but the ruin of his navy was of much greater importance, and even that but a trifle in comparison to the loss of the Havanna, the port at which all their galleons and flota, loaded with the riches of Mexico and Peru, rendezvoused in their return to Old Spain; the port which absolutely commanded the only passage by which their ships could sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe.

So lucrative a conquest had never before been made by the English. But this immense capture, though it enriched individuals, contributed nothing directly to the public revenue. It might be said, however, to contribute something to it indirectly; by encreasing the stock of the nation, and supplying that prodigious drain of treasure, which, for several years, had been made from this kingdom, for foreign subsidies, and for the maintenance of armies abroad. If it had not been for such pecuniary supplies, with which the uncommon successes of this war were attended, it never could have been maintained in the extent to which it was carried, notwithstanding the encrease of trade, which had been uniformly progressive for the three preceeding years. It has been, in a loose way, computed, that the success of our arms in the East-Indies, independent of the great increase of valuable merchandize, had brought into England, during the war, near six millions in treasure and jewels. The conquest of the Havanna was not the only instance in which the arms of Great-Britain triumphed over those of Spain in the course of this short war; they were no less successful in another enterprize in the East-Indies.

It may not be improper to inform the reader, that the Philippine islands, in the Indian ocean, extend from the sixth to near the twentieth degree of north latitude, about one hundred and twenty leagues to the southward of China; that they are supposed to be twelve hundred in number, and are considered as part of the sovereignty of Spain; that in the largest of them, called *Luconia*, which is said to be above one hundred and sixty leagues in length, the Spaniards are possessed of *Manilla*, a considerable city, extensive, populous, and tolerably well fortified, the centre of the Spanish trade, from whence two large ships are sent annually across the vast Pacific ocean to *Acapulco*, on the coast of Mexico, laden with the spices, stuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. The city is situated on a point of land, formed by a river that issues from the great lake of *Bahia*, and falls into the sea a little lower, at the town of *Cavite*, where there is a spacious harbour, though the entrance is difficult. The suburbs of *Manilla* are very extensive, containing a great number of inhabitants, natives of different countries, particularly Chinese; but the number of the Spaniards within the place does not amount to above five thousand.

Against this settlement, a plan of attack was formed at *Madras*, to be carried into execution by part of the squadron of vice-admiral *Cornish*, and a few battalions under the command of brigadier

dier-general Draper, who had distinguished himself in the defence of Madras, when it was besieged by the enemy. The troops destined for this expedition consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery; and to these were added, by the governor of Madras, some able officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, six hundred Sipoy, one company of Caffres, one of Topazes, one of pioneers, two companies of French deserters, with a few hundred of Lascars, for the use of the engineers and the park of artillery. Vice-admiral Cornish supplied a strong battalion of seamen and marines; so that the whole force amounted to two thousand three hundred effective men, with which it was determined to make an attempt upon the flourishing city of Manilla.

Major-general Laurence, who conducted the forces of the East-India company at Madras, gave it as his opinion that the settlements would be in danger, should a greater number of troops be drawn from the coast; and therefore, the two battalions of the company's troops, the whole cavalry, six thousand Sipoy, with part of Monson's regiment, and the highlanders, were left for their defence: at the same time, orders were given, that three ships of war, which they hourly expected at Madras, should remain on that part of the coast for the security of the commerce. The preparations at length being fully completed, captain Grant, in the Sea-horse, was instantly detached to the entrance of the Chinese sea, with instructions to intercept all vessels bound for Manilla, that the enemy might get no information of their design.

The forces, with the stores and artillery, were no sooner embarked, than admiral Cornish sailed in two divisions about the beginning of August, and on the nineteenth arrived at Malacca. Here the fleet being watered, and a large quantity of rattans collected for making gabions, they prosecuted their voyage; and on the twenty-third day of September, anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a defence, and much alarmed at this unexpected visit. The governor was the archbishop, who assumes the title of captain-general of the Philippine Islands: but the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men of the royal regiment, was commanded by the marquis de Villa-medina, a brigadier-general, who now reinforced it with a body of ten thousand Indians, from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and savage nation, who, though unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, manage their bows and arrows with great dexterity, and are very formidable from their intrepidity and contempt of death.

The admiral, having founded the coast, discovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the southward of Manilla. On the twenty-fourth day of September, the proper dispositions being made, and the three frigates, *Argo*, *Sea-horse*, and *Seaford*, stationed very near the shore, to cover the descent; three divisions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the sea-captains Parker, Pempenfeldt, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata, not without some difficulty from a great surf that rolled on the beach. The enemy began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and infantry, to oppose the descent; but the cap-

tains, King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, poured in such a continued fire of cannon and small-arms, that they soon dispersed; and the general disembarked his troops without the loss of one man; while the Spanish garrison were employed in burning the suburbs of Manilla. Next day the general took possession of the *Polverista*, a small fort which the enemy had deserted, and which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the stores and artillery. Colonel Monson, the second in command, with an advanced party of two hundred men, occupied the church of the *Hermita*, about nine hundred yards from the city. The head-quarters were established in the curate's house, and guarded by the seventy-ninth regiment, of which Mr. Draper himself was colonel, as a post of the utmost consequence, both from its strength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impossible to form an encampment. The marines were left at the *Malata*, in the neighbourhood of the *Polverista*, to secure the communication with the fleet, and protect the stores and artillery, which were not landed without great danger and fatigue. Some boats were overlet, and lieutenant Hardwick perished on this occasion. In the mean time a body of men approached within three hundred yards of the town, and possessed themselves of the church of *St. Jago*, which they maintained, notwithstanding its being exposed to the fire of the enemy. The battalion of seamen, landing on the twenty-sixth, were cantoned between the seventy-ninth regiment and the marines; and the rest of the company's troops, being disembarked, were likewise put under cover. This day the enemy, to the number of four hundred men, with two field pieces, under the command of the chevalier *Fayette*, marched up on the right of the English advanced post, the flank of which they began to cannonade: but colonel Monson, at the head of the piquets, and a small reinforcement of marines, soon repulsed them, and obliged them to retire with such precipitation, that they left one of their field-pieces behind them.

The governor had been already twice summoned to surrender, but returned a flat refusal; and, indeed, if the valour of his troops had been equal to the vigour of his declaration, he had but little to fear from an handful of enemies, who, far from being in a condition to invest the city on all sides, were obliged to confine their operations to one corner, leaving two-thirds of it open to all manner of supplies. The front, which the general determined to attack, was secured by the bastions of *St. Diego* and *St. Andrew*, a ravelin, which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. The bastions were in good order, furnished with a great number of fine brass cannon: but the ravelin was not armed; nor the covered way in good repair: the glacis was too low, and the ditch was not carried round the capital of the bastion of *St. Diego*. The breadth of the ditch was about thirty yards, and the depth of water did not exceed five feet. It was founded by a detachment, headed by captain *Fletcher*, who begged leave to undertake this hazardous enterprise, which he accomplished in the midst of the enemy's fire, with the loss only of three men.

Some straggling seamen having been butchered by the savages, the governor sent out a flag of truce on the twenty-seventh, to apologize for these barbarities, and beg the release of his own nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay, by the boats of the fleet. He had been dispatched in a galley, by the commander of the Galleon Philippina, just arrived from Acapulco, at Cajayagan, near Cape Spirito Santo, with the first advices of the war. Next day, while lieutenant Fryar, with a flag of truce, conducted the prisoner to the town, a detachment of the garrison, intermixed with Indians, sallied out to attack one of the posts of the besiegers; when the savages, without respecting the law of nations, or the sacred character of an officer, under the protection of a flag of truce, fell upon Mr. Fryar, with the most inhuman fury, and murdered him on the spot. They even mangled his body in the most brutal manner, and mortally wounded the Spanish gentleman, who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack, they were soon repulsed by the British party that defended the post, who were so much enraged at their barbarity, that they gave them no quarter.

Mean while several mortars bombarded the town day and night, without intermission; and the engineers were employed in raising some batteries to play upon their works. On the twenty-ninth, the admiral, at Mr. Draper's request, ordered the Elizabeth, commodore Tiddeman, and the Falmouth, captain Brereton, to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and enfilade the enemy's front, with a view to second the operations of the besiegers. They executed this task with great intrepidity; and, although the shallows kept them at too great a distance to answer the purpose effectually, their fire did not fail to throw the inhabitants into the most terrible consternation. On the first and second days of October, the weather was so stormy as to endanger the whole squadron, which lay upon a lee shore. The South-sea Castle store-ship was driven ashore, and, even in that situation, did remarkable service, by enfilading the whole beach to the southward, with her guns, and over-awing a large body of Indians, who threatened an attack on the Polverista, and the magazines of the besiegers at the Malata.

Notwithstanding the storm and heavy rains, the troops and seamen found means to erect batteries of cannon and mortars. They likewise drew a parallel and communication from thence to the advanced post at the church, and established a spacious place of arms on the left of it, near the sea, the roaring of which favoured the workmen in the night, by preventing the noise they made from being heard by the garrison. On the third, the battery being opened against the left face of St. Diego's bastion, was so well served by the seamen and corps of artillery, and the fire so well directed by the conduct and skill of major Barker, that, in a few hours, twelve pieces of cannon mounted on the face of the bastion, were totally silenced, and the enemy compelled to withdraw. At night, a battery was begun of three guns on the left of the place of arms, to silence those that were in barbette, upon the orillon of the St. Andrew bastion, which annoyed the flank of the besiegers. A close fire of grape-shot and musquetry was continued all night, to prevent the enemy from re-

pairing their embrasures, and remounting their cannon; while seven mortars played without intermission, upon the gorge of the bastion, and the neighbouring defences.

On the fourth, the cantonment of the seamen was attacked three hours before day, by a strong body of Indians, encouraged to this attempt by the incessant rains, which, they imagined, had rendered the fire-arms useless. Their approach was facilitated by a number of thick bushes growing on the side of a rivulet, through which they passed in the night, without being observed by the patrols. The alarm was no sooner given, than colonel Monson and captain Fletcher advanced with the piquets to the assistance of the seamen, who had very judiciously kept firm within their posts, contenting themselves with acting on the defensive, until the light should enable them to distinguish friend from foe. The assailants, though armed chiefly with bows and lances, advanced with the most determined countenance to the attack; fought with incredible fury; when repulsed, returned with redoubled rage to the very muzzles of the English muskets; and died like wild beasts, gnawing their bayonets. At day-break, a fresh piquet of the seventy-ninth regiment appearing upon their right flank, they gave way and fled with great precipitation, having lost three hundred men in their attack and retreat.

This party was no sooner repulsed, than another body of them, reinforced by a few of the Spanish troops, made a furious assault upon the church, part of which they at last gained, after having expelled the Sipoys that were there posted. From the top they fired down among the English soldiers, who, though now exposed to a continued shower of bullets and missiles, maintained their post behind the church, without flinching; and, after an obstinate dispute, dislodged the enemy, by the assistance of some field-pieces, and the gallant behaviour of major Fell, captain Fletcher, and other officers sent to their succour. Seventy Spaniards were killed outright; and this, with the former action, cost the besiegers about forty men, including captain Strahan of the seventy-ninth regiment, and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers, who lost their lives, and fell universally lamented.

The enemy, confounded by such a severe check, made no further attempts for relieving the place, and the Indians returned to their own habitations. The fire from the garrison diminished apace; and all their defences appeared to be ruined. On the fifth, the fire of the besiegers became so violent, that a considerable breach was effected in the wall; and it was hoped the garrison would demand a capitulation: but they seemed to be obstinate and sullen, without courage or activity: they had not taken care to repair their works; and now they neglected all means of procuring favourable terms, without being resolved to defend the breach; so that the English general made a disposition for storming the town.

On the sixth, at four o'clock in the morning, the troops allotted for this service, marched off from their quarters, in small bodies, to avoid suspicion, and gradually assembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themselves in the place of arms, and the parallel between the church and the battery,

battery. Mean while major Barker maintained a close fire upon the works of the enemy, and those places where they might be lodged or intrenched, the mortars co-operating in the same service. At day-break, a large body of Spaniards was seen drawn up on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had received information of the intended assault, and had determined to annoy the assailants with musquetry and grape-shot from the extreme flank of the bastion, where they had still two cannon fit for service; but a few shells falling among them, they fled in confusion. The British troops seized this opportunity, and, directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, advanced to the assault, under cover of the thick smoke which blew directly on the town.

Lieutenant Ruffel, at the head of sixty volunteers, led the way, being sustained by the grenadiers of the nineteenth regiment, to which he belonged. They were followed by the engineers, with the pioneers, and other workmen, to clear and widen the breach, and make lodgements, in case the enemy should have been found intrenched in the gorge of the bastion. Colonel Monson and major More conducted two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment. The next body that advanced was the battalion of seamen, supported by the other two divisions of the seventy-ninth; and the rear was brought up by the troops of the East-India company. According to colonel Draper's own account, the number of troops with which he entered Manilla amounted to little more than two thousand, composed indifferently of seamen, soldiers, Sipoy, Caffres, Lascars, Topasees, French and German deserters. These assailants mounted the breach with incredible courage and celerity, while the Spaniards on the bastion fled so unexpectedly, that it was strongly suspected they intended to spring mines. The English troops penetrated into the town with very little opposition, except at the royal guard-house, defended by one hundred Spaniards with Indians, who refusing to submit, were instantly cut in pieces. They were likewise considerably galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, with which the great square was surrounded. Three hundred of the garrison were drowned in attempting to cross the river, which was deep and rapid; the governor, with the principal magistrates, withdrawing into the citadel. This retreat was in itself imprudent, inasmuch as they took no step towards procuring terms for the citizens, who were accordingly subjected to a severe chastisement.

Colonel Draper, having no offer of capitulation or surrender made him, could not prevent his troops, for some hours, from making the city feel all the rapaciousness of a common soldiery; and those he commanded, except the few regulars, could not be supposed to be of the most orderly kind. At last the citadel, being utterly untenable, the archbishop and the magistrates surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and it was immediately occupied by captain Dupont, with one hundred men of the seventy-ninth regiment. The marquis de Villa-medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were enlarged on giving their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. This important conquest was achieved with the loss of no more than twenty men, among whom, how-

ever, was unfortunately the gallant major More, who fell by an arrow, at the royal gate.

Manilla was no sooner occupied by the British forces, than the admiral went on shore to consult with general Draper on this great event; and to settle a capitulation. This was found on trial, to be no easy matter. When the archbishop and magistrates appeared, the two English commanders generously acquainted them, they were ready to agree to a capitulation that might save so fine a city from destruction; and desired them to withdraw, to deliberate and propose such terms of compensation as might satisfy the soldiers and sailors, and secure them from pillage and its fatal consequences.

Upon their return they produced a draught of terms, in the name of the archbishop, the royal audience, and the city and commerce of Manilla, which were so little agreeable to their desperate situation, that they were rejected as unsatisfactory and inadmissible, because they made no mention of a compensation to the victors for protecting the place from military execution. The English commanders then took the pen, and prescribed the conditions on which the city of Manilla should be saved from plunder, and the inhabitants secured in their religion, liberties, and properties, under the government of his Britannic majesty. In this paper the British commanders promised that the terms proposed by the archbishop and the magistrates should be granted, if those of the ransom were complied with; to which the Spaniards agreed. In pursuance of this capitulation the town and port of Cavite, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be delivered up to his Britannic majesty; and four millions of dollars paid as a ransom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, on the other hand, were to be maintained in their religion and private property, under the government and protection of the king of England. The port and citadel of Cavite were surrendered, together with several large ships, and a vast quantity of warlike and naval stores. The Spanish garrison of three hundred men, instead of quietly submitting themselves agreeable to the governor's order, mutinied against their officers; and, having pillaged some houses, retired with their arms to the country. Captain Campion, with two hundred men, being embarked in the Sea-horse, took possession of the place, and captain Kempenfeldt was constituted governor of it, by a commission from the general. One third of the ransom of Manilla was allowed to the East-India company; and Mr. Draper, according to the instructions he had received, delivered up the city of Manilla, the port of Cavite, with all their artillery, ammunition, and warlike stores, to Dawson Drake, Esq; and the other persons appointed to receive them in behalf of that company. All the British forces employed in this expedition were but barely sufficient to garrison this important conquest, which was obtained with so little bloodshed, that not above one hundred men were killed in the whole service. Among these, however, was unhappily numbered the gallant commodore Tiddeman, who, in attempting to enter the river in his barge, on the morning that succeeded the reduction of the place, was unfortunately drowned with five of his people.

The

The acquisition of Luconia, with its towns, treasures, artillery, stores, islands, and dependencies, was immediately succeeded by another advantage of no small importance. Admiral Cornish having learned by means of some letters taken in the galley with the Spanish governor's nephew, that the galleon *St. Philippina* was arrived from Acapulco at Cajayagan, he detached in quest of her the *Panther* and *Argo*, two ships of war, commanded by the captains Parker and King; the first of the line; the other a frigate. On the thirtieth day of October, being of the island Capul, near the entrance of the Embocadero, they discovered a sail standing to the northward. The *Argo* being driven by the current among the Narangoes, was obliged to anchor: but captain King, in the frigate, coming up with the chase, engaged her for near two hours, during which he was roughly handled, and even compelled to desist, until his rigging could be repaired.

The current slackening, captain Parker was enabled to get under sail; and about nine next morning, came up with the enemy, who, after having been cannonaded two hours at a very small distance, struck their colours and surrendered: but the captain was not a little surprised to hear, when the Spanish general came on board, that, instead of the *St. Philippina*, he had taken the *Santissima Trinidad*, which had departed from Manilla on the first day of August, bound for Acapulco, and had sailed three hundred leagues to the eastward of the Embocadero; but, meeting with a hard gale of wind, and being dismasted, was obliged to put back and refit. She was a very large ship, so thick in the sides, that the shot of the *Panther* did not penetrate any part of her, except the upper works. She had eight hundred men on board; and was pierced for sixty cannon; but no more than thirteen were mounted. The merchandize on board was computed at one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo supposed to be worth double that sum; so that this capture was a considerable addition to the conquest, and a fresh wound to the enemy.

The news of the recovery of St. John's in Newfoundland, which arrived about this period, was likewise another cause of triumph in England.

Lord Colville was no sooner informed of the progress which the French armament had made on the coast of Newfoundland, than he sailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John's by sea, even while Mr. Ternay, the French commodore, lay at anchor in it, with a superior squadron. On the eleventh day of September, his lordship was reinforced by colonel Amherst, who had been detached on this service by his brother Sir Jeffery Amherst, commander of the forces in America. The colonel had touched at Louisbourg, and taken on board some troops, which, with those brought with him at Halifax, amounted to about eight hundred, chiefly highlanders and light infantry. They disembarked, after a slight opposition, in Torbay, about seven miles to the northward of St. John's: and this part of the country was extremely encumbered with mountains and passes occupied by the enemy. The British forces advanced to the strong post of Kitty-vitty, which they took sword in hand. They likewise dislodged the enemy from two other heights which they had forti-

fied, and did not abandon till after an obstinate dispute. On the sixteenth of September, they took post in the neighbourhood of St. John's Fort, and, next day, a mortar battery was erected. The French commodore had sunk some shallops in the entrance of the harbour, which was commanded by a breast-work and unfinished battery. These being gained, and the channel opened, colonel Amherst received his artillery and stores, by water-carriage: but lord Colville was driven by contrary winds, to some distance from the coast. In his absence, Mr. de Ternay, availing himself of a thick fog, immediately hoisted sail and made his escape. His ships were descried at a great distance from the top-mast heads of the British squadron, steering south south-east; but not supposed to be the ships of Mr. Ternay. On the eighteenth, in the morning, Mr. de Hauffonville, the commander of the French forces at St. John's, who had been summoned, and refused to surrender, thought proper to agree to a capitulation; and delivered himself with his garrison, prisoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Brest the first opportunity. They were a fine body of troops, very near equal in number to the besiegers; and lord Colville, who had by this time returned to the harbour, appointed some ships for transporting them to France. Thus the town and fort of St. John's, with all the other petty places which the French had taken on this coast, were recovered, with very little loss, by a handful of troops, who exerted themselves with equal courage and conduct on this occasion.

When France had found experimentally, that the present at least was not the favourable time, for drawing from her alliance all those advantages, with which she had flattered herself, she inclined in good earnest to peace. The sincerity of her procedure in the former negotiation might justly be questioned; because she had prepared an after-game in case of its proving abortive. And so much did she rely on it, that probably the negotiation itself was but a feint made to cover and to prepare that project. But finding that Great-Britain was neither intimidated by the threats of that formidable alliance, nor at all likely to be reduced by the exertion of its forces, she came, in good earnest, into those pacific sentiments, which formerly she had only counterfeited. The slow progress of the Bourbon troops in Portugal, the retrograde motion of the French army in Germany, the taking of Martinico and its dependencies, the reduction of the Havanna, all conspired to humble the pride, and dash the hopes of the Bourbon alliance.

On the side of Great-Britain, likewise, the dispositions to peace became much more cordial. No people were ever less intoxicated with successes. Victories were grown familiar to us, and made but little impression. The marks of public joy on the most considerable conquests, were become much lighter and colder, than were shewn at the beginning of the war, upon any trivial advantages. Though her trade had been greatly augmented, a circumstance beyond all example favourable; and though many of her conquests, as we have seen, were attended with the most solid advantages, her supplies of money, great as they were, did not keep pace with her expences. The supply of men too, which was necessary to answer the waste of so extensive a war, became sensibly diminished; and the

the troops were not recruited but with some difficulty, and at a heavy charge. It was time to close the war, when every end, we could rationally propose to ourselves in carrying it on, was attained. We had enough to answer all our demands, and almost all our expectations; and as it is grown into a sort of maxim, that nations greatly victorious must cede something on a peace, the difficulty on our side was only what, and how much we should retain. Not that there was a doubt, but whatever choice of acquisition could be made upon any rational principles, a great deal would still remain to give the fullest scope to every sentiment of equity and moderation.

These causes co-operated to render the desires of the British ministry towards peace, altogether hearty and sincere; and they thought themselves abundantly justified in their wishes for it at this juncture, both by the successes and burthens of the nation; from the flourishing state of some of their allies, and the doubtful state of others; and, in general, from those arguments of humanity, which made it high time, that Europe should enjoy some interval of repose.

Both courts thus concurring in the same point, all difficulties were speedily smoothed. It is said that the first overtures were made under the mediation of his Sardinian majesty. As soon as terms were proposed, a resolution was taken, in order to give to each other a pledge of their mutual sincerity, that this treaty should not be negociated, as the former had been, by subordinate persons; but that the two courts should reciprocally send, to London and Versailles, a person of the first consequence and distinction in either kingdom. Accordingly, the duke of Bedford was sent to negotiate on the part of England; and the duke de Nivernois on that of France; and the great outlines of the treaty were very soon explained and adjusted. In the negociation of 1761, it had been laid down as a principle by the two courts, that their respective propositions, in case the treaty should, by any accident, be broken off, were to be considered as retracted or never made. These propositions however, notwithstanding the above salvo, still continued in force, and were assumed as the basis of the present treaty, which differed, in no essential point, from the former. The spirit of the two negociations, so far as regarded the peculiar interest of Great-Britain, seems, indeed, to have been perfectly similar. There was scarce any other difference, than that Great-Britain, in consequence of her successes, since that time acquired more than she then demanded; but still the general idea, on which she acquired, was nearly or altogether the same. But, with regard to some of our allies, the principle was greatly varied; and this change, we imagine, was sufficiently justified by the alteration which had happened in the affairs of Germany, during the interval between the two treaties. Those who conducted the negociation in 1761, were steady in rejecting every proposition, in which they were not left at liberty to aid the king of Prussia with the whole force of Great-Britain: those who concluded the peace in 1762, paid less attention to the interests, though they did not wholly neglect the safety, of that monarch. At the beginning of the year, and before they had entered into this negociation, they refused, as I

have observed, to renew that article of the annual treaty, by which our court had engaged to conclude no peace without the consent of his Prussian majesty; though, at the same time, they declared themselves willing to assist him with the annual subsidy. He, on his part, refused the subsidy, unconnected with that article. Some coldness grew between the two courts from this time forward.

The preliminaries of the peace, which were now pretty well known, were subjected to a severe scrutiny; and many plausible arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. It was urged, on the one hand, that, in this treaty, we had lost sight of that great fundamental article, that France is chiefly, if not solely, to be dreaded in the light of a maritime and commercial power: that, therefore, we had, by restoring to her all her valuable West-Indian islands, and by our concessions in the Newfoundland fishery, left in her hands the means of recovering her prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable to us at sea: that the fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of young seamen; and that the West-Indian trade employed them when they were trained: that France had, long since, gained a decided superiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and supplied almost all Europe with the rich commodities which are produced only in this part of the world: that, by this commerce, she enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances; whilst, from a want of sugar land, which had been long known, and severely felt, by England, we at once lost the foreign trade, and suffered all the inconveniencies of a monopoly at home: that, at the close of so expensive a war, we might very reasonably demand something towards our indemnification, as well as towards our security: that it was evident, that our conquests in North-America, however they might provide for the one, were altogether inadequate to the other of these ends: that the state of the present trade of these conquests was extremely low; the hopes of their future commerce were precarious; and the prospect, at best, very remote: that we stood in need of supplies which would have an effect, certain, speedy, and considerable: that the retaining both or even one of the considerable French islands, Martinico or Guadaloupe, would, and nothing else could, effectually answer this triple purpose: that the advantage was immediate; it was a matter, not of conjecture, but of account: that the trade with these conquests, was of the most lucrative nature, and of the most considerable extent; the number of ships employed in it were a great addition to our maritime power; the monopoly at home was corrected, and the foreign trade recovered; and, what was of equal weight, all that we gained on this system, was made fourfold to us, by the loss which ensued to France; but our conquests in North-America, however advantageous they might prove to us, with regard to the security of our settlements (for in that respect alone, they were of any moment) were of little detriment to the commerce of France; on the West-Indian scheme of acquisition, our gain and her loss were in exact proportion: that the connection of this trade with that of our colonies in North-America, and with our commerce to the

coast of Africa, was obvious at first sight: that the African trade would be augmented by the demand for slaves; that of North-America would all center in ourselves; whereas, if the islands were all restored, a great part of the benefit of the northern colony trade must redound, as it had hitherto done, to those who had been lately our enemies, and would always be our rivals: that there was nothing extravagant or overbearing in this demand: that, though we should retain either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both these islands, our conquests were such, that there would still be abundant matter left to display our moderation in the cession of the rest; to say nothing of our many concessions in the fishery, on the coast of Africa, and in the East-Indies, of all which great branches of commerce the French had been intirely dispossessed in this war, and to a considerable share of which they would be restored by the treaty: that if further concessions be made (for which, however, there appeared no necessity) the demand in North-America might be somewhat contracted: that, by this method, we should lose nothing to our commerce; nor should we, in the least, hazard our security; as we should still be infinitely superior in strength; and whenever a war broke out, that power would be most secure, whose resources were most considerable.

It was alledged, on the other hand, that the original object of the war was the security of our colonies on the continent; that the danger to which these colonies were exposed, and, in consequence of that danger, the immense waste of blood and treasure which ensued to Great-Britain, together with the calamities, which were, from the same source, derived upon the four quarters of the world, left no sort of doubt, that it was not only our best, but our only policy, to guard against all possibility of the return of such evils: that experience had shewn us, that while France possessed any single place in America, from whence she might molest our settlements, they could never enjoy any repose, and, of course, that we were never secure from being plunged again into those calamities, from which we had, at length, and with so much difficulty, happily emerged: that to remove France from our neighbourhood in America, or to contract her power within the narrowest limits possible, was therefore the most capital advantage we could obtain, and was worth purchasing almost by any concessions: that the absolute security derived from this plan, included in itself an indemnification; first, by saving us, more effectually than any other method could, from the necessity of another war, and consequently by giving us an opportunity of increasing our trade, and lowering our debt, secondly, by permitting our colonies on the continent to extend themselves, without danger or molestation: that the great increase of population in those colonies, within a few years, was notorious; and that their trade with the mother country had uniformly increased with this population: that being now freed from the molestation of enemies, and the emulation of rivals, unlimited in their possessions, and safe in their persons, our American planters would, by the very course of their natural propagation, in a very short time, furnish out a demand of our manufactures, as large as all the working hands of Great-

Britain could possibly supply: that there was therefore no reason to dread that want of trade which was supposed to be approaching; since North-America alone would supply the deficiencies of our trade in every other part of the world: that the great variety of climates, which that country contained, was a circumstance of the most promising nature, and would be productive of the most beneficial effects on trade and commerce: that the value of our conquests, therefore, ought not to be estimated by their present produce, but by their probable increase; nor, indeed, ought the value of any country to be solely determined by its commercial advantages: that extent of territory, and a number of subjects, are matters of as much consideration to a state attentive to the sources of real grandeur, as the mere advantages of traffic; the latter ideas being rather suitable to a limited and petty commonwealth, like Holland, than to a great, powerful, and warlike nation: that, on these principles, having made very large demands in North-America, it was necessary to relax in other parts: that France could never be brought to any considerable cession in the West-Indies; but that her power and increase there could never become formidable, inasmuch as the existence of her settlements depended upon ours in North-America, she not being any longer left a place, from whence they can be supplied with provisions: that, in losing something of the sugar-trade, we lost very little else than a luxury; and that as to the other produce of the West-Indies, it might be, in a great measure, and in part was already supplied by our possessions on the continent, which daily increased not only in the quantity but in the kind of its produce.—I shall not pretend to pass any judgment on the merits of the several sides of this question, which is certainly a very difficult one. I only relate opinions, as well as facts, historically.

While this treaty remained upon the carper, it formed a great crisis, as well in the fortune of the new ministry, as in the affairs of the nation. Towards the latter end of the summer, Mr. F— was called in, and engaged in their support. Though he continued in his old place of pay-master, he undertook to conduct the affairs of government in the house of commons. Mr. Gr—, whose office would naturally have engaged him in that task, resigned the seals of secretary of state, and was appointed first lord of the admiralty. The great experience and known parliamentary abilities of Mr. F— seemed to give new life to the affairs of the administration. A more vigorous and determined conduct was from that time adopted. Many of those, who were not perfectly attached to the new system, were immediately removed from their places; and measures were taken to clear every department of every friend of the D. of N—.

On the twenty-fifth day of November, the parliament being assembled, his majesty harangued them from the throne. He observed, that the late war with Spain, and the attack of his ally, the king of Portugal, having greatly affected the commerce of his subjects, multiplied the objects of his military operations, and added to the heavy burthens of his people; he had willingly embraced an occasion that offered of renewing the negotiation for peace. He gave them to understand, that the

pre-

preliminary articles were actually signed: that, by the conditions in which all parties had acquiesced, an immense territory was added to the empire of Great-Britain; and a solid foundation laid for the increase of commerce; that care had been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes; that the king of Portugal was secured in all his dominions; and that all the territories of his German allies were evacuated by the troops of France. He lamented that a great number of his subjects had been lost in different parts of the world; a consideration which reinforced the other reasons he had to engage in the negotiation; and that he had hastened the conclusion of it, to prevent the necessity of making preparations for another campaign. He desired the commons to consider of such methods in the settlement of the new acquisitions, as should most effectually tend to the security of those countries, and to the improvement of the British trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention, his gallant subjects by whose valour those acquisitions were made. He observed, that union at home was peculiarly necessary to lay the foundation of that œconomy which they owed to themselves and their posterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the necessities of a long expensive war.

In answer to this speech, addressees were presented as usual by both houses containing general compliments of congratulation on the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales*; next day a cessation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were given for opening again all the channels of communication with France and Spain. When the upper house took the articles of the peace into consideration, many objections were made by the lords in the opposition; and some severe reflections were thrown out against the earl of B—te, with appearance of heat and personal animosity. That nobleman defended his own conduct with temper and decorum, in a well connected speech delivered with great propriety, to the surprise of many, who did not think him so well qualified in the art and faculty of elocution. He gave a detail of the negotiation; and not only owned himself a warm promoter of the peace, but even expressed a desire that this circumstance should be engraved upon his tomb. He was seconded by the earl of Halifax, and supported by a great majority.

The same good fortune attended the administration in the other house, where the opposition made its appearance in a number that was by no means formidable. Mr. P—tt, though in his health greatly indisposed, resolved to disapprove the peace in person. He came into the house, supported on the arms of his friends, and obtained of the speaker permission to harangue sitting. In this attitude he spoke above two hours without intermission. The scope of his speech was to justify his own conduct in the administration; and to give his opinion of the separate articles of the peace, which upon the whole, he condemned as inadequate to the success of the British arms. The mayor of London spoke on the same side, without making much im-

pression; and both houses agreed upon addressees of approbation; which were presented accordingly. The definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on the tenth day of February, was couched in these terms:

The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same Day.

In the Name of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those to whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong.

“It has pleased the Most High to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having arisen between England and France, during the reign of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Second, by the Grace of God, king of Great-Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, successor, and, in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal: consequently, the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch-Treasurer, and Elector, of the Holy Roman Empire; the most serene and most potent prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the Grace of God, the most Christian King; and the most serene and most potent prince, Charles the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries, signed at Fountainbleau the third of November last; and the most serene and most potent prince, Don Joseph the First, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to complete without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, viz. his Sacred Majesty the King of Great-Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord John Duke and Earl of Bedford, marquis of Tavistock, &c. his minister of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty: his Sacred Majesty the Most Christian King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Cæsar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin, peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies, and of the province of Brittany, Counsellor of all his Councils, and Minister and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred

* He was born on the 12th of August, and baptized on the 12th of September by the archbishop of Canterbury, and named George Augustus Frederick.

Majesty the Catholick King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the most Christian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majesty's Bed-chamber in employment, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his most Christian Majesty: his Sacred Majesty the Most Faithful King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the Order of Christ, of his Most Faithful Majesty's Council, and his Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to his most Christian Majesty.

"Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

"Art. I. There shall be a christian, universal and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, vassals, and subjects, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exceptions of places, or of persons: so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence, whatsoever; and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or since, the commencement of the war which is just ended.

"Art. II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the two crowns of Great-Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryswyck of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crown of Great-Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1716; and that of the 11th of April 1713; between France and Portugal with the guarantees of Great-Britain; serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and the present treaty: and for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word; so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides,

in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty; notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

"Art. III. All the prisoners made on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other: and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant-vessels, which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored bona fide, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

"Art. IV. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia in all its parts; and guarantees the whole of it, and with it all its dependencies, to the King of Great-Britain: moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the Most Christian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great-Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, consequently, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided

vided it be to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

“ V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence): and his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great-Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

“ Art. VI. The King of Great-Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his Most Christian Majesty, to serve as shelter to the French fishermen: and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

“ Art. VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great-Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther stipulated, that the vessels

belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

“ Art. VIII. The King of Great-Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms; provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only, all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his Most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

“ Art. IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada: and the partition of the islands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great-Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

“ Art. X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Most Christian Majesty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great-Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam;

and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

“ Art. XI. In the East-Indies, Great-Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions to the acquisition which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great-Britain, in the East-Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanouly in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages further not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one side or on the other, during the war.

“ Art. XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the said island and the said fort were taken.

“ Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great-Britain.

“ Art. XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or shall be occupied by his Most Christian Majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight, and metal.

“ Art. XV. In case the stipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, should not be completed at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their

respective sovereigns: their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties promise to proceed, bona fide, with all the dispatch the case will permit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner if it can be done: and their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties further engage and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours, of any kind, to their respective allies who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

“ Art. XVI. The decision of the prizes made in time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great-Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

“ Art. XVII. His Britannick Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and his Catholick Majesty shall not permit his Britannick Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away, logwood: and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholick Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages, and powers, on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

“ Art. XVIII. His Catholick Majesty desists, as well for himself as for his successors, from all pretensions which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

“ Art. XIX. The King of Great-Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havanna; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms; provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecution: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons

persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions are not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places, and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

“ Art. XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North-America, to the east or to the south-east of the river Mississippi, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which the Catholick King, and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit: his Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholick Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

“ Art. XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his most Faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery, and ammunition, which were found there: and with

regard to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, or in the East-Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which subsisted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

“ Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be respectively and bona fide, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

“ Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

“ Art. XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Great-Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great-Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great-Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: and according to the conditions of the VIth article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The factories in the East-Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The fortrefs of the Havanna, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done: and, at the same time, Great-Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his Most Faithful Majesty in Europe, shall be restored imme-

immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West-Indies, and of six months in the East-Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

“ Art. XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guaranteed by the present treaty of peace.

“ Art. XXVI. Their Sacred Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe, sincerely and bona fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

“ Art. XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

“ In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.”

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.) EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. **S**OME of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in their full powers and other acts, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, That no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted on either side, on occasion of the said negotiation and of the present treaty, shall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, That the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform themselves, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are used, and have a right, to

give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the present treaty having still the same force and effect, as if the afore-said custom had been therein observed.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not signed the present definitive treaty, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, acknowledge, nevertheless, that his Most Faithful Majesty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expressly signed the said treaty; consequently, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, respectively and conjointly, promise to his Most Faithful Majesty, in the most express and most binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauses contained in the said treaty, on his act of accession.

The present separate articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty.

Declaration of his Most Christian Majesty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great-Britain having desired, that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills which have been delivered to the Canadians for the necessaries furnished to the French troops, should be secured, his Most Christian Majesty, entirely disposed to render to every one that justice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the said bills and letters of exchange shall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the distance of the places, and to what shall be possible; taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French subjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange which are in the possession of the new subjects of the King of Great-Britain.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister of his Most Christian Majesty, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February 1763.

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.)

Declaration of his Britannick Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the East-Indies.

WE the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of Great-Britain, in order to prevent all subject of dispute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coast of Coromandel, and Orixá, declare, in the name, and by order of his said Britannick Majesty, that the said dominions of the Subah of Bengal shall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon exclusively, and that Yanaon shall be considered as included in the north part of the coast of Coromandel or Orixá.

In witness whereof, &c.

Done at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.)

The

The reader will, at one glance, perceive that these terms are more advantageous to Great-Britain and her allies, than those which were agreed to by the late minister. He must determine for himself, whether they were such as she ought to have insisted upon, in consequence of her additional successes. Certainly they were more favourable for France and Spain, than those powers could have reasonably expected to enjoy, after the losses they had sustained. It must be acknowledged that Great-Britain, by extending the frontiers of Canada to the middle of the Mississippi, gained a large tract of fertile country lying on the banks of that river, besides the advantage of a free navigation upon it, and the possession of the port of Mobile: but, in order to secure the English American colonies from all possibility of disturbance from the French, that restless nation ought to have been expelled from New Orleans, and the whole country of Louisiana; for, while they remain in this settlement, at liberty to penetrate by the river to the remote tribes of Indians, they will still maintain their influence among those savages: they will supply them with necessaries, consequently weaken their dependence upon the English; and employ their arts of insinuation upon them so effectually, as to have it always in their power to hunt them upon the defenceless back-settlements of the British colonists. It does not appear that the British ministry were well acquainted with the importance of this article.

England, by this peace, likewise gained an accession, in France's ceding to her the island of Grenada, which, when fully cultivated and peopled, may be of some consequence. She moreover acquired the unsettled islands of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent; but yielded to France the island of St. Lucie, said to be worth all the rest. She retains the settlement of Senegal on the coast of Africa, by which she engrosses the whole gum trade of that country; as for the rock of Goree, which she restored, it was no great sacrifice. The article that relates to the East-Indies, was dictated by the directors of the English company; and surely the French have no reason to complain of its severity, as it restores them to the possession of all the places they had at the beginning of the war, on condition that they shall maintain neither forts nor forces in the kingdom of Bengal; thus they will enjoy all their former advantages in trade, without the temptation and expence of forming schemes of conquest and dominion.

As the treaty makes no mention of the ships taken from the subjects of France before the declaration of war, in all probability, the king of Great-Britain agreed that their owners should be indemnified; a concession which barely atones for a measure which (whatever may have been alledged in its justification) will always be considered by the candid and impartial, as an act of violence and rapine, that strikes at the very root of the law of nations, which, for the interests of humanity in general, ought to be held sacred, even amidst the warmest transports of animosity and resentment.

The liberty of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, granted to the subjects of Great-Britain, was undoubtedly a great point gained in their favour; but their obliging themselves to demolish their fortifications on that coast, was a tacit acknow-

ledgement that the privilege was not founded upon right, but derived from favour. His catholic majesty's renouncing all pretensions in favour of his subjects, to the right of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland, was a puny sacrifice, something in appearance, but nothing in reality: for the claim was almost as obsolete as that of the English monarch to the dominions of France. The cession of Florida, with the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, to Great-Britain, was an object of much greater importance. It extended the British dominions along the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi. It removed an asylum for the slaves of the English colonies, who were continually making their escape to St. Augustine. It deprived the Spaniards of an easy avenue, through which they had it in their power to invade Georgia and Carolina; it afforded a large extent of improveable territory, a strong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade, and annoyance of the Spaniards in any future contest. But neither the cession of Florida, nor the renunciation of the right to the fishery, nor the permission granted to the English logwood cutters, nor the evacuation of Portugal, nor all these articles together, can ever be esteemed equivalent to the restitution of the Havanna; for which, indeed, the Spanish monarch had no suitable compensation to make, without dismembering his kingdom, unless he had thrown into the scale with his other concessions, that of a free navigation, without search, to the British traders on the coast of New Spain. This was an advantage with which the people of England flattered their own imaginations: but it was a privilege which the court of Madrid could not grant, without opening the avenues of a contraband trade between the English and Spanish creoles, which would have been fatal to the commerce of Old Spain: because, in that case, his catholic majesty's American subjects would have supplied themselves at the first hand, with European commodities, from the trading ships of Great-Britain; and great part of the wealth of that country would have been conveyed immediately to England.

The crown of Spain was much favoured by the article which stipulates, that the conquests not included in the treaty either as cessions or restitutions, should be restored without compensation. Neither France nor Spain had any armament on foot, from which they could expect the least acquisition or success; whereas the ministry of England had great reason to believe that the island of Luconia was already reduced.

On the whole, the treaty, tho' perhaps it might have been more favourable in some articles, certainly confirmed great and solid advantages to Great-Britain; and will remain as an eternal monument of that moderation which forms the most amiable flower in the wreath of conquest.

France and England, having mutually withdrawn themselves from the war in Germany, the courts of Vienna and Berlin began to think in earnest of an accommodation. The empress-queen had but little hopes of prevailing, by her own strength alone, against a prince who had so long withstood the joint efforts of so many powerful confederates. On the other hand, the king of Prussia had no more subsidies to expect from Great-Britain, and little more to gain by contribution and

compulsion in the provinces of Germany, which he had already, in a great measure, depopulated and impoverished. Perhaps he was sick of a war, which, in spite of all his activity and success, had exposed him to incredible fatigue, and repeated mortification. Both parties having expressed a desire of peace, conferences were opened at Hubertsburg, by the Austrian, Prussian, and Polish plenipotentiaries; and the articles were, in a little time, adjusted. The treaties of pacification between these powers imported, that the troops on all sides should be withdrawn from the countries which had been invaded and possessed in the course of the war; that peace should be re-established on the footing of

former treaties, and each party sit down quietly with the loss it had sustained.

Such was the issue of a war, sanguinary beyond example, which had raged with uncommon fury in the four quarters of the globe; which had ruined many fair provinces; and, in the space of seven years, destroyed above a million of lives; which had cost Great-Britain, in particular, above two hundred and eighty thousand men, including a great number of brave and able officers, with an incredible quantity of treasure; and increased the burthen of her national debt, from fourscore, to one hundred and thirty millions sterling.

Of the State of Commerce, Learning, Agriculture, &c. from the Revolution to the Conclusion of the Peace in 1763.

C O M M E R C E.

THE commerce of Great Britain continued to increase during the whole course of this period; nor was this increase the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the necessities of government, the growing expences of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legislature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impositions; its increase, therefore, must have been owing to the natural progress of industry and adventure, extending themselves to that farthest line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance: when the tide of traffick has flowed to its highest mark, it will then begin to recede in a gradual ebb, until it is shrunk within the narrow limits of its original channel. War, which naturally impedes the traffick of other nations, has opened new sources to the merchants of Great Britain: the superiority of her naval power hath crushed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce; so that she supplies, on her own terms, all those foreign markets at which in time of peace she was undersold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade is augmented to a surprizing pitch; and this great augmentation alone has enabled her to maintain the war at such an enormous expence. Foreign nations will doubtless be surprized to learn, that above eight thousand ships are employed by the traders of Great Britain; and that the produce of the sinking fund, which is the overplus produced by all the different funds appropriated to defray the interest of the national debt, exceeds annually three millions sterling.

The following account of the trade to the East Indies, from a person who is far from being prejudiced in favour of the company, may possibly convey a juster idea of the nature and extent of the company's commerce than any thing hitherto said on this subject. The errors found in it will I hope be imputed to the true author, who has not thought proper to oblige the world with his name, or rather to the nature of the thing, in itself sufficiently dark and intricate, and besides most care-

fully hid from the eyes of the vulgar. His authorities however seem to be sufficiently solid, being chiefly the public accounts of the company's sales and other transactions, at least so far as regards his own plan, which was to represent this corporation as an institution highly prejudicial to the trade and commerce of Great Britain.

This traffic, says my author, employs yearly seventeen sail of fine capital ships, each of the burden of five hundred tons, by the company's account, mounting thirty guns, and manned with one hundred mariners. He then proceeds to give his readers the

Account or Invoice of the Exports to India.

1442 tons iron at 15 l.	£ 21630 0 0
610 . . ordnance and wrought iron at 50 l.	30500 0 0
450 . . steel at 50 l.	22500 0 0
180 . . nails at 25 l.	4500 0 0
895 . . lead at 17 l.	15215 0 0
800 . . cordage at 40 l.	32000 0 0
550 . . stores at	305000 0 0
260 . . brass, copper, pewter, at 100 l.	26000 0 0
100 . . gunpowder at 80 l.	8000 0 0
32 . . quicksilver at 300 l.	9600 0 0
18175 woollen cloths at	110000 0 0
23220 stuffs at	50000 0 0
37469 perpets at	40000 0 0
3000 doz. hose at	3000 0 0
11076 oz. gold in coin or bullion at 3 l. 18 s. per oz.	43196 8 0

Note, the quantity of gold exported in the year 1754, amounted to 38092 oz. in coin, and 2977 oz. in bullion.

2991251 oz. silver at 5s. 3d. per oz. 785203 7 9

The quantity exported the year following 1754, was 2,327,329 oz. in coin and bullion.

Total amount of cargoes outwards 1,503344 15 9

Note, there were no more than fourteen ships cleared outwards this year, and that the above quantity of gold and silver bullion is exclusive of what is carried out by private traders, both in foreign and British coin, whereof it is impossible to fix or ascertain the value.

Follows the account or invoice of goods imported from India, with the value sold for at the public sales.

Piece-goods of the Ships		
Wager, Prince of Wales, and		
Exeter, sold at	£ 250000	0 0
Scarborough	225000	0 0
Houghton, exclusive of tea and filk	10000	0 0
Admiral Vernon	175000	0 0
Edgcote, besides tea	10000	0 0
Drake and Rhoda, besides weigh- able goods	15000	0 0
Prince George and Streatham, do.	9000	0 0
Chesterfield	240000	0 0
Pelham	85000	0 0
Bombay-Castle	215000	0 0
Oxford	195000	0 0
Hector, besides 500 tons pepper .	50000	0 0
Dorrington	194000	0 0
Seventeen ships, whose cargoes in piece-goods amount to .	1,673000	0 0
These ships do also bring home, 3253900 lb. tea, which at 4s. per lb. gross price at the sales		
2000000 lb. pepper at 1s ditto .	100000	0 0
1141000 lb. coffee at 1s. 6d. .	85575	0 0
203850 lb. raw filk at 20s. do. .	203850	0 0
900 tons salt petre at 7ol. per ton, ditto.	63000	0 0
253 tons red-wood at 3ol. ditto	7500	0 0
600 chefts china ware and drugs, ditto	99600	0 0
Total inwards	£. 2,875000	0 0

From which take off custom, charges, and discount, viz.

	Custom.	
	Value	pay per cent.
	£.	£.
Calicoes	1,250,000	38 $\frac{1}{4}$ 478125
Prohibited goods	400,000	2 8000
Tea	65,000	19 123500
Pepper	100,000	4 4000
Silk raw	200,000	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ 25000
Coffee	85,000	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ 20500
Salt-petre	90,000	10 6000
Red-wood	5,000	10 500
China ware and drugs	100,000	30 30000
Valuation	2,850,000	tot. duties 695625

Charges	
	£
Freight on 8500 tons shipping at 1ol.	85,000
Wages and provisions for 1700 men, at 5l. per month	204,000
Carried up	289,000

Brought up	£ 289,000
Interest on bonds, 2 years, at 3l. per cent.	90,090
Directors, clerks, &c. 10,000l. per annum	20,000
Warehouses, cost 100,000. at 8 per cent	16,000
Shipping and landing of 8500 tons . .	8,500
Total of charges	423,500
Discount.	
On 2,875,000l. at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. . .	186,875
Total of Custom, charges, and dis- count to be taken off	1,306,000
Net proceeds do not exceed	£. 1,569,000

My author takes notice, that the cargoes of seventeen ships are here allowed to be returned, whereas no more than fourteen were actually loaded outwards; he had before observed, that the manufactures in brass, copper, iron, pewter, and other materials, did not exceed the value of 300,000l. He likewise omits to charge any thing for insurance. There is moreover 5 per cent. allowed over the real prices at the candle, amounting as he says (by way of irony probably) to the small sum of 140,000l. All which particulars he says, will serve to answer all objections against his system. He then states the account of profit and loss on a voyage to India, thus,

Account of profit and loss on a voyage to India.

Dr.	
1753. To the cost of 17 cargoes bought in England as per in- voices	£. 1,503,344 15 9
1754. To profit and loss for advance	65,655 4 3
	£. 1,569,000 0 0
Cr.	
1754. By net proceeds of 17 cargoes sold in England as per ac- count of sales	£. 1,569,000 0 0

Then follows capital stock account.

Dr.	
To sundry accounts for two years dividends due on 3,200,000l. at 8 per cent. per. ann.	£. 512000 0 0
Cr.	
By voyage to India gained thereby	£. 65655 4 3
By government securities for two years interest on 3,200,000l. lent them at three per cent.	192000 0 0
By profit and loss, for loss on capital	254344 15 9
	£. 512000 0 0

Follows

Follows the account of Indian goods sold to and paid for by foreigners.

578400 callicoës at 13s. 4d. being one third above the custom house valuation, which at 10s. only, the utmost price on board . . . £. 395600 0 0

Prohibited goods.

50 allejars
3800 bandannoes
500 brawls
550 byrampauts
850 blue long cloths
7000 chints
2400 chelloes
1400 carridarries
400 cherconnees
650 chilaes
55 callawapore
200 gorgoroon
900 Guinea stuffs
2650 nillaes
300 niccanees
50 neganepauts
1500 photees
100 paduafoys
100 poisees
100 palampores
41000 romals
10500 fooseys
200 sekterfoy romals
1000 taffaties
1200 sastracundies,
and others, valued at £. 72750 0 0
Carried up 468350 0 0

Brought up £. 468350 0 0

Weighable goods.

1850000 lb. pepper, at 1s. £. 92500 0 0
700000 lb. coffee, at 1s. 3d. 43750 0 0
All other goods, as cowries, arranges, shell-lack, turmeric, cardamoms, &c. &c. at . . . 45400 0 0

Total value at price free on board, 650000 0 0

Note. The above goods, all of them bought up at ready money by English private merchants, to be by them exported, are over-rated (according to my author) little less than 100000 l.

This detail is closed by stating the national account of a voyage to India.

Dr.

To the export of woollen manufactures . . . £. 200000 0 0
To ditto of copper, brass, and iron ditto . . . 100000 0 0
To ditto of lead, iron and stores 374945 0 0
To ditto of silver and gold bullion 828399 15 9
To two years interest on 1,500000l. 90000 0 0
£. 1,593344 15 9

Cr.

By commodities re-exported . £. 650000 0 0
By useful imports . . . 283344 15 9
By national loss for bullion exported without one valuable return 660000 0 0
£. 1,593344 15 9

LEARNING, LEARNED MEN, &c.

THE powers of the human mind were freely and fully exercised in this period. Considerable progress was made in mathematics and astronomy by divers individuals; among whom we number Newton, Halley, Wallis, Barrow, Flamsteed, Hudson, Sanderfon, Bradley, Maclaurin, Smith, and the two Simpsens.

Natural philosophy became a general study, and the new doctrine of electricity grew into fashion. Different methods were discovered for rendering sea-water potable and sweet; and divers useful hints were communicated to the publick by the learned doctor Stephen Hale, who directed all his researches and experiments to the benefit of society. The study of alchemy no longer prevailed; but the art of chemistry was perfectly understood, and assiduously applied to the purposes of sophistication.

The clergy of Great Britain were generally learned, pious, and exemplary. Atterbury, Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, and Conybeare, were promoted to the first dignities of the church. Warburton, who had long signalized himself by the strength and boldness of his genius, his extensive capacity, and profound erudition, at length obtained the mitre. But these promotions were granted to reasons of state convenience, and personal interest, rather than as rewards of extraordinary merit. Many other ecclesiastics of worth and learning were totally overlooked. Nor was ecclesiastical merit con-

fined to the established church. Many instances of extraordinary genius, unaffected piety, and universal moderation, appeared among the dissenting ministers of Great Britain and Ireland: among these we particularize the elegant, the primitive Foster; the learned, ingenious, and penetrating Leland.

The progress of reason, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not however entirely banished those ridiculous sects and schisms of which the kingdom had been formerly so productive. Imposture and fanaticism still hung upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusions of a superstition stiled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity, and maintained by pretensions to divine illumination. Many thousands in the lower ranks of life were infected with this species of enthusiasm, by the unwearied endeavours of a few obscure preachers; who propagated their doctrines to the most remote corners of the British dominions, and found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution.

Fanaticism also formed a league with false philosophy. One Hutchinson, a visionary, intoxicated with the fumes of Rabbinical learning, pretended to deduce all demonstration from Hebrew roots, and to confine all human knowledge to the five books of Moses. His disciples became numerous after his death. With the Methodists, they denied the merit of good works; and bitterly inveighed against Newton as an ignorant pretender, who had presumed

presumed to set up his own ridiculous chimæras in opposition to the sacred philosophy of the Pentateuch. But the most extraordinary sect which distinguished this reign was that of the Moravians, or *Hernhutters*, imported from Germany by count *Zinzendorf*, who might have been termed the *Melchizedec* of his followers, inasmuch as he assumed among them the three-fold character of prophet, priest, and king. They could not be so properly styled a sect as the disciples of an original, who had invented a new system of religion. Their chief adoration was paid to the Second Person in the Trinity: the First they treated with the most shocking neglect. Some of their tenets were indecent, and others ridiculously absurd. Their discipline was a strange mixture of devotion and impurity. Their exterior worship consisted of hymns, prayers, and sermons: the hymns extremely ludicrous, and often indecent, alluding to the side hole or wound which Christ received from a spear in his side, while he remained upon the cross. Their sermons frequently contained very gross incentives to the work of propagation. Their private exercises are said to have abounded with such rites and mysteries as we cannot explain, with any regard to decorum. They professed a community of goods; and were governed as one family, in temporals as well as spirituals, by a council, or kind of presbytery, in which the count, as their ordinary, presided. In cases of doubt, or great consequence, these pretended to consult the Saviour, and to decide from immediate inspiration; so that they boasted of being under the immediate direction of a Theocracy; though, in fact, they were slaves to the most dangerous kind of despotism: for as often as any individual of the community presumed to think for himself, or differ in opinion from the ordinary and his band of associates, the oracle decreed, that he should be instantly sent upon the mission which they had fixed in Greenland, or to the colony they had established in Pennsylvania. As the religionists consisted chiefly of manufacturers, who appeared very sober, orderly, and industrious; and their chief declared his intention of prosecuting works of public emolument, they obtained a settlement under a parliamentary sanction in England, where they soon made a considerable number of proselytes, before their principles were fully discovered and explained.

Many ingenious treatises on metaphysics and morality appeared in the course of this period; and a philosophical spirit of enquiry diffused itself to the farthest extremities of the united kingdom. Though few discoveries of importance were made in medicine, yet that art was well understood in all its different branches; and many of its professors distinguished themselves in other provinces of literature. Besides the *Medical Essays* of London and Edinburgh, the physician's library was enriched with many useful modern productions; with the works of the classical *Freind*, the elegant *Mead*, the accurate *Huxham*, and the philosophical *Pringle*. The art of midwifery was elucidated by science, reduced to fixed principles, and almost wholly consigned into the hands of men practitioners. The researches of anatomy were prosecuted to some curious discoveries by the ingenuity and dexterity of a *Hunter* and a *Monro*. The numerous hospitals in London contributed to the improvement of surgery, which was brought

to perfection under the auspices of a *Cheselden* and a *Sharpe*. The advantages of agriculture, which had long flourished in England, extended themselves gradually to the most remote and barren provinces of the island.

The respectable patriots that form the Society established at London, have already done considerable service to their country, and will, it is hoped, still do more: a considerable number of machines having already been sent them, in consequence of their large premiums and bounties.

The mechanic powers were well understood, and judiciously applied to many useful machines of necessity and convenience. The mechanical arts had attained to all that perfection which they were capable of acquiring; but the avarice and oppression of contractors, obliged the handicraftsman to exert his ingenuity, not in finishing his work well, but in affording it cheap; in purchasing bad materials, and performing his task in a hurry; in concealing flaws, substituting shew for solidity, and sacrificing reputation to the thirst of lucre. Thus many of the English manufactures, being found slight and unserviceable, grew into discredit abroad; thus the art of producing them more perfect, may in time be totally lost at home. The cloths now made in England, are inferior in texture and fabric to those which were manufactured in the beginning of the century; and the same judgment may be pronounced upon almost every article of hardware. The razors, knives, scissars, hatchets, swords, and other edge utensils, prepared for exportation, are generally ill-tempered, half-finished, flawed or brittle; and the musquets, which are sold for seven or eight shillings a-piece to the exporter, so carelessly and unconscientiously prepared, they cannot be used without imminent danger of mutilation; accordingly one hardly meets with a negro man upon the coast of Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, who has not been wounded or maimed in some member by the bursting of the English fire-arms. The advantages of this traffic, carried on at the expence of character and humanity, will naturally cease whenever those Africans can be supplied more honestly by the traders of any other nation.

Genius in writings spontaneously arose, and though neglected by the great, flourished under the culture of a public which had pretensions to taste, and piqued itself on encouraging literary merit.

Among the poets of this æra may be numbered *John Philips*, author of a didactic poem called *Cyder*, a performance of real merit, though the author lived and died in obscurity: *William Congreve*, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance and regularity: *Vanburgh*, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with less art and precision: *Steele*, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the antient drama: *Fatquhar*, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogues: *Addison*, who was excelled by none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter: *Swift*, whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy. He was a Cynic rather than a poet; and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been displeasing, had not he qualified them by adopting the

extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais: Prior, lively, familiar and amusing: Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory: Dryden, elegant, nervous, and entertaining: Pope, the prince of Lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification: the agreeable Parnell; the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth: Gay, whose fables may vie with those of Le Fontaine, in nature, humour, ease, and simplicity; and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Young long survived a venerable monument of poetical talent. Thomson, the poet of the Seasons, displayed a luxuriancy of genius in describing the beauties of nature. Akenfide and Armstrong excelled in didactic poetry. Even the *Epopœa* did not disdain an English dress, but appeared to advantage in the *Leonidas* of Glover, and the *Epigoniad* of Wilkie. The public acknowledged a considerable share of dramatic merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home, and some other less distinguished authors. Besides these, great merit appeared in the detached performances of Johnson, Mason, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wartons, besides a great number of other bards who have sported in lyric poetry, and acquired the applause of their fellow citizens.

Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clark distinguished themselves in divinity: and Newton shone unrivalled in philosophy. John Locke, the great restorer of human reason, may be said to have invented metaphysics, as Newton invented physics. Berkley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety of reasoning and deduction.

Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher sphere of life, embellished by the nervous stile, superior sense, and extensive erudition of a Corke; by the delicate taste, the polished muse, and tender feelings of a Lyttleton. King shone unrivalled in Roman eloquence. Even the female sex distinguished themselves by their taste and ingenuity. Miss Carter rivalled the celebrated Dacier in learning and critical knowledge; and Mrs. Lennox signalized herself by many successful efforts of genius, both in poetry and prose. The genius of Cervantes was transfused into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters, and ridiculed the follies of life with equal strength, humour, and propriety. The field of history and biography was cultivated by many writers of ability, among whom we distinguish the copious Guthrie, the circumstantial Ralph, the laborious Carte, the learned and elegant Robertson, the ingenious and penetrating Smollet, the comprehensive and philosophical Hume. Nor let us forget the merit conspicuous in Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision. Johnson, inferior to none in philosophy, philology, poetry, and classical learning, stands foremost as an essayist, justly admired for the dignity, strength, and variety of his stile, as well as for the agreeable manner in which he investigates the human heart, tracing every interesting emotion, and opening all the sources of morality. The laudable aim of inlisting the passions on the side of virtue, was successfully pursued by Richardson, in his *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Grandison*; a species of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much superfluity and impertinence, we find a sublime system of ethics, and amazing knowledge, and command of human nature. Many of the Greek and Roman classics made their appearance in English transla-

tions, which were favourably received as works of merit; among these we place Homer by Pope, Lucan by Rowe, Virgil by Dryden, and another translation by Pitt and Warton, Horace by Francis, Polybius by Hampton, and Sophocles by Francklyn. The several wars introduced a variety of military treatises, chiefly translated from the French language; and a free country like Great Britain, will always abound with political tracts and lucubrations. Every literary production of merit calculated for amusement or instruction, that appeared in any country or language of Christendom, was immediately imported, and naturalized among the English people. Never was the pursuit after knowledge so universal, literary merit more regarded, than in this æra by the body of the British nation; but it was honoured by no attention from the throne, and little indulgence did it reap from the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of queen Anne was propitious to the fortunes of Swift and Pope, who lived in all the happy pride of independence. Young, sequestered from courts and preferment, possessed a moderate benefice in the country, employing his time in a conscientious discharge of his ecclesiastical functions. Thomson, with the most benevolent heart that ever warmed the human breast, maintained a perpetual war with the difficulties of a narrow fortune. He enjoyed a place in Chancery by the bounty of lord Talbot, of which he was divested by the succeeding chancellor. He afterwards enjoyed a small pension from Frederick, prince of Wales, which was withdrawn in the sequel. About two years before his death he obtained a comfortable place; but he did not live to taste the blessing of easy circumstances, and died in debt.

None of the rest, whom we have named, enjoyed any share of the royal bounty, except W. Whitehead, who succeeded to the place of laureat at the death of Cibber; and some of them, whose merit was the most universally acknowledged, remained exposed to all the storms of indigence, and all the stings of mortification.

While queen Caroline, consort to George II. lived, some countenance was given to learning. She conversed with Newton and Clarke, and corresponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity: the royal family, on certain days, dined in public for the satisfaction of the people: the court was animated with a freedom of spirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death that spirit began to languish; and a total stagnation of gaiety and good humour ensued. It was succeeded by a sullen calm, an ungracious reserve, and a still rotation of inspid forms, during the sequel of her husband's reign.

England was not defective in other arts that embellish and amuse. Musick became a fashionable study, and its professors generally caressed by the public. An Italian opera was maintained at a great expence, and well supplied with foreign performers. Private concerts were instituted in every corner of the metropolis. The compositions of Handel were universally admired, and he himself lived in affluence. It must be owned at the same time, that Geminiani was neglected, though his genius commanded esteem and veneration. Among the few natives of England who distinguished themselves by their talents in this art, Purcell, Green, Howard,

Howard, Arne, and Boyce, were the most remarkable.

The British soil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of painting, now produced some artists of extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the world in exhibiting the scenes of ordinary life; in humorous historical designs. Hudson, Reynolds, and Ramsay, distinguished themselves by their superior merit in portraits; a branch that was successfully cultivated by many other English painters. Wootton was famous for representing live animals in general; Seymour for race horses; Lambert, Willson, and the Smiths, for landscape; and Scot for sea pieces. Several spirited attempts were made on historical subjects; but little progress was made in the sublime parts of painting. Essays of this kind were discouraged by a false taste, founded upon a reprobation of British genius. The art of engraving was brought to perfection by Strange, and laudably practised by several other masters;

and great improvements were made in mezzotinto, miniature, and enamel. Many fair monuments of sculpture or statuary were raised by Ryssbrack, Roubilliac, and Wilton. Architecture, which had been cherished by the elegant taste of a Burlington, and a Wren, soon became a favourite study; and many magnificent edifices were reared in different parts of the kingdom. Ornaments were carved in wood, and moulded in stucco, with all the delicacy of execution; but a passion for novelty had introduced into gardening, building, and furniture, an absurd taste, equally void of beauty and convenience. Improvements in the liberal and useful arts, will doubtless be the consequence of that encouragement given to merit by the Society instituted for these purposes, which we have mentioned on another occasion. As for the Royal Society, it seems to have degenerated in its researches, and to have had very little share for half a century at least, in extending the influence of true philosophy.

TABLE of the SUCCESSION of the PRINCES of the several Kingdoms of EUROPE, with which ENGLAND hath the greatest Correspondence and Connection, from the Accession of King WILLIAM III. to the Year 1763.

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A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
	WILLIAM III. and MARY Stuart, } 1688						CHARLES XII. 1697	FREDERIC AUGUSTUS 1697		INNOCENT XII. 1691
JOSEPH 1705	ANNE 1702		PHILIP V. 1700		FREDERIC I. 1701	FREDERIC IV. 1699		STANISLAUS elected but did not possess, 1705		CLEMENT XI. 1700
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Majesty the Catholick King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the most Christian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majesty's Bed-chamber in employment, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his most Christian Majesty: his Sacred Majesty the Most Faithful King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the Order of Christ, of his Most Faithful Majesty's Council, and his Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to his most Christian Majesty.

"Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

"Art. I. There shall be a christian, universal and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, vassals, and subjects, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exceptions of places, or of persons: so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence, whatsoever; and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or since, the commencement of the war which is just ended.

"Art. II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the two crowns of Great-Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryfwyck of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crown of Great-Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1716; and that of the 11th of April 1713; between France and Portugal with the guarantees of Great-Britain; serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and the present treaty: and for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word; so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides,

in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty; notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

"Art. III. All the prisoners made on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other: and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant-vessels, which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored bona fide, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

"Art. IV. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia in all its parts; and guarantees the whole of it, and with it all its dependencies, to the King of Great-Britain: moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the Most Christian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great-Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, consequently, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided

vided it be to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

“ V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence): and his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great-Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

“ Art. VI. The King of Great-Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his Most Christian Majesty, to serve as shelter to the French fishermen: and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

“ Art. VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great-Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther stipulated, that the vessels

belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

“ Art. VIII. The King of Great-Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms; provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only, all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his Most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

“ Art. IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada: and the partition of the islands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great-Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

“ Art. X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Most Christian Majesty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great-Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam;

and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

“ Art. XI. In the East-Indies, Great-Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions to the acquisition which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great-Britain, in the East-Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanouilly in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages further not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jíng for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one side or on the other, during the war.

“ Art. XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the said island and the said fort were taken.

“ Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great-Britain.

“ Art. XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or shall be occupied by his Most Christian Majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight, and metal.

“ Art. XV. In case the stipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, should not be completed at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their

respective sovereigns: their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties promise to proceed, bona fide, with all the dispatch the case will permit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner if it can be done: and their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties further engage and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours, of any kind, to their respective allies who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

“ Art. XVI. The decision of the prizes made in time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great-Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

“ Art. XVII. His Britannick Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and his Catholick Majesty shall not permit his Britannick Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away, logwood: and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholick Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages, and powers, on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

“ Art. XVIII. His Catholick Majesty desists, as well for himself as for his successors, from all pretensions which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

“ Art. XIX. The King of Great-Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havanna; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms; provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecution: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons

persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions are not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places, and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

“ Art. XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North-America, to the east or to the south-east of the river Mississippi, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which the Catholick King, and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit: his Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholick Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

“ Art. XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his most Faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery, and ammunition, which were found there: and with

regard to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, or in the East-Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which subsisted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

“ Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be respectively and bona fide, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

“ Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

“ Art. XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIth and XIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Great-Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great-Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great-Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: and according to the conditions of the VIth article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The factories in the East-Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The fortress of the Havanna, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done: and, at the same time, Great-Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his Most Faithful Majesty in Europe, shall be restored imme-

immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West-Indies, and of six months in the East-Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

“ Art. XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guaranteed by the present treaty of peace.

“ Art. XXVI. Their Sacred Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe, sincerely and bona fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

“ Art. XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

“ In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.”

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.) EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. **S**OME of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in their full powers and other acts, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, That no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted on either side, on occasion of the said negotiation and of the present treaty, shall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, That the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform themselves, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are used, and have a right, to

give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the present treaty having still the same force and effect, as if the aforesaid custom had been therein observed.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not signed the present definitive treaty, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, acknowledge, nevertheless, that his Most Faithful Majesty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expressly signed the said treaty; consequently, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, respectively and conjointly, promise to his Most Faithful Majesty, in the most express and most binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauses contained in the said treaty, on his act of accession.

The present separate articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty.

Declaration of his Most Christian Majesty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great-Britain having desired, that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills which have been delivered to the Canadians for the necessaries furnished to the French troops, should be secured, his Most Christian Majesty, entirely disposed to render to every one that justice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the said bills and letters of exchange shall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the distance of the places, and to what shall be possible; taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French subjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange which are in the possession of the new subjects of the King of Great-Britain.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister of his Most Christian Majesty, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February 1763.

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.)

Declaration of his Britannick Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the East-Indies.

WE the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of Great-Britain, in order to prevent all subject of dispute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coast of Coromandel, and Orixá, declare, in the name, and by order of his said Britannick Majesty, that the said dominions of the Subah of Bengal shall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon exclusively, and that Yanaon shall be considered as included in the north part of the coast of Coromandel or Orixá.

In witness whereof, &c.

Done at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

The

The reader will, at one glance, perceive that these terms are more advantageous to Great Britain and her allies, than those which were agreed to by the late minister. He must determine for himself, whether they were such as she ought to have insisted upon, in consequence of her additional successes. Certainly they were more favourable for France and Spain, than those powers could have reasonably expected to enjoy, after the losses they had sustained. It must be acknowledged that Great-Britain, by extending the frontiers of Canada to the middle of the Mississippi, gained a large tract of fertile country lying on the banks of that river, besides the advantage of a free navigation upon it, and the possession of the port of Mobile: but, in order to secure the English American colonies from all possibility of disturbance from the French, that restless nation ought to have been expelled from New Orleans, and the whole country of Louisiana; for, while they remain in this settlement, at liberty to penetrate by the river to the remote tribes of Indians, they will still maintain their influence among those savages: they will supply them with necessaries, consequently weaken their dependence upon the English; and employ their arts of insinuation upon them so effectually, as to have it always in their power to hunt them upon the defenceless back-settlements of the British colonists. It does not appear that the British ministry were well acquainted with the importance of this article.

England, by this peace, likewise gained an accession, in France's ceding to her the island of Grenada, which, when fully cultivated and peopled, may be of some consequence. She moreover acquired the unsettled islands of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent; but yielded to France the island of St. Lucie, said to be worth all the rest. She retains the settlement of Senegal on the coast of Africa, by which she engrosses the whole gum trade of that country; as for the rock of Goree, which she restored, it was no great sacrifice. The article that relates to the East-Indies, was dictated by the directors of the English company; and surely the French have no reason to complain of its severity, as it restores them to the possession of all the places they had at the beginning of the war, on condition that they shall maintain neither forts nor forces in the kingdom of Bengal; thus they will enjoy all their former advantages in trade, without the temptation and expence of forming schemes of conquest and dominion.

As the treaty makes no mention of the ships taken from the subjects of France before the declaration of war, in all probability, the king of Great-Britain agreed that their owners should be indemnified; a concession which barely atones for a measure which (whatever may have been alledged in its justification) will always be considered by the candid and impartial, as an act of violence and rapine, that strikes at the very root of the law of nations, which, for the interests of humanity in general, ought to be held sacred, even amidst the warmest transports of animosity and resentment.

The liberty of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, granted to the subjects of Great-Britain, was undoubtedly a great point gained in their favour; but their obliging themselves to demolish their fortifications on that coast, was a tacit acknow-

ledgement that the privilege was not founded upon right, but derived from favour. His catholic majesty's renouncing all pretensions in favour of his subjects, to the right of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland, was a puny sacrifice, something in appearance, but nothing in reality: for the claim was almost as obsolete as that of the English monarch to the dominions of France. The cession of Florida, with the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, to Great-Britain, was an object of much greater importance. It extended the British dominions along the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi. It removed an asylum for the slaves of the English colonies, who were continually making their escape to St. Augustine. It deprived the Spaniards of an easy avenue, through which they had it in their power to invade Georgia and Carolina; it afforded a large extent of improveable territory, a strong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade, and annoyance of the Spaniards in any future contest. But neither the cession of Florida, nor the renunciation of the right to the fishery, nor the permission granted to the English logwood cutters, nor the evacuation of Portugal, nor all these articles together, can ever be esteemed equivalent to the restitution of the Havanna; for which, indeed, the Spanish monarch had no suitable compensation to make, without dismembring his kingdom, unless he had thrown into the scale with his other concessions, that of a free navigation, without search, to the British traders on the coast of New Spain. This was an advantage with which the people of England flattered their own imaginations: but it was a privilege which the court of Madrid could not grant, without opening the avenues of a contraband trade between the English and Spanish creoles, which would have been fatal to the commerce of Old Spain: because, in that case, his catholic majesty's American subjects would have supplied themselves at the first hand, with European commodities, from the trading ships of Great-Britain; and great part of the wealth of that country would have been conveyed immediately to England.

The crown of Spain was much favoured by the article which stipulates, that the conquests not included in the treaty either as cessions or restitutions, should be restored without compensation. Neither France nor Spain had any armament on foot, from which they could expect the least acquisition or success; whereas the ministry of England had great reason to believe that the island of Luconia was already reduced.

On the whole, the treaty, tho' perhaps it might have been more favourable in some articles, certainly confirmed great and solid advantages to Great-Britain; and will remain as an eternal monument of that moderation which forms the most amiable flower in the wreath of conquest.

France and England, having mutually withdrawn themselves from the war in Germany, the courts of Vienna and Berlin began to think in earnest of an accommodation. The empress-queen had but little hopes of prevailing, by her own strength alone, against a prince who had so long withstood the joint efforts of so many powerful confederates. On the other hand, the king of Prussia had no more subsidies to expect from Great-Britain, and little more to gain by contribution and

compulsion in the provinces of Germany, which he had already, in a great measure, depopulated and impoverished. Perhaps he was sick of a war, which, in spite of all his activity and success, had exposed him to incredible fatigue, and repeated mortification. Both parties having expressed a desire of peace, conferences were opened at Hubertsburg, by the Austrian, Prussian, and Polish plenipotentiaries; and the articles were, in a little time, adjusted. The treaties of pacification between these powers imported, that the troops on all sides should be withdrawn from the countries which had been invaded and possessed in the course of the war; that peace should be re-established on the footing of

former treaties, and each party sit down quietly with the loss it had sustained.

Such was the issue of a war, sanguinary beyond example, which had raged with uncommon fury in the four quarters of the globe; which had ruined many fair provinces; and, in the space of seven years, destroyed above a million of lives; which had cost Great-Britain, in particular, above two hundred and eighty thousand men, including a great number of brave and able officers, with an incredible quantity of treasure; and increased the burthen of her national debt, from fourscore, to one hundred and thirty millions sterling.

Of the State of Commerce, Learning, Agriculture, &c. from the Revolution to the Conclusion of the Peace in 1763.

C O M M E R C E.

THE commerce of Great Britain continued to increase during the whole course of this period; nor was this increase the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the necessities of government, the growing expences of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legislature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impositions; its increase, therefore, must have been owing to the natural progress of industry and adventure, extending themselves to that farthest line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance: when the tide of traffick has flowed to its highest mark, it will then begin to recede in a gradual ebb, until it is shrunk within the narrow limits of its original channel. War, which naturally impedes the traffick of other nations, has opened new sources to the merchants of Great Britain: the superiority of her naval power hath crushed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce; so that she supplies, on her own terms, all those foreign markets at which in time of peace she was undersold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade is augmented to a surprizing pitch; and this great augmentation alone has enabled her to maintain the war at such an enormous expence. Foreign nations will doubtless be surprized to learn, that above eight thousand ships are employed by the traders of Great Britain; and that the produce of the sinking fund, which is the overplus produced by all the different funds appropriated to defray the interest of the national debt, exceeds annually three millions sterling.

The following account of the trade to the East Indies, from a person who is far from being prejudiced in favour of the company, may possibly convey a juster idea of the nature and extent of the company's commerce than any thing hitherto said on this subject. The errors found in it will I hope be imputed to the true author, who has not thought proper to oblige the world with his name, or rather to the nature of the thing, in itself sufficiently dark and intricate, and besides most care-

fully hid from the eyes of the vulgar. His authorities however seem to be sufficiently solid, being chiefly the public accounts of the company's sales and other transactions, at least so far as regards his own plan, which was to represent this corporation as an institution highly prejudicial to the trade and commerce of Great Britain.

This traffic, says my author, employs yearly seventeen sail of fine capital ships, each of the burden of five hundred tons, by the company's account, mounting thirty guns, and manned with one hundred mariners. He then proceeds to give his readers the

Account or Invoice of the Exports to India.

1442 tons iron at 15 l.	£ 21630 0 0
610 . . ordnance and wrought iron at 50 l.	30500 0 0
450 . . steel at 50 l.	22500 0 0
180 . . nails at 25 l.	4500 0 0
895 . . lead at 17 l.	15215 0 0
800 . . cordage at 40 l.	32000 0 0
550 . . stores at	305000 0 0
260 . . brass, copper, pewter, at 100 l.	26000 0 0
100 . . gunpowder at 80 l.	8000 0 0
32 . . quicksilver at 300 l.	9600 0 0
18175 woollen cloths at	110000 0 0
23220 stuffs at	50000 0 0
37469 perpets at	40000 0 0
3000 doz. hose at	3000 0 0
11076 oz. gold in coin or bullion at 3 l. 18 s. per oz.	43196 8 0

Note, the quantity of gold exported in the year 1754, amounted to 38092 oz. in coin, and 2977 oz. in bullion.
2991251 oz. silver at 5s. 3d. per oz. 785203 7 9

The quantity exported the year following 1754, was 2,327,329 oz. in coin and bullion.

Total amount of cargoes outwards 1,503344 15 9

Note, there were no more than fourteen ships cleared outwards this year, and that the above quantity of gold and silver bullion is exclusive of what is carried out by private traders, both in foreign and British coin, whereof it is impossible to fix or ascertain the value.

Follows the account or invoice of goods imported from India, with the value sold for at the public sales.

Piece-goods of the Ships		
Wager, Prince of Wales, and		
Exeter, sold at	£ 250000	0 0
Scarborough	225000	0 0
Houghton, exclusive of tea and filk	10000	0 0
Admiral Vernon	175000	0 0
Edgcote, besides tea	10000	0 0
Drake and Rhoda, besides weigh- able goods	15000	0 0
Prince George and Streatham, do.	9000	0 0
Chesterfield	240000	0 0
Pelham	85000	0 0
Bombay-Castle	215000	0 0
Oxford	195000	0 0
Hector, besides 500 tons pepper .	50000	0 0
Dorrington	194000	0 0
Seventeen ships, whose cargoes in piece-goods amount to .	1,673000	0 0
These ships do also bring home, 3253900 lb. tea, which at 4s. per lb. gross price at the sales		
2000000 lb. pepper at 1s ditto .	100000	0 0
1141000 lb. coffee at 1s. 6d. .	85575	0 0
203850 lb. raw filk at 20s. do. .	203850	0 0
900 tons salt petre at 7ol. per ton, ditto	63000	0 0
253 tons red-wood at 3ol. ditto	7500	0 0
600 chests china ware and drugs, ditto	99600	0 0
Total inwards	£ 2,875000	0 0

From which take off custom, charges, and discount, viz.

	Custom.	
	Value	pay per cent.
	£.	£.
Calicoes	1,250,000	38 $\frac{1}{4}$ 478125
Prohibited goods	400,000	2 8000
Tea	65,000	19 123500
Pepper	100,000	4 4000
Silk raw	200,000	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ 25000
Coffee	85,000	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ 20500
Salt-petre	90,000	10 6000
Red-wood	5,000	10 500
China ware and drugs	100,000	30 30000
Valuation	2,850,000	tot. duties 695625

Charges	
Freight on 8500 tons shipping at 1ol.	85,000
Wages and provisions for 1700 men, at 5l. per month	204,000
Carried up	289,000

Brought up	£ 289,000
Interest on bonds, 2 years, at 3l. per cent.	90,090
Directors, clerks, &c. 10,000l. per annum	20,000
Warehouses, cost 100,000. at 8 per cent	16,000
Shipping and landing of 8500 tons . .	8,500

Total of charges 423,500

Discount.

On 2,875,000l. at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. . . 186,875

Total of Custom, charges, and dis-
count to be taken off . . . 1,306,000

Net proceeds do not exceed . . £. 1,569,000

My author takes notice, that the cargoes of seventeen ships are here allowed to be returned, whereas no more than fourteen were actually loaded outwards; he had before observed, that the manufactures in brass, copper, iron, pewter, and other materials, did not exceed the value of 300,000l. He likewise omits to charge any thing for insurance. There is moreover 5 per cent. allowed over the real prices at the candle, amounting as he says (by way of irony probably) to the small sum of 140,000l. All which particulars he says, will serve to answer all objections against his system. He then states the account of profit and loss on a voyage to India, thus,

Account of profit and loss on a voyage to India.

Dr.	
1753. To the cost of 17 cargoes bought in England as per in- voices	£. 1,503,344 15 9
1754. To profit and loss for advance	65,655 4 3
	£. 1,569,000 0 0
Cr.	
1754. By net proceeds of 17 cargoes sold in England as per ac- count of sales	£. 1,569,000 0 0

Then follows capital stock account.

Dr.	
To sundry accounts for two years dividends due on 3,200,000l. at 8 per cent. per. ann.	£. 512000 0 0
Cr.	
By voyage to India gained thereby	£. 65655 4 3
By government securities for two years interest on 3,200,000l. lent them at three per cent.	192000 0 0
By profit and loss, for loss on capital	254344 15 9
	£. 512000 0 0

Follows

Follows the account of Indian goods sold to and paid for by foreigners.

578400 callicoes at 13s. 4d. being one third above the custom house valuation, which at 10s. only, the utmost price on board . . . £. 395600 0 0

Prohibited goods.

50 allejars
3800 bandannoes
500 brawls
550 byrampauts
850 blue long cloths
7000 chints
2400 chelloes
1400 carridarries
400 cherconnees
650 chilaes
55 callawapore
200 gorgoroons
900 Guinea stuffs
2650 nillaes
300 niccanees
50 neganepauts
1500 photees
100 paduafoys
100 poisees
100 palampores
41000 romals
10500 sooseys
200 sekterfoy romals
1000 taffaties
1200 sastracundies,
and others, valued at £. 72750 0 0
Carried up 468350 0 0

Brought up £. 468350 0 0

Weighable goods.

1850000 lb. pepper, at 1s. £. 92500 0 0
700000 lb. coffee, at 1s. 3d. 43750 0 0
All other goods, as cowries, arranges, shell-lack, turmeric, cardamoms, &c. &c. at . . . 45400 0 0

Total value at price free on board, 650000 0 0

Note. The above goods, all of them bought up at ready money by English private merchants, to be by them exported, are over-rated (according to my author) little less than 100000 l.

This detail is closed by stating the national account of a voyage to India.

Dr.

To the export of woollen manufactures . . . £. 200000 0 0
To ditto of copper, brass, and iron ditto . . . 100000 0 0
To ditto of lead, iron and stores 374945 0 0
To ditto of silver and gold bullion 828399 15 9
To two years interest on 1,500000l. 90000 0 0
£. 1,593344 15 9

Cr.

By commodities re-exported . £. 650000 0 0
By useful imports . . . 283344 15 9
By national loss for bullion exported without one valuable return 660000 0 0
£. 1,593344 15 9

LEARNING, LEARNED MEN, &c.

THE powers of the human mind were freely and fully exercised in this period. Considerable progress was made in mathematics and astronomy by divers individuals; among whom we number Newton, Halley, Wallis, Barrow, Flamsteed, Hudson, Sanderfon, Bradley, Maclaurin, Smith, and the two Simpsons.

Natural philosophy became a general study, and the new doctrine of electricity grew into fashion. Different methods were discovered for rendering sea-water potable and sweet; and divers useful hints were communicated to the publick by the learned doctor Stephen Hale, who directed all his researches and experiments to the benefit of society. The study of alchemy no longer prevailed; but the art of chemistry was perfectly understood, and assiduously applied to the purposes of sophistication.

The clergy of Great Britain were generally learned, pious, and exemplary. Atterbury, Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, and Conybeare, were promoted to the first dignities of the church. Warburton, who had long signalized himself by the strength and boldness of his genius, his extensive capacity, and profound erudition, at length obtained the mitre. But these promotions were granted to reasons of state convenience, and personal interest, rather than as rewards of extraordinary merit. Many other ecclesiastics of worth and learning were totally overlooked. Nor was ecclesiastical merit con-

fined to the established church. Many instances of extraordinary genius, unaffected piety, and universal moderation, appeared among the dissenting ministers of Great Britain and Ireland: among these we particularize the elegant, the primitive Foster; the learned, ingenious, and penetrating Leland.

The progress of reason, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not however entirely banished those ridiculous sects and schisms of which the kingdom had been formerly so productive. Imposture and fanaticism still hung upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusions of a superstition stiled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity, and maintained by pretensions to divine illumination. Many thousands in the lower ranks of life were infected with this species of enthusiasm, by the unwearied endeavours of a few obscure preachers; who propagated their doctrines to the most remote corners of the British dominions, and found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution.

Fanaticism also formed a league with false philosophy. One Hutchinson, a visionary, intoxicated with the fumes of Rabbinical learning, pretended to deduce all demonstration from Hebrew roots, and to confine all human knowledge to the five books of Moses. His disciples became numerous after his death. With the Methodists, they denied the merit of good works; and bitterly inveighed against Newton as an ignorant pretender, who had presumed

presumed to set up his own ridiculous chimeras in opposition to the sacred philosophy of the Pentateuch. But the most extraordinary sect which distinguished this reign was that of the Moravians, or *Hernhutters*, imported from Germany by count *Zinzendorf*, who might have been termed the *Melchizedec* of his followers, inasmuch as he assumed among them the three-fold character of prophet, priest, and king. They could not be so properly styled a sect as the disciples of an original, who had invented a new system of religion. Their chief adoration was paid to the Second Person in the Trinity: the First they treated with the most shocking neglect. Some of their tenets were indecent, and others ridiculously absurd. Their discipline was a strange mixture of devotion and impurity. Their exterior worship consisted of hymns, prayers, and sermons: the hymns extremely ludicrous, and often indecent, alluding to the side hole or wound which Christ received from a spear in his side, while he remained upon the cross. Their sermons frequently contained very gross incentives to the work of propagation. Their private exercises are said to have abounded with such rites and mysteries as we cannot explain, with any regard to decorum. They professed a community of goods; and were governed as one family, in temporals as well as spirituals, by a council, or kind of presbytery, in which the count, as their ordinary, presided. In cases of doubt, or great consequence, these pretended to consult the Saviour, and to decide from immediate inspiration; so that they boasted of being under the immediate direction of a Theocracy; though, in fact, they were slaves to the most dangerous kind of despotism: for as often as any individual of the community presumed to think for himself, or differ in opinion from the ordinary and his band of associates, the oracle decreed, that he should be instantly sent upon the mission which they had fixed in Greenland, or to the colony they had established in Pennsylvania. As the religionists consisted chiefly of manufacturers, who appeared very sober, orderly, and industrious; and their chief declared his intention of prosecuting works of public emolument, they obtained a settlement under a parliamentary sanction in England, where they soon made a considerable number of proselytes, before their principles were fully discovered and explained.

Many ingenious treatises on metaphysics and morality appeared in the course of this period; and a philosophical spirit of enquiry diffused itself to the farthest extremities of the united kingdom. Tho' few discoveries of importance were made in medicine, yet that art was well understood in all its different branches; and many of its professors distinguished themselves in other provinces of literature. Besides the *Medical Essays* of London and Edinburgh, the physician's library was enriched with many useful modern productions; with the works of the classical *Freind*, the elegant *Mead*, the accurate *Huxham*, and the philosophical *Pringle*. The art of midwifery was elucidated by science, reduced to fixed principles, and almost wholly consigned into the hands of men practitioners. The researches of anatomy were prosecuted to some curious discoveries by the ingenuity and dexterity of a *Hunter* and a *Monro*. The numerous hospitals in London contributed to the improvement of surgery, which was brought

to perfection under the auspices of a *Cheselden* and a *Sharpe*. The advantages of agriculture, which had long flourished in England, extended themselves gradually to the most remote and barren provinces of the island.

The respectable patriots that form the Society established at London, have already done considerable service to their country, and will, it is hoped, still do more: a considerable number of machines having already been sent them, in consequence of their large premiums and bounties.

The mechanic powers were well understood, and judiciously applied to many useful machines of necessity and convenience. The mechanical arts had attained to all that perfection which they were capable of acquiring; but the avarice and oppression of contractors, obliged the handicraftsman to exert his ingenuity, not in finishing his work well, but in affording it cheap; in purchasing bad materials, and performing his task in a hurry; in concealing flaws, substituting shew for solidity, and sacrificing reputation to the thirst of lucre. Thus many of the English manufactures, being found slight and unserviceable, grew into discredit abroad; thus the art of producing them more perfect, may in time be totally lost at home. The cloths now made in England, are inferior in texture and fabric to those which were manufactured in the beginning of the century; and the same judgment may be pronounced upon almost every article of hardware. The razors, knives, scissars, hatchets, swords, and other edge utensils, prepared for exportation, are generally ill-tempered, half-finished, flawed or brittle; and the musquets, which are sold for seven or eight shillings a-piece to the exporter, so carelessly and unconscientiously prepared, they cannot be used without imminent danger of mutilation; accordingly one hardly meets with a negro man upon the coast of Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, who has not been wounded or maimed in some member by the bursting of the English fire-arms. The advantages of this traffic, carried on at the expence of character and humanity, will naturally cease whenever those Africans can be supplied more honestly by the traders of any other nation.

Genius in writings spontaneously arose, and though neglected by the great, flourished under the culture of a public which had pretensions to taste, and piqued itself on encouraging literary merit.

Among the poets of this æra may be numbered *John Philips*, author of a didactic poem called *Cyder*, a performance of real merit, though the author lived and died in obscurity: *William Congreve*, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance and regularity: *Vanburgh*, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with less art and precision: *Steele*, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the antient drama: *Farquhar*, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogues: *Addison*, who was excelled by none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter: *Swift*, whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy. He was a Cynic rather than a poet; and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been displeasing, had not he qualified them by adopting the

extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais: Prior, lively, familiar and amusing: Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory: Dryden, elegant, nervous, and entertaining: Pope, the prince of Lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification: the agreeable Parnel; the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth: Gay, whose fables may vie with those of Le Fontaine, in nature, humour, ease, and simplicity; and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Young long survived a venerable monument of poetical talent. Thomson, the poet of the Seasons, displayed a luxuriandy of genius in describing the beauties of nature. Akenfide and Armstrong excelled in didactic poetry. Even the *Epopœa* did not disdain an English dress, but appeared to advantage in the *Leonidas* of Glover, and the *Epigoniad* of Wilkie. The public acknowledged a considerable share of dramatic merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home, and some other less distinguished authors. Besides these, great merit appeared in the detached performances of Johnson, Mason, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wartons, besides a great number of other bards who have sported in lyric poetry, and acquired the applause of their fellow citizens.

Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clark distinguished themselves in divinity: and Newton shone unrivalled in philosophy. John Locke, the great restorer of human reason, may be said to have invented metaphysics, as Newton invented physics. Berkley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety of reasoning and deduction.

Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher sphere of life, embellished by the nervous stile, superior sense, and extensive erudition of a Corke; by the delicate taste, the polished muse, and tender feelings of a Lyttleton. King shone unrivalled in Roman eloquence. Even the female sex distinguished themselves by their taste and ingenuity. Miss Carter rivalled the celebrated Dacier in learning and critical knowledge; and Mrs. Lennox signalized herself by many successful efforts of genius, both in poetry and prose. The genius of Cervantes was transfused into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters, and ridiculed the follies of life with equal strength, humour, and propriety. The field of history and biography was cultivated by many writers of ability, among whom we distinguish the copious Guthrie, the circumstantial Ralph, the laborious Carte, the learned and elegant Robertson, the ingenious and penetrating Smollet, the comprehensive and philosophical Hume. Nor let us forget the merit conspicuous in Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision. Johnson, inferior to none in philosophy, philology, poetry, and classical learning, stands foremost as an essayist, justly admired for the dignity, strength, and variety of his stile, as well as for the agreeable manner in which he investigates the human heart, tracing every interesting emotion, and opening all the sources of morality. The laudable aim of inlisting the passions on the side of virtue, was successfully pursued by Richardson, in his *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Grandison*; a species of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much superfluity and impertinence, we find a sublime system of ethics, and amazing knowledge, and command of human nature. Many of the Greek and Roman classics made their appearance in English transla-

tions, which were favourably received as works of merit; among these we place Homer by Pope, Lucan by Rowe, Virgil by Dryden, and another translation by Pitt and Warton, Horace by Francis, Polybius by Hampton, and Sophocles by Francklyn. The several wars introduced a variety of military treatises, chiefly translated from the French language; and a free country like Great Britain, will always abound with political tracts and lucubrations. Every literary production of merit calculated for amusement or instruction, that appeared in any country or language of Christendom, was immediately imported, and naturalized among the English people. Never was the pursuit after knowledge so universal, literary merit more regarded, than in this æra by the body of the British nation; but it was honoured by no attention from the throne, and little indulgence did it reap from the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of queen Anne was propitious to the fortunes of Swift and Pope, who lived in all the happy pride of independence. Young, sequestered from courts and preferment, possessed a moderate benefice in the country, employing his time in a conscientious discharge of his ecclesiastical functions. Thomson, with the most benevolent heart that ever warmed the human breast, maintained a perpetual war with the difficulties of a narrow fortune. He enjoyed a place in Chancery by the bounty of lord Talbot, of which he was divested by the succeeding chancellor. He afterwards enjoyed a small pension from Frederic, prince of Wales, which was withdrawn in the sequel. About two years before his death he obtained a comfortable place; but he did not live to taste the blessing of easy circumstances, and died in debt.

None of the rest, whom we have named, enjoyed any share of the royal bounty, except W. Whitehead, who succeeded to the place of laureat at the death of Cibber; and some of them, whose merit was the most universally acknowledged, remained exposed to all the storms of indigence, and all the stings of mortification.

While queen Caroline, consort to George II. lived, some countenance was given to learning. She conversed with Newton and Clarke, and corresponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity: the royal family, on certain days, dined in public for the satisfaction of the people: the court was animated with a freedom of spirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death that spirit began to languish; and a total stagnation of gaiety and good humour ensued. It was succeeded by a sullen calm, an ungracious reserve, and a still rotation of inspid forms, during the sequel of her husband's reign.

England was not defective in other arts that embellish and amuse. Musick became a fashionable study, and its professors generally caressed by the public. An Italian opera was maintained at a great expence, and well supplied with foreign performers. Private concerts were instituted in every corner of the metropolis. The compositions of Handel were universally admired, and he himself lived in affluence. It must be owned at the same time, that Geminiani was neglected, though his genius commanded esteem and veneration. Among the few natives of England who distinguished themselves by their talents in this art, Purcell, Green, Howard,

Howard, Arne, and Boyce, were the most remarkable.

The British soil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of painting, now produced some artists of extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the world in exhibiting the scenes of ordinary life; in humorous historical designs. Hudson, Reynolds, and Ramsay, distinguished themselves by their superior merit in portraits; a branch that was successfully cultivated by many other English painters. Wootton was famous for representing live animals in general; Seymour for race horses; Lambert, Wilson, and the Smiths, for landscapes; and Scot for sea pieces. Several spirited attempts were made on historical subjects; but little progress was made in the sublime parts of painting. Essays of this kind were discouraged by a false taste, founded upon a reprobation of British genius. The art of engraving was brought to perfection by Strange, and laudably practised by several other masters;

and great improvements were made in mezzotinto, miniature, and enamel. Many fair monuments of sculpture or statuary were raised by Rysbrack, Roubilliac, and Wilton. Architecture, which had been cherished by the elegant taste of a Burlington, and a Wren, soon became a favourite study; and many magnificent edifices were reared in different parts of the kingdom. Ornaments were carved in wood, and moulded in stucco, with all the delicacy of execution; but a passion for novelty had introduced into gardening, building, and furniture, an absurd taste, equally void of beauty and convenience. Improvements in the liberal and useful arts, will doubtless be the consequence of that encouragement given to merit by the Society instituted for these purposes, which we have mentioned on another occasion. As for the Royal Society, it seems to have degenerated in its researches, and to have had very little share for half a century at least, in extending the influence of true philosophy.

A TABLE of the SUCCESSION of the PRINCES of the several Kingdoms of EUROPE, with which ENGLAND hath the greatest Correspondence and Connection, from the Accession of King WILLIAM III. to the Year 1763.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.	K I N G S of G R E A T B R I T A I N .	K I N G of F R A N C E .	K I N G S of S P A I N .	K I N G S of P O R T U G A L .	K I N G S of P R U S S I A .	K I N G S of D E N M A R K .	K I N G S of S W E D E N .	K I N G S of P O L A N D .	C Z A R S , &c. of R U S S I A .	P O P E S EXALTATIONS.
A.D. WILLIAM III. and } 1688 MARY Stuart,	A.D. 1702	A.D. 1714	A.D. 1700	A.D. 1706	A.D. 1701	A.D. 1699	A.D. 1697	A.D. 1697	A.D. 1725	A.D. 1691
JOSEPH 1705	ANNE	GEORGE I.	PHILIP V.	JOHN V.	FREDERIC I.	FREDERIC IV.	CHARLES XII.	FREDERIC AUGUSTUS	CATHERINE PETER II. ANNE IWANOWNA	INNOCENT XII.
CHARLES VI. 1711	GEORGE I.	LEWIS XV. 1715 to 1763 and beyond.	LEWIS I. 1723 PHILIP V. again, 1724		FREDERIC WILL. II. 1713			STANISLAUS elected but did not possess, 1705		CLEMENT XI.
	GEORGE II.					CHRISTIAN VI. 1730	FREDERIC and ULRIQUE ELEONORA	STANISLAUS elected again & abdicated, 1733 FREDERIC AUGUSTUS III. to 1763 and beyond.		
CHARLES VII. 1742 FRANCIS 1745 to 1763 and beyond.			FERDINAND VI. 1746	JOSEPH 1750 to 1763 and beyond.	CHARLES FRED. III. 1740 to 1763 and beyond.	FREDERIC V. 1746 to 1763 and beyond.	ADOLPHUS FRED. 1751 to 1763 and beyond.			CLEMENT XIII. 1758 to 1763 and beyond.
	GEORGE III. 1760 to 1763 and beyond.		CHARLES III. 1756 to 1763 and beyond.					PETER III. CATHARINE II.		

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END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.









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